THE

AIN I AKBARI

BY

ABUL FAZL 'ALLAMI,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

BY

H. BLOCHMANN, M. A.

CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

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PREFACE.

The Áín i Akbarí is the third volume of the Akbarná'mah, by Shaikh Abulfazl, and is by far the greatest work in the whole series of Muhammadan histories of India. The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of Timur's family as far as it is of interest for the Indian reader, and the reigns of Bábar, the Súr kings, and Humáyún, whilst the second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of the Great Emperor. The concluding volume, the A'ín i Akbarí, contains that information regarding Akbar's reign which, though not strictly historical, is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times, and embodies, therefore, those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administration Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers. It contains the *áín* (*i. e.*, mode of governing) of Akbar, and is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of his government, as it was about 1590 A. D. The contents, therefore, of the A'ín are naturally varied and detailed. The first of its five books treats of Akbar's household and court, and of the emperor himself, the soul of every department, who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship, and who enters into the details of government, in order to create a harmonious whole. Vouchsafed as king with a peculiar light from on high, his person is prominently put forward as the guide of the people in all matters temporal and spiritual; in

whose character and temper the governed find that rest and peace which no constitution can give, and in whom, as the author of a new and advanced creed, the dust of intoleration is for ever allayed.

The second book treats of the servants of the throne, the military and civil services, and the attendants at court whose literary genius or musical skill receives a lustre from the encouragement of the emperor, and who in their turn reflect a brilliant light on the government.

The third book is entirely devoted to regulations for the judicial and executive departments, the establishment of a new and more practical era, the survey of the land, the tribal divisions, and the rent-roll of the great Finance minister whose name has become proverbial in India.

The fourth book treats of the social condition and literary activity, especially in philosophy and law, of the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, and in whose political advancement the emperor saw the guarantee of the stability of his realm. There are also a few chapters on the foreign invaders of India, on distinguished travellers, and on Muhammadan saints and the sects to which they respectively belong.

The fifth book contains the moral sentences and epigrammatical sayings, observations, and rules of wisdom of the emperor, which Abulfazl has gathered as the disciple gathers the sayings of the master.

In the A,ín, therefore, we have a picture of Akbar's government in its several departments, and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects. Whilst in most Muhammadan histories we hear of the endless turmoil of war and dynastical changes, and are only reminded of the existence of a people when authors make a passing allusion to famines and similar calamities, we have in the A,ín the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of the

time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful, and therefore vivid, colours.

It is for this reason that the A'ín stands so unique among the Muhammadan histories of India, and we need not wonder that long before curious eyes turned to other native sources of history and systematically examined their contents, the A'ín was laid under contribution. Le Père Tieffentaller, in 1776, published in his 'Description Géographique de l'Indostan' long extracts from the rent-roll given in the Third Book; Chief Sarishtahdár Grant used it largely for his Report on Indian Finances; and as early as 1783, Francis Gladwin, a thorough Oriental scholar, dedicated to Warren Hastings his "Ayeen Akberi," of which in 1800 he issued a printed edition in London. In his translation, Gladwin has given the greater part of the First Book, more than one-half of the Second and Third Books, and about one-fourth of the Fourth Book; and although in modern times inaccuracies have been discovered in the portions translated by him—chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that he translated from MSS., in every way a difficult undertaking—his translation has always occupied a deservedly high place, and it may confidently be asserted that no similar work has for the last seventy years been so extensively quoted as his. The magnitude of the task of translating the A'ín from uncollated MSS. will especially become apparent, when we remember that, even in the opinion of native writers, its style is "not intelligible to the generality of readers without great difficulty."

But it is not merely the varied information of the A'ín that renders the book so valuable, but also the trustworthiness of the author himself. Abulfazl's high official position gave him access to any document he wished to consult, and his long career and training in various departments of the

State, and his marvellous powers of expression, fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the Akbarnámah and the A'ín. His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book, which he wished to leave to future ages as a memorial of the Great Emperor and as a guide for enquiring minds; and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, shew that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom. Abulfazl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the Akbarnámah will shew that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we compare his works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that while he praises, he does so infinitely less and with much more grace and dignity than any other Indian historian or poet. No native writer has ever accused him of flattery; and if we bear in mind that all Eastern works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the duty of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank mass of flattery, at the side of which modern encomiums look like withered leaves,—we may pardon Abulfazl when he praises because he finds a true hero.

The issue of the several fasciculi of this translation has extended over a longer time than I at first expected. The simultaneous publication of my edition of the Persian Text, from which the translation is made, the geographical difficulties of the Third Book, the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., the notes added to the translation from various Muhammadan historians and works on the history of literature, have rendered the progress of the work unavoidably slow.

I am deeply indebted to the Council and the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for placing at my disposal a full critical apparatus of the A'ín and entrusting me with the edition of the text, for which the Indian Government had most liberally sanctioned the sum of five thousand Rupees. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Dr. Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India and late President of the Asiatic Society, for valuable advice and ever ready assistance in the execution of the work; and to Col. H. Yule, C. B., and to H. Roberts Esq., of the Doveton College, for useful hints and corrections.

I have thought it advisable to issue the first volume with a few additional notes, and two indexes, one of persons and things, and the other of geographical names, without waiting for the completion of the whole work. I have thus had an opportunity of correcting some of the errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of names, and supplying other deficiencies. That defects will still be found, notwithstanding my endeavours to remove them, none of my readers and critics can be more sensible than I myself am.

H. BLOCHMANN.

Calcutta Madrasah,
23rd September, 1873.

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PLATE IV. THE IMPERIAL CAMP, (p. 47).

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4. The great camp light (*ákásdiah*), pp. 47, 50.

 "The *aquacy-die* resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, "and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed towards the king's quarters, "near the tent called *Nagar-kane*, and during the night a lighted lantern "is suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen "when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot "persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all "danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. "The name 'Aquacy-die' may be translated 'Light of Heaven,' the lantern "when at a distance appearing like a star." *Bernier.*

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Round about the whole the nobles and Mançabdárs with their contingents pitched their tents.

" The king's private tents are surrounded by small *kanats* (*qanáts*, standing screens), of the height of a man, some lined with Masulipatam chintz, worked over with flowers of a hundred differents kinds, and others with figured satin, decorated with deep silken fringes." *Bernier*. Bernier's description of the Imperial camp (second letter, dated Láhor, 25th February, 1665) agrees in minute details with the above.

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4. The *Tumantoq* (from the Turkish *toq*, or *togh*, a flag, and *tuman* or *túmán*, a division of ten thousand).
5. The *Chatr*, or (red) royal umbrella.
6. A standard, or *'alam*.
7. The *Chatrtoq*. As Abulfazl says that this standard is *smaller* than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced *chuturtoq*, from the Turkish *chutur*, or *chútúr*, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (*quṭás*) taken from the tails and the sides of the Tibetan Yak.

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Below is a *Zamíndoz* with two poles (*dúsurughah*). At the bottom of the plate, to the left, is the *Manḍal*, p, 54, 6; and to the right, the *'Ajáibí*, 54, 5.

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17. The Hindústání lance, ***barchhah*** (21).
18. The ***sánk***, or broad-headed lance (22).
19, 20. The ***saint'hí*** (23) and ***selarah*** (24).
21. The ***shushbur***, or club. This I believe to be the correct name (instead of ***shashpar***, p. 111, No. 26), from ***shush***, lungs, and ***bur***, tearing.
22. The axe, ***tabar***.
23. The club, ***gurz*** (25). On p. 111, No. 29, the word ***piyází*** has been translated by 'club,' and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS. call 'piyází' a long knife with straight back, ending in a point.
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27. The ***tarangálah*** (33).
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PLATE XIII. WEAPONS (CONTINUED).

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33. The bow for clay bullets, ***kamṭ'ha***, or ***kamán i gurohah*** (38).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, ***tufak i dahán*** (40).
35. The ***pushtkhár*** (41).
36. A lance called ***girih-kushá***, *i. e.* knot-unraveller (43).
37. The ***khár i máhi***, *i. e.* fish-spine (44).
38. The sling, ***gobhan*** (45).
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42. The plain cane shield, *pahrí*, or *pharí* (50).
43. The helmet, *dubalghah* (52).
44. The *g'hug'hwah*, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, *zirih-kuláh* (54).
46. The mailed coat, *zirih* (57).
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56. The small one is the *mozah i áhaní*, or iron stocking (71); and the large one, the *rák* (69).
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58, 59. The *artak i kajem*, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The *qashqah*, or head protection for the horse (74).
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PLATE XV. AKBAR'S MACHINE FOR CLEANING GUNS: *vide* p. 115, Áín 38, of the 1st Book.

PLATE XVI. HARNESS FOR HORSES. Áín 52, p. 136.

PLATE XVII. GAMES; pp. 303, 304.

The upper figure shews the board for *Chaupaṛ*, p. 303, and the lower figure is the board for the Chandal Manḍal game. Both boards were made of all sizes; some were made of inlaid stones on the ground in an open court yard, as in Fathpúr Síkrí, and slave girls were used instead of pieces. The players at Chandal Manḍal sat on the ground, round the circumference, one player at the end of each of the sixteen radii.

ERRATA.

Page 31, last line, *for* Bahrah *read* Bahírah.
„ 32, line 1, *for* Kalánwar *read* Kaláuúr.
„ 34, note 2, add *vide* p. 354.
„ 55, line 12, *for* woolen *read* woollen.
„ „ line 24, *for* Sárún *read* Sorún, *vide* p. 615.
„ 57, line 2 from below, *for* Bharáij *read* Bahráich.
„ 63, line 5, *for* king *read* kind.
„ „ line 25, *for* heron *read* crane.
„ 73, line 15, *for* chalk *read* slaked lime.
„ 84, last line, *for* Maruráj (?) *read* Mararáj.
„ 85, line 1, *for* Indrakál *read* Indarkol.
„ 104, note 3, *for* III, p. 139 *read* II, p. 278.
„ 122, line 22 ff., *vide* p. 618.
„ 167, line 24, *for* is *read* are.
„ 174, line 4 from below, *for* Husain *read* Hasan.
„ 176, line 26, *for* *Nabatís* read *Nuqṭawís*.
„ 180, line 16, *for* Puzukhotam *read* Purukhotam.
„ 190, line 15, *for* the heretic of Jafrdán *read* the heretical wizard.
„ 225, line 23, *for* bricklayers *read* diggers.
„ 226, line 6, *for* p'ha *read* p'harí.
„ 241, line 8 from below, *for* *duashpah* read *duaspah*.
„ 273, line 21, *for* tyranical *read* tyrannical.
„ 274, line 3, *for* p. 38 *read* p. 33.
„ 282, line 10 from below, *for* p. 225 *read* p. 252.
„ 286, line 22, *dele* comma after Fathpúr.
„ 309, line 14, *for* Sánbbar *read* Sánbhar.
„ „ line 15, *dele* Jodh Bái, and *vide* Additional Notes, p. 618.
„ 310, line 23, *for* Dás of *read* Dás.
„ „ line 33, *for* Nisár *read* unnisá.
„ 312, line 2, *for* Ma'ání *read* Ma'álí.
„ 313, line 13, *for* **Husain** *read* **Husain**, son of Sulṭán Husain Mírzá.
„ 315, line 4, *for* Mukram *read* Mukarram.
„ „ line 25, *for* Barhámpúr *read* Burhánpúr.
„ 318, lines 10 and 13, *for* 'Abdul Fath *read* Abulfath.
„ „ line 9 from below, *for* 981 *read* 975; *vide* Proceedings, A. S. Bengal, July, 1873.
„ 319, line 9, *for* at Jágír *read* as jágír.
„ 322, line 11, *for* 'Abdul *read* Abul.
„ „ line 16, *for* 981 *read* 980.
„ „ line 23, *for* Ahmadnagar *read* Ahmadábád.
„ 329, line 14, *for* 147 *read* 174.
„ 330, line 12, add "General Cunningham tells me that the correct name is Bidhi (Sansk. Vriddhi), not Budí." *Vide* Index.
„ „ line 22, *for* Talbanah *read* Talambah.
„ „ lines 2 and 7 from below, *for* Ák Mahall *read* Ág Mahall.
„ 331, note 1, *for* *cousin* read *uncle*.
„ 333, line 4, *for* Bábú *read* Bábá.
„ 335, line 1, *for* Dost *read* Daulat.
„ „ line 3, *for* Sarkij *read* Sarkich.
„ 338, line 9 from below, *for* Mecænas *read* Mæcenas.
„ 340, line 19, *for* Sing Rám *read* Sangrám.

Page 340, last line, *dele* younger son or.
„ 344, line 18, et passim, *for* Waijúr *read* Bajor.
„ 345, line 17, *for* Bajgorah *read* Pajkorah (or Panjkorah).
„ 351, line 13, *for* severally *read* several.
„ „ line 20, et passim, *for* Gulábí *read* Kolábí.
„ 357, line 7 from below, *for* 81 *read* 80.
„ 358, note 2, *dele* and the latter...Editors.
„ 367, line 17, *for* Chandr *read* Chand.
„ 371, line 2 from below, *for* Uymaq Kál *read* the Uymáqs of Miyánkál (*vide* p. 620).
„ 379, line 20, *for* 330 *read* 333.
„ 383, line 10, *for* 223 *read* 144.
„ 386, line 22, *for* 362 *read* 361.
„ 391, line 3 from below, *for* Jhajhú *read* Chajhú.
„ 395, line 9 and 17, *for* Tang *read* Tisang.
„ „ line 17, *for* Tas-ha *read* Tis-ha.
„ „ line 18, *for* Sirdháolí, Kíláodah *read* Sandháolí, Kailáodah.
„ „ line 27, *for* Bhasí *read* Bhainsí.
„ 400, line 26, *for* Bilkarí *read* Bilahrí.
„ 407, line 14, et passim, *for* Bandelah *read* Bundelah.
„ 414, line 18, *for* *salamát read salámat*.
„ „ note 2, et passim, *for* Rahtás *read* Rohtás.
„ „ „ *for* Tamkín *read* Namakín.
„ 419, line 16 from below, *for* son of *read* son of Rájah Sojá, son of.
„ „ note 2, add "Tod mentions a 'Kandhar' near Amber." *Vide* Geogr. Index, K handár.
„ 425, line 11 from below, *for* Çúbah of Ágrah, *read* near Dihlí.
„ 427, line 5 from below, *for* *Manqalá read* the *manqalá*.
„ 437, line 15 from below, *for* Jamál *read* Jalál.
„ 440, line 11 from below, *for* tuqúl *read* tuyúl.
„ 441, line 11 from below, *for* 185 *read* 186.
„ 448, note, line 1, *for* political *read* poetical.
„ 456, note 1, add *vide* p. 621.
„ 472, note, last line, *for* Wálí *read* Wálá.
„ 475, line 5 from below, *for* 5th *read* 7th.
„ 478, line 8, *for* 5th *read* 6th.
„ 498, note 1, *for* Bírí *read* Bairí.
„ 501, line 6 from below, *for* 396 *read* 392.
„ 508, line 13 from below, *for* Waçlí *read* Hijrí; *vide* p. 622.
„ 514, line 17, *for* Kingú *read* Kingrí.
„ 539, line 23, *for* Kapúr *read* Kipúr.
„ 546, line 6 from below, *for* Malánâ *read* Maulánâ.
„ 567, note, last line, *for* Sháh *read* Khán.

BIOGRAPHY

OF

SHAIKH ABULFAZL I 'ALLÁMÍ.

Shaikh Abul Fazl, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Ágrah on the 6th Muharram, 958,* during the reign of Islám Sháh.

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaikh Músá, Abul Fazl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the 9th century of the Hijrah in Siwistán (Sindh), at a place called Rel (ريل). In "this pleasant village," Shaikh Músá's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the 10th century, when Shaikh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindústán. There he travelled about visiting those who, attracted by God, are known to the world for not knowing it; and after passing a short time in Hijáz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nágor, N. W. of Ajmír, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mír Sayyid Yahyá of Bukhárá.

The title of Shaikh, which all the members of the family bore, was to keep up among them the remembrance of the home of the ancestors.

Not long afterwards, in 911, Shaikh Mubárak, Abul Fazl's father, was born. Mubárak was not Shaikh Khizr's eldest child: several children had been born before and had died, and Khizr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Mubárak, *i. e.*, the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Islám holds out to the believers, that children gone before bless those born after them, and pray to God for the continuance of their earthly life.

Shaikh Mubárak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaikh 'Aṭan (عطن), who was of Turkish extraction and

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* 14th January, 1551.

had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodí to Nágor, where he lived in the service of Shaikh Sálár, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. Shaikh Khizr had now resolved permanently to settle at Nágor, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistán. His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nágor in great distress; and a famine which broke out at the same time, stretched numbers of the inhabitants on the barren sands of the surrounding desert, and of all the members of the family at Nágor only Mubárak and his mother survived.

Mubárak grew up progessing in knowledge and laying the foundation of those encyclopedial attainments, for which he afterwards became so famous. He soon felt the wish and the necessity to complete his education and visit the great teachers of other parts; but love to his mother kept him in his native town, where he continued his studies, guided by the teachings of the great saint Khwájah Ahrár,* to which his attention had been directed. However, when his mother died, and when about the same time the Máldeo disturbances broke out, Mubárak carried out his wish, and went to Ahmadábád in Gujarát, either attracted by the fame of the town itself, or by that of the shrine of his countryman Ahmad of Khaṭṭú.† In Ahmadábád, he found a second father in the learned Shaikh Abul Fazl, a khaṭíb, or preacher, from Kázarún in Persia, and made the acquaintance of several men of reputation, as Shaikh 'Umar of Tattah and Shaikh Yúsuf. After a stay of several years, he returned to Hindústán, and settled, on the 6th Muharram, 950, on the left bank of the Jamuná, opposite Ágrah, near the Chárbágh Villa,‡ which Bábar had built, and in the neighbourhood of the saintly Mír Rafí'uddín Safawí of Injú (Shíráz), among whose disciples Mubárak took a distinguished place. It was here that Mubárak's two eldest sons, Shaikh Abul Faiz,§ and four years later, Shaikh Abul-Fazl, were born. Mubárak had now reached the age of fifty, and resolved to remain at Ágrah, the capital of the empire; nor did the years of extraordinary drought which preceded the first year of Akbar's reign,

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* Died at Samarqand, 29th Rabí' I, 895, or 20th February, 1490.

† *Vide* p. 507, note. Ahmad of Khaṭṭú is buried at Sark'hich near Ahmadábád. He died in 849 (A. D. 1445).

‡ Later called Hasht Bihisht, or the Núrafshán Gardens. It is now called the Rám Bágh.

§ Born A.H. 954, or A.D. 1547. *Vide* p. 490.

and the dreadful plague, which in 963 broke out in Ágrah and caused a great dispersion among the population, incline him to settle elsewhere.

The universality of learning which distinguished Mubárak attracted a large number of disciples, and displayed itself in the education he gave his sons; and the filial piety with which Abul Fazl in numerous passages of his works speaks of his father, and the testimony of hostile writers as Badáoní, leave no doubt that it was Mubárak's comprehensiveness that laid in Abul Faiz and Abul Fazl the foundation of those cosmopolitan and, to a certain extent, anti-Islamitic views, for which both brothers have been branded by Muhammadan writers as atheists, or as Hindús, or as sunworshippers, and as the chief causes of Akbar's apostacy from Islám.

A few years before 963 A. H., during the Afghán rule, Shaikh Mubárak had, to his worldly disadvantage, attached himself to a religious movement, which had first commenced about the year 900, and which continued under various phases during the whole of the tenth century. The movement was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islám. According to an often quoted prophecy, the latter days of Islám are to be marked by a general decadence in political power and in morals, which on reaching its climax is to be followed by the appearance of Imám Mahdí, 'the Lord of the period',* who will restore the sinking faith to its pristine freshness. Christ also is to appear; and after all men, through his instrumentality, have been led to Islám, the day of judgment will commence. Regarding this promised personage, the Rauzat ul-Aimmah, a Persian work on the lives of the twelve Imáms,† has the following passage—

Muslim, Abú Dáúd, Nisáí, Baihaqí, and other collectors of the traditional sayings of the Prophet, state that the Prophet once said, "Muhammad Mahdí shall be of my family and of the descendants of Fáṭimah [the Prophet's daughter and wife of 'Alí]." And Ahmad, Abú Dáúd, Tirmizí, and Ibn Májah state that the Prophet at some other time said, "When of time one day shall be left, God shall raise up a man from among my descendants, who shall fill the world with justice, just as before him the world was full of oppression;" and again, "The world shall not come to

* Çáhib i zamán. He is the 12th Imám. The first eleven succeeded the Prophet. 'Mahdí' (which in India is wrongly pronounced Mehndí, 'myrtle') means 'guided'; Hádí means 'a guide'.

† By Sayyid 'Izzat 'Alí, son of Sayyid Pír Alí of Rasúlpúr. Lithographed at Lak'hnau, 1271, A. H., 144 pp., royal 8vo.

an end till the King of the earth shall appear, who is a man of my family, and whose name is the same as mine." Further, Ahmad and other collectors assert that the Prophet once said, "Muhammad Mahdí belongs to my family, eight and nine years." Accordingly, people believe in the coming of Mahdí. But there is also a party in Islám who say that Imám Mahdí has already come into the world and exists at present: his patronymic is Abul Qásim, and his epithets are "the elect, the stablisher, Mahdí, the expected, the Lord of the age." In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surraman-raá [near Baghdád] on the 23rd Ramazán, 258, and in 265 he came to his Sardábah [prop. 'a cool place,' 'a summer villa'], and disappeared whilst in his residence. In the book entitled 'Shawáhid' it is said that when he was born, he had on his right arm the words written, 'Say, the truth has come and error has vanished, surely error is vanishing' [Qorán, xvii, 83]. It is also related that when he was born into the world, he came on his knees, pointed with his fingers to heaven, sneezed, and said, "Praise be to God, the Lord of the world." Some one also has left an account of a visit to Imám Hasan 'Askarí [the eleventh Imám]; whom he asked, "O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalífah and Imám after thee?" 'Askarí thereupon went into his room, and after some time came back with a child on his shoulders, that had a face like the full moon and might have been three years old, and said to the man, "If thou hadst not found favour in the eyes of God, He would not have shewn you this child: his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic." The sect who believe Mahdí to be alive at present, say that he rules over cities in the far west, and he is even said to have children. God alone knows the truth!

The alleged prophecies of the Founder regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islám entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdí movement assumed in India* a definite form through the teaching of Mír Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mír Sayyid Khán, of Jaunpúr. This man was a

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* Badáoní, in his 'Najáturrashíd,' gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhshán, from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and India. In Badakhshán, it was commenced by Sayyid Muhammad Núrbakhsh, a pupil of Abú Is-háq Khatlání, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him. He was defeated and fled to 'Iráq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors, but defied them all. Badáoní has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Núrbakhsh sent unto all the saints. One of his disciples was Shaikh Muhammad Láhijí, the commentator of the 'Gulshan i Ráz.'

descendant of the Prophet, and bore his name; the fall of Jaunpúr was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, "Anta Mahdí," 'thou art Mahdí.' Some people indeed say that Mír Sayyid Muhammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdí; but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age. He gained many adherents, chiefly through his great oratorical powers, but pressed by enemies he went to Gujarát, where he found an adherent in Sulṭán Mahmúd I. From Gujarát he proceeded, at the request of the king and to the joy of numerous enemies, on a pilgrimage to Makkah. From there also he seems to have been driven away. On his return, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he said to the disciples that accompanied him, "God has removed from my heart the burden of Mahdí. If I safely return, I shall recant all." But when he reached the town of Faráh in Balochistán, where his arrival had created a great sensation, he died (911, A. H.; 1505, A. D.). His tomb became a place of general pilgrimage, although Sháh Iṣmá'íl and Sháh Ṭahmásp tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdí; and even the historian Badáoní, who was strongly attached to the cause, speaks of him as of a great saint.

Other Mahdís appeared in various parts of India. In 956 (A. D., 1549), a Mahdí of great pretensions arose in Biánah, S.W. of Ágrah, in the person of Shaikh 'Aláí. This man was a Bangálí Musalmán. His father had been looked upon in his country as a learned saint, and after visiting Makkah, he had settled, in 935, with his younger brother Naçrullah, likewise a learned man, at Biánah, where they soon became respected and influential men. Shaikh 'Aláí had shewn from his youth the learning of the lawyer and the rigour of the saint; and on the death of his father, he gathered numerous pupils around himself. 'But the love of power issues at last from the heads of the just,' and on the day of the 'Íd, he kicked an influential Shaikh from his *haudah*, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Shaikh of the town.

About the same time, one Miyán 'Abdullah, a Niyází Afghán and disciple of Mír Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpúr, arrived from Makkah, and settled at a retired spot near Biánah. Like his master, he was a man of oratorical powers and was given to street preaching; and in a

short time he gained numerous followers among the woodcutters and water-carriers. Shaikh 'Aláí also was overawed by the impressive addresses of Miyán 'Abdullah; he gave up teaching and struggling for local influence, turned faqír, told his wife either to follow him to the wilderness or to go, distributed his whole property, even his books, among the poor adherents of the Niyází, and joined the fraternity which they had formed. The brethren had established among themselves community of property, divided the earnings obtained by begging, and gave up all work, because it was said in the Qorán, 'Let not men be allured by trade or selling to give up meditating on God.' Religious meetings, the object of which was to prepare people for the advent of the promised Mahdí, were daily held after the five prayers, which the brethren said together, and wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth. They soon felt strong enough to interfere with municipal matters, and inspected the bázárs and removed by force all articles forbidden in the law, defying the magistrates, if opposed to them, or assisting them, if of their opinion. Their ranks increased daily, and matters in Biánah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaikh 'Aláí's former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Miyán 'Abdullah in earnestness and successful conversions, and the latter at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Makkah. 'Aláí marched with his band over Basáwar to Khawáçpúr, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Biánah.

Shaikh 'Aláí's fame at last reached the ear of Islám Sháh, who summoned him to A'grah; and although the king was resolved to put him to death as a dangerous demagogue, and was even offended at the rude way in which 'Aláí behaved in his presence, he was so charmed by an impromptu address which 'Aláí delivered on the vanities of the world and the pharisaism of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions to 'Aláí's men. To the amusement of the Afghán nobles and generals at court, 'Aláí on another occasion defeated the learned on questions connected with the advent of Mahdí, and Islám Sháh was day after day informed that another of his nobles had gone to 'Aláí's meetings and had joined the new sect.

It was at this time that Shaikh Mubárak also became a 'disciple,' and professed Mahdawí ideas. It is not clear whether he joined the sect

from religious or from political motives, inasmuch as one of the objects of the brethren was to break up the party of the learned at Court, at whose head Makhdúm ul Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his reason, the result was, that Makhdúm became his inveterate enemy, deprived him of grants of land, made him flee for his life, and persecuted him for more than twenty years, till Mubárak's sons turned the tables on him and procured his banishment.*

The learned at Court, however, were not to be baffled by 'Aláí's success, and Makhdúm's influence was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaikh. 'Aláí and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Dak'hin. Whilst at Handiah on the Narbadá, the frontier of Islám Sháh's empire, they succeeded in converting Bahár Khán A'zam Humáyún and half his army, and the king on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaikh 'Aláí.

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* 'Makhdúm ul-Mulk' was the title of 'Abdullah of Sulṭánpúr, regarding whom the reader may consult the index for references. The following biographical notice from the Khazínatul Açfiá (Láhor, pp. 443, 464) shews the opinion of good Sunnís regarding Makhdúm.

'Máulána 'Abdullah Ançárí of Sulṭánpúr belongs to the most distinguished learned men and saints of India. He was a Chishtí in his religious opinions. From the time of Sher Sháh till the reign of Akbar, he had the title of 'Makhdúm-ul-Mulk' (*prop.* served by the empire). He was learned in the law and austere in practice. He zealously persecuted heretics. When Akbar commenced his religious innovations and converted people to his 'Divine Faith' and sunworship, ordering them to substitute for the creed the words 'There is no God but Allah, and Akbar is the viceregent of God,' Mauláná 'Abdullah opposed the emperor. Driven at last from Court, he retired to a mosque; but Akbar said that the mosque belonged to his realm, and he should go to another country. Makhdúm therefore went to Makkah. On his return to India, Akbar had him poisoned. He has written several works, as the كشف الغمة, *Kashf ul-ghummah*; the عفة الانبياء, *'Iffat ul-Anbiyá*, the منهاج الدين *Minháj uddín*, &c. He was poisoned in A. H. 1006.

'His son Hájí 'Abdul Karím went after the death of his father to Láhor, where he became a religious guide. He died in 1045, and lies buried at Láhor, near the Zíb-unnisá Villa, at Mauza' Koṭ. His sons were Shaikh Yahyá, Iláh Núr, 'Abdul Haq and A'lá Huzúr. Shaikh Yahyá, like his father, wrought miracles.'

In this account the date is wrong; for Makhdúm ul-Mulk died in 990, and as Badáoní, Makhdúm's supporter, says nothing of poison (Bad. II., 311), the statement of the Khazínat ul Açfiá may be rejected. Badáoní also says that Makhdúm's sons were worthless men.

The titles of Makhdúm ul-Mulk's works are not correctly given either; *vide* p. 544.

About the same time (955), Islám Sháh left Ágrah, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjáb caused by certain Niyází Afgháns, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biánah, Makhdúm ul-Mulk drew the king's attention to Miyán 'Abdullah Niyází, who after Shaikh 'Aláí's departure for the Dak'hin roamed about in the hills of the Biánah district with three or four hundred armed men, and was known to possess great influence over men of his own clan, and consequently over the Niyází rebels in the Panjáb. Islám Sháh ordered the governor of Biánah, who had become a Mahdawí, to bring Miyán 'Abdullah to him. The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself; but Miyán 'Abdullah boldly appeared before the king, and so displeased him by his neglect of etiquette, that Islám Sháh gave orders to beat him to death. The king watched on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Miyán 'Abdullah lay apparently lifeless on the ground. But he was with much care brought back to life. He concealed himself for a long time, renounced all Mahdawí principles, and got as late as 993 [A. D., 1585] from Akbar a freehold, because he, too, had been one of Makhdúm ul-Mulk's victims. He died more than ninety years old, in 1000, at Sarhind.*

Islám Sháh after quelling the Niyází disturbances, returned to Ágrah, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Panjáb, and it was there that Shaikh 'Aláí joined the royal camp. When Islám Sháh saw the Shaikh, he said to him in a low voice, "Whisper into my ear that you recant, and I will not trouble you." But Shaikh 'Aláí would not do so, and Islám Sháh, to keep up the appearance of authority, ordered a menial to give him by way of punishment a few cuts with the whip in his presence. Shaikh 'Aláí had then scarcely recovered from an attack of the plague, which for several years had been raging in India, and had a few badly healed wounds on his neck. Whilst he got the cuts, one of the wounds broke open, and 'Aláí fainted and died. His body was now thrown under the feet of an elephant, and orders were given that no one should bury him, when all at once, to the terror of the whole camp and the king who believed

* Badáoní visited him in Sarhind, and it was from 'Abdullah that he heard of Mír Sayyid Muhammad's repentance before death. Among other things, 'Abdullah also told him that after the Mír's death in Faráh, a well-known man of that town seized on lands belonging to Balochís and proclaimed himself Christ; and he added that he had known no less than thirteen men of respectable parentage, who had likewise claimed to be Christ.

that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth. When the storm abated, 'Aláí's body was found literally buried among roses and other flowers, and an order was now forthcoming to have the corpse interred. This happened in 957 [A. D., 1550]. People prophesied the quick end of Islám Sháh and the downfal of his house.*

Makhdúm ul-Mulk was never popular after that.

The features common to all Mahdawí movements, are (1) that the preachers of the latter days were men of education and of great oratorical powers, which gave them full sway over the multitudes; and (2) that the Mahdawís assumed a hostile position to the learned men who held office at Court. Islám has no state clergy; but we find a counterpart to our hierarchical bodies in the 'Ulamás about Court, from whom the Sadrs of the provinces, the Mír 'Adls, Muftís, and Qázís were appointed. At Dihlí and Ágrah, the body of the learned had always consisted of stanch Sunnís, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight. How great their influence was, may be seen from the fact that of all Muhammadan emperors only Akbar, and perhaps 'Aláuddín Khiljí, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaikh 'Aláí was a great triumph for the Court 'Ulamás, and a vigorous persecution of all Mahdawí disciples was the immediate result. The persecutions lasted far into Akbar's reign. They abated only for a short time when the return of Humáyún and the downfal of the Afghán power brought about a violent political crisis, during which the learned first thought of their own safety, well knowing that Humáyún was strongly in favour of Shí'ism; but when Akbar was firmly established, and the court at Ágrah, after the fall of Bairám Khán, who was a Shí'ah, again teemed with Hindústání Sunnís, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaikh Mubárak especially rose to such a height, that Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Makhdúm ul-Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubárak also belonged to the Mahdawís and was, therefore, not only himself damned, but led also others into damnation, he deserved to be killed. They even obtained an order to bring him before the

* The circumstances connected with 'Aláí's death resemble the end of Sídí Múlah during the reign of Jalál-uddín Fírúz Sháh.

The place in the Panjáb, where the scene took place, is called Ban. (Bad. I., 408.)

The fact that Badáoní spent his youth at Basáwar near Biánah, *i.e.*, in the very centre of the Mahdawí movement, accounts perhaps for his adherence, throughout his life, to Mahdawí principles.

emperor. Mubárak wisely fled from A'grah, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to reek their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaikh Salím Chishtí of Fathpúr Síkrí for intercession; but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarát, he implored the good offices of Akbar's foster-brother, the generous Khán i A'zam Mírzá Kokah, who succeeded in allaying all doubts in the mind of the emperor by dwelling on the poverty of the Shaikh and on the fact that, different from his covetous accusers, he had not cost the state anything by way of freeholds, and thus obtained at least security for him and his family. Mubárak some time afterwards applied indeed for a grant of land for his son Abul Faiz, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only twenty years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaikh 'Abdunnabí. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out his office as men suspected of Mahdawí leanings and Shí'ah tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when Faizí's poems* had been noticed at court,—Akbar then lay before Chítor—and a summons had been sent to the young poet to present himself before his sovereign, the enemies at A'grah saw in the invitation a sign of approaching doom, and prevailed on the governor to secure the victim this time. The governor thereupon sent a detachment of Mughul soldiers to surround Mubárak's house. Faizí was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubárak to various sorts of ill-treatment; and when Faizí at last came, he was carried off by force to Chítor.† Nor did his fears for his father and his own life vanish, till his favourable reception at court convinced him both of Abkar's good will and the blindness of his personal enemies.

Abul Fazl had in the meantime grown up zealously studying under the care of his father. The persecutions which Shaikh Mubárak had to suffer for his Mahdawí leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his young mind. There is no doubt that it was in this school of misfortune that Abul Fazl learned the lesson of toleration, the practice of which in later years formed the basis of Akbar's friendship for him; while, on the other hand, the same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and

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* Abul Faiz wrote under the nom-de-plume of Faizí.

† 20th Rabí' I, 975, or 24th September, 1567. The ode which Faizí presented will be found in the Akbarnámah.

broader sentiments the clique of the 'Ulamás, whom Akbar hated so much.

At the age of fifteen, he showed the mental precocity so often observed in Indian boys ; he had read works on all branches of those sciences which go by the name of *hikami* and *naqlí*, or *ma'qúl* and *manqúl*.* Following the footsteps of his father, he commenced to teach long before he had reached the age of twenty. An incident is related to shew how extensive even at that time his reading was. A manuscript of the rare work of Içfahání happened to fall into his hands. Unfortunately, however, one half of each page, vertically downwards from top to bottom, was rendered illegible, or was altogether destroyed, by fire. Abul Fazl, determined to restore so rare a book, cut away the burnt portions, pasted new paper to each page, and then commenced to restore the missing halves of each line, in which attempt after repeated thoughtful perusals he succeeded. Some time afterwards, a complete copy of the same work turned up, and on comparison it was found that in many places there were indeed different words, and in a few passages new proofs even had been adduced ; but on the whole the restored portion presented so many points of extraordinary coincidence, that his friends were not a little astonished at the thoroughness with which Abul Fazl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author.

Abul Fazl was so completely taken up with study that he preferred the life of a recluse to the unstable patronage of the great and to the bondage which attendance at court in those days rendered inevitable. But from the time Faizí had been asked by Akbar to attend the court, hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abul Fazl, who had then completed his seventeenth year, saw in the encouragement held out by the emperor, in spite of Mubárak's numerous enemies at court, a guarantee that patient toil, on his part, too, would not remain without fruit. The skill with which Faizí in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar's friendship, prepared the way for Abul Fazl ; and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of 1574, A. D.), was presented to Akbar as Faizí's brother, the reception was so favorable that he gave up all thoughts of leading a life among manuscripts. "As fortune did not at first assist me," says Abul Fazl in the Akbarnámah, "I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement. The number of pupils that I had gathered around

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* Page 540, note.

me, served but to increase my pedantry. In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion. Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed, but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pádrís of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pársís and the learned of the Zendavesta. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth. I was thus presented at Court. As I had no worldly treasures to lay at the feet of his Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the *Áyat ul-Kursí*,* and presented it when the emperor was at Ágrah. I was favourably received, and his Majesty graciously accepted my offering."

Akbar was at that time busily engaged with his preparations for the conquest of Bihár and Bengal. Faizí accompanied the expedition; but Abul Fazl naturally stayed in Ágrah. But as Faizí wrote to his brother that Akbar had enquired after him, Abul Fazl attended Court immediately on the emperor's return to Fathpúr Síkrí, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jámi' Mosque. Abul Fazl, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qorán, entitled 'Súrat ul Fath,' 'the Chapter of Victory.'†

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnís at Court, headed by Makhdúm ul-Mulk and Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, had every cause to feel sorry

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* Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorán.

† The details of Abul Fazl's introduction at Court given in Badáoní differ slightly from Abul Fazl's own account.

at Faizí's and Abul Fazl's successes;* for it was now, after Akbar's return from Bihár, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Badáoní has left us so vivid an account. Akbar at first was merely annoyed at the "Pharaoh-like pride" of the learned at court; stories of the endless squabbles of these pious casuits had reached his ear; religious persecutions and a few sentences of death passed by his Chief-Justice on Shí'ahs and "others heretics" affected him most deeply; and he now for the first time realized the idea that the scribes and the pharisees formed a power of their own in his kingdom, at the construction of which he had for twenty years been working. Impressed with a favourable idea of the value of his Hindú subjects, he had resolved when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Fathpúr Síkrí, to rule with even hand men of all creeds in his dominions; but as the extreme views of the learned and the lawyers continually urged him to persecute instead of to heal, he instituted the discussions, because, believing himself to be in error, he thought it his duty as ruler to 'enquire.' It is not necessary to repeat here the course which these discussions took.† The unity that had existed among the learned disappeared in the very beginning; abuse took the place of argument, and the plainest rules of etiquette were, even in the presence of the emperor, forgotten. Akbar's doubts instead of being cleared up only increased; certain points of the Hanafí law, to which most Sunnís cling, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belonging to the other three sects; and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Makhdúm ul-Mulk wrote a spiteful pamphlet against Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, the Sadr of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Makhdúm a fool and cursing him. Abul Fazl, upon whom Akbar from the beginning had fixed as the leader of his party, fanned the quarrels by skilfully shifting the disputes from one point to another, and at last persuaded the emperor that a subject ought to look upon the king not only as the temporal, but also as the only spiritual guide. The promulgation of this new doctrine was the making of Abul Fazl's fortune. Both he and Akbar held to it to the end of their lives. But the new idea was in opposition to Islám, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution

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* Badáoní ascribes to Makhdúm ul-Mulk an almost prophetic insight into Abul Fazl's character; for the first time he saw Abul Fazl, he said to his disciples, "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" Bad. III, 72.

† *Vide* pp. 170 *ff.*

impossible; and though headstrong kings as 'Aláuddín Khiljí had before tried to raise the law of expediency (مصلحت وقت, *maçlahat i waqt)* above the law of the Qorán, they never fairly succeeded in separating religion from law or in rendering the administration of the empire independent of the Mullá. Hence when Abul Fazl four years later, in 986, brought up the question at the Thursday evening meetings, he raised a perfect storm; and while the disputations, bitter as they were, had hitherto dwelt on single points connected with the life of the Prophet, or with sectarian differences, they henceforth turned on the very principles of Islám. It was only now that the Sunnís at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that "the strong embankment of the clearest law and the most excellent faith had been broken through"; and that Akbar believed that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations. Islám, therefore, possessed in his opinion no superiority over other forms of worship.* The learned party seeing their official position endangered, now shewed signs of readiness to yield, but it was too late. They even signed the remarkable document which Shaikh Mubárak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islám. Badáoní has happily preserved a complete copy of it.† The emperor was certified to be a just ruler, and was as such assigned the rank of a 'Mujtahid', *i. e.* an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islám. The 'intellect of the just king' thus became the only source of legislation, and the whole body of the learned and the lawyers bound themselves to abide by Akbar's decrees in religious matters. Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Makhdúm ul-Mulk signed indeed the document against their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaikh Mubárak added to his signature the words that he had most willingly subscribed his name, and that for several years he had been anxiously looking forward to the realization of the progressive movement. "The document," says Abul Fazl in the Akbarnámah, "brought about excellent results,—(1) The Court became a gathering place of the sages and learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized, and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features; (2) perfect toleration (*çulh-i-kul*, or 'peace with all') was established; and (3) the perverse and evil-minded were covered with shame on seeing the disinterested motives of

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* Pages 178, 179. † *Vide* p. 186.

his Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace." The copy of the draft which was handed to the emperor, was in Shaikh Mubárak's own handwriting, and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579).

A few weeks afterwards, Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Makhdúm ul-Mulk were sent to Makkah, and Shaikh Mubárak and his two sons triumphed over their enemies. How magnanimous Abul Fazl was, may be seen from the manner in which he chronicles in the Akbarnámah the banishment of these men. Not a sentence, not a word, is added indicative of his personal grievances against either of them, though they had persecuted and all but killed his father and ruined his family; the narrative proceeds as calm and statesmanlike as in every other part of his great work, and justifies the high praise which historians have bestowed upon his character that "neither abuse nor harsh words were ever found in his household."

The disputations had now come to an end (A. D. 1579), and Faizí and Abul Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor. Of the confidence which Akbar placed in Faizí, no better proof can be cited than his appointment, in the same year, as tutor to Prince Murád; and as both brothers had entered the military, then the only, service and had received *mansabs*, or commissions, their employment in various departments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions. Enjoying Akbar's personal friendship, both remained at court in Fathpúr Sikrí, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions. Two years later, Faizí was appointed Sadr of Ágrah, Kálpí, and Kálinjar, in which capacity he had to enquire into the possibility of resuming free tenures (*sayurghál*), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders themselves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue; and Abul Fazl, in the very beginning of 1585,* was promoted to the mansab of Hazárí, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was in the following year appointed Díwán of the Province of Dihlí. Faizí's rank was much lower; he was only a commander of Four Hundred. But he did not care for further promotion. Devoted to the muse, he found in the appointment as Poet Laureate, with which Akbar honored him in the end of 1588, that satisfaction which no political office, however high, would have given him. Though the emperor did not pay much attention to poetry, his appreciation of Faizí's genius was

* Akbarnámah, III, 463.

but just; for after Amír Khusrau of Dihlí, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizí.*

In the end of 1589, Abul Fazl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the Akbarnámah. The emperor, in order to console him, paid him a visit, and said to him, "If the people of this world lived for ever and did not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His will; but no one lives long in the caravanserai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation."†

Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. Akbar had founded a new religion, the Dín i Iláhí, or 'the Divine Faith,' the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaikh Mubárak's document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (*khalífah*) on earth. The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the 'elect' was based on that of the Pársís and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindús. The new era (*táríkh i iláhí*), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pársí. The Muhammadan grandees at court shewed but little resistance: they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindú courtiers than on Akbar's religious innovations, which after all affected but a few. But their feeling against Abul Fazl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dak'hin, hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salím [Jahángír] also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abul Fazl, as we shall see below, became gradually so deep-rooted, that he looked upon him as the chief obstacle to the execution of his wild plans. An unexpected visit to Abul Fazl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with duplicity. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qorán. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and shewing him the copies, he said, "What Abul Fazl teaches me is very different from what he practises in his house." The incident is said to have produced a temporary estrangement between Akbar and Abul Fazl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the *Zakhírat-ul Khawánín*. He says that

* For his works, *vide* p. 548.

† اگر جهانیان طراز پایندگی داشتے و جز یکے راه نیستی نسپردے دوستان شناسادل را از رضا و تسلیم گزیر نبود . هرگاه درین کاروان‌سرا هیچکس دیر نماند نکوهش ناشکیبائی را کجا اندازه توان گرفت ॥

Abul Fazl repented of his apostacy from Islám, and used at night to visit *incognito* the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold muhurs, requested them "to pray for the stability of Abul Fazl's faith," sighing at the same time and striking his knees and exclaiming, "What shall I do!" And just as writers on the history of literature have tried to save Faizí from apostacy and consequent damnation, by representing that before his death he had praised the Prophet, so have other authors succeeded in finding for Abul Fazl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Sháh Abul Ma'álí Qádirí of Láhor, a man of saintly renown,* once expressed his disapproval of Abul Fazl's words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abul Fazl came to a meeting held by the Prophet in Paradise; and when the Prophet saw him enter, he asked him to sit down, and said, "This man did for some time during his life evil deeds, but one of his books commences with the words, 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their righteousness, and help the wicked for the sake of Thy love,' and these words have saved him." The last two stories flatter, in all probability, the consciences of pious Sunnís; but the first, if true, detracts in no way from that consistency of opinion and uniform philosophic conviction which pervades Abul Fazl's works; and though his heart found in pure deism and religious philosophy more comfort and more elements of harmony than in the casuistry of the Mullás, his mind from early youth had been so accustomed to hard literary work, that it was perfectly natural for him, even after his rejection of Islám, to continue his studies of the Qorán, because the highest dialectical lore and the deepest philological research of Muhammadan literature have for centuries been concentrated on the explanation of the holy book.

To this period also belong the literary undertakings which were commenced under the auspices of the Emperor himself. Abul Fazl, Faizí, and scholars as Badáoní, Naqíb Khán, Shaikh Sultán, Hájí Ibráhím, Shaikh Munawwar and others, were engaged in historical and scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindí into Persian.† Faizí took the Líláwatí, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abul Fazl translated the Kalílah Damnah under the title of *'Ayár Dánish* from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the Mahábhárat and in the composition of the *Táríkh i Alfí*, the 'History of the Millennium.' The lastmentioned work, curious to say, has an

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* Born A. H. 960; died at Láhor, 1024. *Khazínat ul-Açfiá*, p. 139.

† *Vide* pp. 104, 105.

intimate connection with the Mahdawí movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaikh 'Aláí's death the disciples of the millennium had to suffer persecution, and the movement to all appearances had died out, the idea of a restorer of the millennium was revived during the discussions in Fathpúr Síkrí and by the teachings of men of Sharíf i Ámulí's stamp,* with this important modification that Akbar himself was pointed to as the 'Lord of the Age,' through whom faded Islám was to come to an end. This new feature had Akbar's full approval, and exercised the greatest influence on the progress of his religious opinions. The Táríkh i Alfí, therefore, was to represent Islám as a thing of the past; it had existed thousand *(alf)* years and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnís, was related from a Shí'ah point of view, and worse still, the chronology had been changed, inasmuch as the death of the Prophet had been made the starting point, not the *hijrah*, or flight, of the Prophet from Makkah to Madínah.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (begining of 1592, A.D.), Akbar promoted Abul Fazl to the post of Dúhazárí, or commander of two thousand horse. Abul Fazl now belonged to the great Amírs (*umará i kibár*) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Faizí was sent to the Dak'hin as Akbar's ambassador to Burhán ul-Mulk and to Rájah 'Alí Khán of Khándesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salím. Faizí returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaikh Mubárak, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Láhor, (Sunday, 17th Zí Qa'dah, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached the age of ninety, and had occupied himself in the last years of his life with the compilation in four volumes of a gigantic commentary to the Qorán, to which he had given the title of *Manba'u Nafáis ul 'Uyún.* He completed it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

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* Page 452. We hear the last of the Mahdawí movement in 1628, at the accession of Sháhjahán. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium; during Jahángír's reign, especially in the beginning, the court was indifferent to religion, and the king retained the ceremony of *sijdah,* or prostration, which Muhammadans believe to be due to God alone. But Sháhjahán, on his accession, restored many Muhammadan rites that had fallen in abeyance at court; and as he was born in 1000 A. H., he was now pointed to as the real restorer. Since that time the movement has found no disciples.

The historian Badáoní speaks of him as follows:—

Shaikh Mubárak belonged to the most distinguished men of learning of the present age. In practical wisdom, piety, and trust in God, he stood high among the people of his time. In early life he practised rigorous asceticism; in fact, he was so strict in his views regarding what is lawful and unlawful, that if any one, for example, came to a prayermeeting with a gold ring on his finger, or dressed in silk, or with red stockings on his feet, or red or yellow coloured clothes on him, he would order the offending articles to be removed. In legal decisions he was so severe as to maintain that for every hurt exceeding a simple kick, death was the proper punishment. If he accidentally heard music while walking on the street, he ran away, but in course of time he became, from divine zeal, so enamoured of music, that he could not exist without listening to some voice or melody. In short, he passed through rather opposite modes of thought and ways of life. At the time of the Afghán rule, he frequented Shaikh 'Aláí's fraternity; in the beginning of his Majesty's reign, when the Naqshbandís had the upper hand, he settled matters with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadání school; and lastly, when the Shí'ahs monopolized the court, he talked according to their fashion. 'Men speak according to the measure of their understanding'—to change was his way, and the rest you know. But withal he was constantly engaged in teaching the religious sciences. Prosody also, the art of composing riddles, and other branches, he understood well; and in mystic philosophy he was, unlike the learned of Hindústán, a perfect master. He knew Sháṭibí* by heart, explained him properly, and also knew how to read the Qorán in the ten different modes. He did not go to the palaces of the kings, but he was a most agreeable companion and full of anecdote. Towards the end of his life, when his eyesight was impaired, he gave up reading and lived in seclusion. The commentary to the Qorán which he composed, resembles the *Tafsír i Kabír* [the "Great Commentary"], and consists of four thick volumes, and is entitled *Manba'u Nafáis ul 'Uyún*. It is rather extraordinary that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself as the renovator of the new century.† We know what this 'renovating' means. About the time he finished his work, he wisely committed the Fárizí Ode (in *t*) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode Bardah, the Ode by Ka'b ibn Zubair, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Zí Qa'dah, 1001, he left this world at Láhor for the judgment-seat of God.

* A writer on 'Tajwíd,' 'the art of reading the Qorán correctly'.

† Badáoní says in his 'Naját urrashíd' that Jaláluddín Suyúṭí, in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia, pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the 10th century.

I have known no man of more comprehensive learning; but alas! under the mantle of the dervish there was such a wicked love of worldly preferment, that he left no tittle of our religion in peace. When I was young, I studied at Ágrah for several years in his company. He is indeed a man of merit; but he committed worldly and irreligious deeds, plunged into lust of possession and rank, was timeserving, practised deceit and falsehood, and went so far in twisting religious truth, that nothing of his former merit remains. "Say, either I am in the correct path or in clear error, or you" [Qorán, xxxiv, 23]. Further, it is a common saying that the son brings the curse on the head of his father; hence people have gone beyond Yazíd and say, 'Curse on Yazíd,* and on his father, too.'

Two years after Shaikh Mubárak's death, Abul Fazl also lost his brother Faizí, who died at the age of fifty after an illness of six months on the 10th Safar, 1004 (5th October, 1595). When in his last moments, Akbar visited him at midnight, and seeing that he could no longer speak, he gently raised his head and said to him, "Shaikh Jío, I have brought Hakím 'Alí with me, will you not speak to me?" But getting no reply, the emperor in his grief threw his turban to the ground, and wept loud; and after trying to console Abul Fazl, he went away.† How deeply Abul Fazl loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the Akbarnámah and the Áín in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which he prefaces the selections in the Áín made by him from his brother's poems. "The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his poems. But now it is brotherly love alone, which does not travel along the road of critical nicety, that commands me to write down some of his verses."‡ Abul Fazl, notwithstanding his onerous duties, kept his promise, and two years after the death of his brother, he collected the stray leaves of Faizí's *Markiz ul-Adwár*, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the Akbarnámah.

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* Husain, in whose remembrance the Muharram lamentations are chanted, was murdered by Yazíd; hence the latter is generally called *Yazíd i mal'ún*, 'Yazíd, the accursed.' Badáoní here calls Abul Fazl Yazíd. Poor Badáoní had only the thousand bíg'hahs which Akbar had given him rent-free, but his school follow, Yazíd Abul Fazl, was a commander of two thousand and the friend of the emperor.

† Badáoní, II, 406. ‡ Page 549.

It was about the same time that Abul Fazl was promoted to the post of a Commander of two thousand and five hundred horse. Under this rank he has entered his own name in the list of grandees in the Áín i Akbarí, which work he completed in the same year when he collected his brother's literary remains (1596-97).

In the following year, the forty-third of Akbar's reign, Abul Fazl went for the first time on active service. Sultán Murád* had not managed matters well in the Dak'hin, and Akbar now despatched Abul Fazl with orders to return with the Prince, whose excessive drinking caused the emperor much anxiety, provided the officers of the imperial camp made themselves responsible to guard the conquered territory. If the officers were disinclined to guarantee a faithful conduct of the war, he was to see the Prince off, and take command with Sháhrukh Mírzá.† The wars in the Dak'hin, from their first commencement under Prince Murád and the Khán Khánán, are marked by a most astounding duplicity on the part of the imperial officers, and thousands of men and immense stores were sacrificed, especially during the reign of Jahángír, by treacherous and intriguing generals. In fact, the Khán Khánán himself was the most untrustworthy imperial officer. Abul Fazl's successes, therefore, were chiefly due to the honesty and loyalty with which he conducted operations. When he arrived at Burhánpúr, he received an invitation from Bahádur Khán, king of Khándesh, whose brother had married Abul Fazl's sister. He consented to come on one condition, namely, that Bahádur Khán should vigorously assist him and thus aid the cause of the emperor. Bahádur was not inclined to aid the imperialists in their wars with the Dak'hin, but he sent Abul Fazl rich presents, hoping that by this means he would escape the penalty of his refusal. Abul Fazl, however, was not the man to be bribed. "I have made a vow," said he in returning the presents, "not to accept presents till four conditions are fulfilled—(1) friendship; (2) that I should not value the gift too high; (3) that I should not have been anxious to get a present; and (4) necessity to accept it. Now supposing that the first three are applicable to the present case, the favour of the emperor has extinguished every desire in me of accepting gifts from others."

Prince Murád had in the meantime retreated from Ahmadnagar to Ilichpúr, and as the death of his infant son Mírzá Rustam made him

* Page 335. † Page 312.

melancholy, he continued to drink, though dangerously ill with delirium tremens. When informed of Abul Fazl's mission, he returned at once towards Ahmadnagar, in order to have a pretext for not going back to his father, and he had come to the banks of the Púrná,* twenty kos from Daulatábád, when death overtook him. Abul Fazl arrived the same day, and found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander recommended immediate return; but Abul Fazl said that he was determined to march on: the enemy was near, the country was foreign ground, and this was no time for returning, but for fighting. Several of the commanders refused to march on, and returned; but Abul Fazl, nothing daunted, after a delay of a few days, moved forward, humoured the officers, and supplied in a short time all wants. Carefully garrisoning the country, he managed to occupy and guard the conquered districts with the exception of Násik, which lay too far to the west. But he sent detachments against several forts, and conquered Baiṭálah, Talṭum, and Satondá. His headquarters were on the Godáwarí. He next entered into an agreement with Chánd Bíbí, that, after punishing Abhang Khán Habshí, who was at war with her, she should accept Janír as fief and give up the fort of Ahmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dak'hin operations had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahádur Khán to pay his respects to Prince Dányál, and war with Khándesh had been determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Ásír, Bahádur Khan's stronghold, and appointed Prince Dányál to take command at Ahmadnagar. Dányál sent immediate instructions to Abul Fazl to cease all operations, as he wished to take Ahmadnagar personally. When the Prince therefore left Burhánpúr, Abul Fazl, at Akbar's reqest, left Mírzá Sháhrukh, Mír Murtazá, and Khwájah Abul Hasan in charge of his corps, and hastened to meet the emperor. On the 14th Ramazán, 1008 (beginning of the 44th year of Akbar's reign), he met Akbar at K'hargoṉ, near Bíjágaṛh. The emperor received him with the following verse—

فرخندہ شبی باید و خوش مهتابی   تا با تو حکایت کنم از هر بابی

Serene is the night and pleasant is the moonlight, I wish to talk to thee on many a subject.

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* The southern Púrná is meant. The northern Púrná flows into the Taptí in Khándesh; whilst the southern Púrná, with the Dúdná, flows into the Godáwarí. Prince Murád had gone from Ilichpúr to Narnálah, and from there to Sháhpúr, which he had built about eight miles south of Bálápúr. It is now in ruins.

and promoted him for his excellent management to a command of four thousand. The imperial army now marched on Ásír and commenced the siege.* One day, Abul Fazl inspected some of his trenches, when one of the besieged, who had deserted to Akbar's camp, offered to shew him a way by which the Imperialists might get over the wall of the Málai Fort, an important fortification below Ásírgaṛh itself. Half way up the mountain, to the west and slightly to the north, were two renowned outworks, called the Málai and Antar Málai, which had to be conquered before Ásír itself could be reached; and between the north-west and north, there was another bastion called Chúnah Málai. A portion of its wall was not finished. From east to south-west there were hills, and in the south was a high mountain called Korhiah. A hill in the south-west, called Sápan, was occupied by the Imperialists. Abul Fazl determined on availing himself of the information given by the deserter, and selected a detachment to follow him. Giving orders to the officer commanding the trench to watch for the sound of the trumpets and bugles, when he was to hasten to his assistance with ladders, he went in the dark of night, whilst it was raining, with his selected men on Mount Sápan, and sent a few of his men under Qará Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him. They advanced, broke open a gate of Málai Fort, and sounded the bugle. The besieged rose up to

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* "Akbar had no sooner crossed the Nerebada [Narbadá], when Radzia Bador-xa [Rájah Bahádur Sháh], who had possession of the fortress of Hasser [Ásír], fortified the same against the king, and collected provisions from the neighbourhood. The king, thinking it dangerous to leave this fortress in his rear, considered how it might be captured. This fortress has three castles, of which the first is called *Cho-Tzanin*, the second *Commerghar*: and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six coss. The king with no delay surrounded it on all sides; and so energetically pressed the siege night and day, that at the end of six months it was on the point of being captured. Bador-xa however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as suppliant to the king and surrendered himself****. Whilst the king was at this place, Abdul Fazel [Abul Fazl] came to him, and so worked upon his mind, that he fully determined to set out for the war in the Deccan." From Prof. Lethbridge's 'Fragment of Indian History,' translated from De Laët's 'India Vera,' and published in the Calcutta Review for 1873.

De Laët is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho-Tzanin. 'Commerghar' is the Persian 'Kamargáh', 'the middle of a mountain.' The names of Fort Chúnah Málai and of Mount Korhiah are doubtful, the MSS. having Khwájah Málai and Korthah, Kortah, Koḍhiah, and similar variations.

Vide also Gazetteer, Central Provinces, p. 8.

oppose them, and Abul Fazl hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to A'sír. On the same day, other detachments of the army occupied Chúnah Málai and Mount Korhiah, and Bahádur Khán, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dányál, who had in the meantime conquered Ahmadnagar,* now joined his father at A'sír.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dak'hin, caused by Rájú Manná, and a party set up the son of 'Alí Sháh as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khán Khánán was ordered to march against him, and Abul Fazl was sent to Násik; but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the KhánKhánán. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to A'grah, leaving Prince Dányál in Burhánpúr. Abul Fazl had no easy life in the Dak'hin. The Khán Khánán stood idle at Ahmadnagar, because he was disinclined to fight, and left the operations to Abul Fazl, who looked upon him as a traitor. Abul Fazl vigorously pushed on operations, ably assisted by his son 'Abdurrahmán. After coming to terms with the son of 'Alí Sháh, he attacked Rájú Manná, recovered Jálnahpúr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Manná found a temporary asylum in Daulatábád, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of A'sír, Prince Salím, who had been sent against theRáná of Udaipúr, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Iláhábád, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar's return from Burhánpúr a reconciliation had been effected, the prince, in the forty-seventh year, shewed again signs of rebellion, and as many of Akbar's best officers appeared to favour Salím, the emperor recalled Abul Fazl, the only trustworthy servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dak'hin. Putting his son 'Abdurrahmán in charge of his corps, Abul Fazl set out for A'grah, only accompanied by a few men. Salím, who looked upon him with little concealed hatred, thought Abul Fazl's journey, unprotected as he was, an excellent opportunity to get rid of him. He, therefore, persuaded Rájah Bir Singh, a Bundelá chief of U'rchah (U'ṉḏchhá),† through whose territory Abul Fazl was likely to pass, to lay in wait for him and kill

* Among the plunder taken at Ahmadnagar was a splendid library. Faizí's library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.

† *Vide* p. 488.

him. Bir Singh, who was in disgrace at Court, eagerly seized the opportunity of pleasing the Prince, who no doubt would substantially reward him on his accession, and posted a large body of horse and foot near Narwar. When arrived at Ujjain, Abul Fazl was warned of Salím's intention, and his men tried to persuade him to go viâ Gháṭí Chándá; but Abul Fazl said that thieves and robbers had no power to stop him on his way to Court. He, therefore, continued his journey towards Narwar. On Friday, the 4th Rabí' I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a *kos* from Sarái Bar, which lies six *kos* from Narwar, Bir Singh's men came in sight. The few men that Abul Fazl had with him, strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gadáí Khán Afghán, told him quickly to retreat to Antrí, which was three *kos* distant, as Rái Ráyán and Súraj Singh were stationed there with three thousand Imperial horse: he might first join them, and then punish Bir Singh. But Abul Fazl thought it a disgrace to fly. He defended himself bravely; but in a short time he was surrounded, and, pierced by the lance of a trooper, he fell dead to the ground. Bir Singh cut off Abul Fazl's head, and sent it to Salím in Iláhábád, who, it is said, had it thrown "into an unworthy place," where it lay for a long time.

The Dutch traveller De Laët gives the following account of Abul Fazl's death.*

Salím returned to Halebassa [Iláhbás, the old form of Iláhábád], and began to coin gold and silver money in his own name, which he even sent to his father, to irritate him the more. The king, enraged at this, wrote an account of all that had happened to Abul Fazl, who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul. Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa [Dányál Sháh], he took to the road with about two or three hundred horsemen, leaving orders for his baggage to follow him. Xa-Selim, to whom all these things were known, recalling how hostile Fazl had always been towards him, and hence justly fearing that his father would be more exasperated than ever against him, judged it best to intercept him on his journey. So he begged Radzia Bertzingh Bondela, who lived in his

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* From Prof. E. Lethbridge's 'Fragment of Indian History', Calcutta Review, 1873.

The place near which Abul Fazl was killed, is called in the MSS. سراي بر *Sarái Bar*. De Laët's Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.

province of Osseen [Ujjain], to lie in wait for Fazl near Soor [Narwar ?] and Gualer [Gwáliár], and to send his head to him, promising that he would be mindful of so great a benefit, and would give him the command of five thousand cavalry. The Radzia consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four coss from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Fazl. Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Collebaga [Kálábágh], and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Fazl and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Fazl himself, having received twelve wounds in the fight, was pointed out by a captive slave under a neighbouring tree, and was taken and beheaded. His head was sent to the prince, who was greatly pleased."

Prince Salím, with that selfish nonchalance and utter indifference that distinguished him throughout life, openly confesses in his 'Memoirs' that he brought about Abul Fazl's murder, because he was his enemy, and, with a naïveté exclusively his own, represents himself as a dutiful son who through the wickedness of others had been deprived of his father's love. He says—

"On my accession, I promoted Rájah Bir Singh, a Bundelá Rájpút, to a command of three thousand. He is one of my favourites, and he is certainly distinguished among his equals for his bravery, good character, and straightforwardness. My reason for promoting him was this. Towards the end of my father's reign, Shaikh Abul Fazl, a Hindústání Shaikh by birth, who was well known for his learning and wisdom, and who had externally ornamented himself with the jewel of loyalty, though he sold himself at a high price to my father, had been called from the Dak'hin. He was no friend of mine, and damaged openly and secretly my reputation. Now about that time, evil-minded and mischievous men had made my father very angry with me, and I knew that, if Abul Fazl were to come back to Court, I would have been deprived of every chance to effect a reconciliation. As he had to pass on his way through the territory of BirSingh Bundelá, who at that time had rebelled against the emperor, I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abul Fazl and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and when Abul Fazl passed through his land, he stopped him on his way, dispersed after a short fight his men, and killed him, and sent his head to me at Iláhábád. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abul Fazl's death produced one good result: I could now without further annoyance go to my father, and his bad opinion of me gradually wore away."

At another place in his 'Memoirs', when alluding to the murder, he says, as if an afterthought had occurred to him, that he ordered Bir Singh to kill Abul Fazl, because 'he had been the enemy of the Prophet.'

When the news of Abul Fazl's death reached court, no one had the courage to break it to the emperor. According to an old custom observed by Timur's descendants, the death of a prince was not in plain words mentioned to the reigning emperor, but the prince's vakíl presented himself before the throne with a blue handkerchief round his wrist; and as no one else would come forward to inform Akbar of the death of his friend, Abul Fazl's vakíl presented himself with a blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar bewailed Abul Fazl's death more than that of his son; for several days he would see no one, and after enquiring into the circumstances he exclaimed, "If Salím wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abul Fazl," and then recited the following verse—

شیخ ما از شوق بیحد چون سوی ما آمده   ز اشتیاق پای‌بوسی بی‌سر و پا آمده

My Shaikh in his zeal hastened to meet me,
He wished to kiss my feet, and gave up his life.

Akbar, in order to punish Bir Singh, sent a detachment under Patr Dás and Ráj Singh* to U'ndchá. They defeated the Bundelá chief in several engagements, drove him from Bháuder and shut him up in Írich. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped by one of Ráj Singh's trenches, and withdrew to the jungles closely pursued by Patr Dás. As it seemed hopeless to catch him, Akbar called Patr Dás to Court; but ordered the officers stationed about U'ndchá to kill the rebel wherever he shewed himself. In the beginning of the last year of Akbar's reign, Bir Singh was once surprised by Rájah Ráj Singh, who cut down a good number of his followers. Bir Singh himself was wounded and had a narrow escape. But the emperor's death, which not long afterwards took place, relieved Bir Singh of all fears. He boldly presented himself at Jahángír's Court, and received U'ndchá and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the *Maásir ul-Umará*, "that Abul Fazl was an infidel. Some say, he was a Hindú, or a fire-worshipper, or a free-thinker, and some go still further and

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* Pages 469 and 458.

call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other Súfís, he claimed for himself a position above the law of the Prophet. There is no doubt that he was a man of lofty character,* and desired to live at peace with all men. He never said anything improper. Abuse, stoppages of wages, fines, absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household. If he appointed a man, whom he afterwards found to be useless, he did not remove him, but kept him on as long as he could; for he used to say that, if he dismissed him, people would accuse him of want of penetration in having appointed an unsuitable agent. On the day when the sun entered Aries, he inspected his whole household and took stock, keeping the inventory with himself, and burning last year's books. He also gave his whole wardrobe to his servants, with the exception of his trowsers, which were burnt in his presence.

"He had an extraordinary appetite. It is said that, exclusive of water and fuel, he consumed daily twenty-two sers of food. His son 'Abdurrahmán used to sit at table as *safarchí* (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance, and both watched to see whether Abul Fazl would eat twice of one and the same dish. If he did, the dish was sent up again the next day. If anything appeared tasteless, Abul Fazl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abul Fazl was in the Dak'hin, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent (*chihilráwaṭí*) one thousand rich dishes were daily served up and distributed among the Amírs; and near it another large tent was pitched for all-comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and *k'hichrí* was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it."

"As a writer, Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munshís;† and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods, are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate them."

It is almost useless to add to this encomium bestowed on Abul Fazl's style. 'Abdullah, king of Bukhárá, said that he was more afraid of Abul Fazl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as 'the great Munshí.' His letters are studied in all Madrasahs,

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* I may remark here that Abul Fazl never accepted a title.

† This is also the opinion of the author of the Haft Iqlím (*vide* p. 508).

and though a beginner may find them difficult and perplexing, they are perfect models. But a great familiarity, not only with the Persian language, but also with Abul Fazl's style, is required to make the reading of any of his works a pleasure. His composition stands unique, and though everywhere studied, he cannot be, and has not been, imitated. The writers after him write in the style of the Pádisháhnámah, the 'Álamárái Sikandarí, or in the still more turgid manner of the 'Álamgírnámah, the Ruq'át Bedil, and other standard works on Inshá.

A praiseworthy feature of Abul Fazl's works lies in the purity of their contents. Those who are acquainted with Eastern literature will know what this means. I have come across no passage where woman is lightly spoken of, or where immorality is passed over with indifference. Of his love of truth and the nobility of his sentiments* I have spoken in the Preface.

Abul Fazl's influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Faizí led Akbar's mind away from Islám and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abul Fazl also led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties, and from the moment that he entered Court, the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islám in but few other countries had to solve, was carefully considered, and the policy of toleration was the result. If Akbar felt the necessity of this new law, Abul Fazl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khán Khánáns gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostacy from Islám is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intoleration, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moslems the memory of Aurangzíb with the halo of sanctity and still inclines the pious to utter a *rahimahu-lláhu* (May God have mercy on him!) when his name is mentioned, was also the beginning of the breaking up of the empire.

Having elsewhere given numerous extracts from Badáoní to shew that Akbar's courtiers ascribed his apostacy from Islám to Faizí and Abul Fazl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by 'Urfí† from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—

* Let the reader consult Gladwin's rendering of Abul Fazl's introduction to the fourth book of the Áin. Gladwin's Áín, II, pp. 285 to 291. The passage is anti-Islamitic.

† For 'Urfí *vide* p. 569. The metre of the couplet is Long *Ramal*.

یوسف نفس مرا ز آسیب اخوان دور دار کاین حسودان مروت سوز با این بےگناہ
با مریت غول همزادند در راہ سلوك با فساد گرگ‌انبازند در نزدیك چاہ

O Prophet, protect the Joseph of my soul (*i. e.* my soul) from the harm of the brothers; for they are ungenerous and envious, and deceive me like evil sprites and lead me wolf-like to the well (of unbelief).

The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Faizí and Abul Fazl. I may also cite the Táríkh of Abul Fazl's death, which the Khán i A'zam Mírzá Kokah is said to have made—

تیغ اعجاز نبی الله سر باغی برید

The wonderful sword of God's Prophet cut off the head of the rebel.*

But Abul Fazl appeared to him in a dream and said, "The date of my death lies in the words بندہ ابو الفضل, 'The slave Abul Fazl'—which likewise gives 1011 A. H.

Abul Fazl's works are the following—

(1) The Akbarnámah with the Áín i Akbarí, its third volume. The Áín i Akbarí was completed in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign; only a slight addition to it was made in the 43rd year on account of the conquest of Barár (1596-97, A. D.). The contents of the Akbarnámah have been detailed in the Preface. The second volume contains an account of the first forty-six years of Akbar's reign.† There exists a continuation up to the end of Akbar's reign by 'Ináyatullah Muhibb 'Alí. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinstone says that the name of the continuator is Muhammad Salia, which seems to be a corruption of Muhammad Sálih.

(2) The Maktúbát i 'Allámí, also called Insháí Abul Fazl. This book contains letters written by Abul Fazl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to 'Abdullah of Bukhárá, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islám. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the Áín, &c. The collection was made after Abul

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* The word باغی *bághí*, a rebel, has the numerical value of 1013; but the head (of the word, the letter ب) is cut off; hence 1013—2 = 1011, the year of the Hijrah in which Abul Fazl was murdered. The metre of the hemistich is Long Ramal.

† The 46th year lasted from the 15th Ramazán, 1009, to 26th Ramazán, 1010, *i. e.* to about five months before Abul Fazl's death.

Fazl's death by 'Abduççamad, son of Afzal Muhammad, who says that he was a son of Abul Fazl's sister and also his son-in-law. The book, as above remarked, is frequently read in Madrasahs, and there exist many lithographed editions. In all of them, the contents constitute three books; but Amír Haidar Husainí of Bilgrám says in the preface to his 'Sawánih i Akbarí'* that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same time that MSS. of the fourth are very rare. It looks, indeed, as if Amír Haidar's copy was unique.

(3) The Ayár Dánish,† which is mentioned on p. 106.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abul Fazl also wrote a Risálah i Munáját, or 'Treatise on Prayers'; a Jámi'ullughát, a lexicographical work; and a 'Kashkol'. The last word means a 'beggar's cup,' or rather the small basket or bowl in which beggars in the East collect rice, dates, &c., given as alms, and hence the term is often applied to collections of anecdotes or short stories. But I have seen no copies of these works. It was also mentioned above that Abul Fazl presented, on his introduction at Court, two commentaries, of which no MSS. seem to exist at present. Nor need I again refer to the part which he took in the translations from Sanskrit and the compilation of the Táríkh i Alfí.

The 'Durar ul Manshúr', a modern Tazkirah by Muhammad 'Askarí Husainí of Bilgrám, selects the following inscription written by 'Abul Fazl for a temple in Kashmír‡ as a specimen both of Abul Fazl's writing and of his religious belief. It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abul Fazl's composition.

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* Regarding this valuable work, *vide* p. 316, note.

† As the word is pronounced in India, instead of 'Iyár i Dánish,' 'the test of wisdom.' The author of the Haft Iqlím seems to allude to this work; for he says that Abul Fazl, when he saw him in 1000 A. H., was engaged in re-writing the *Nawádir i Hikáyát.*

‡ Abul Fazl says in the fourth book of the *Áín*—"The best people in Kashmír are the Brahmans. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom, they yet worship God without affectation. They do not sneer at people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after lucre. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow-creatures. They abstain from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmír."

Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmírí Rishis as model men.

الهی بهر خانه که می نگرم جویای تو اند و بهر زبان که می شنوم گویای تو * شعر *

کفر و اسلام در رهت پویان وحده لا شریک له گویان

اگر مسجدست بیاد تو نعرهٔ قدوس میزنند و اگر کلیسیاست بشوق تو ناقوس می جنبانند * بیت *

گه معتکف دیرم و گه ساکن مسجد یعنی که ترا می طلبم خانه بخانه

اگر خاصان ترا بکفر و اسلام کارے نیست این هردو را در پردهٔ اسلام تو بارے نه

کفر کافر را و دین دیندار را ذرهٔ وردی دل عطار را

این خانه بنیت ایتلاف قلوب موحدان هندوستان وخصوصا معبودپرستان عرصهٔ کشمیر تعمیر یافته *

بفرمان خدیو تخت و افسر چراغ آفرینش شاه اکبر
نظام اعتدال هفت معدن کمال امتزاج چار عنصر

هر که نظر صدق نینداخته این خانه را خراب سازد باید که نخست معبد خود را بیندازد چه اگر نظر بر دل است با همه ساختنی است و اگر چشم بر آب و گل است همه بر انداختنی * بیت *

خداوندا چو داد کار دادی مدار کار بر نیت نهادی
توئی بر بارگاه نیت آگاه به پیش شاه داری نیت شاه

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islám feel after Thee,
Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.'

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of the rosepetal* belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller.

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* This line is Súfistic. The longing of the heart after God is compared to the perfume which rises from the rose petals. The perfume-seller, *i. e.* the Unitarian, is truly religious, and is equally removed from heresy and orthodoxy.

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindústán, and especially those of His worshippers that live in the province of Kashmír,

> By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of creation, Sháh Akbar,
> In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four elements attain perfect mixture.*

He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place of worship; for if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive;

Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what motives a king should have.

I have a few notes on Abul Fazl's family, which may form the conclusion of this biographical notice. The Áín gives the following list of Shaikh Mubárak's sons.

1. Shaikh Abul Faiz, better known under his poetical name of Faizí. He was born in A. H. 954 (A. D. 1547), and seems to have died childless.

2. Shaikh Abul Fazl, born 14th January, 1551, murdered 12th August, 1602.

3. Shaikh Abul Barakát, born 17th Shawwál, 960 (1552). "Though he has not reached a high degree of learning, he knows much, is a practical man, and well versed in fencing. He is good-natured and fond of dervishes." He served under Abul Fazl in Khándesh.

4. Shaikh Abul Khair, born 22nd Jumáda I, 967. "He is a well informed young man, of a regulated mind." He, too, must have entered the Imperial service; for he is mentioned in the Akbarnámah as having been sent by the emperor to the Dak'hin to fetch Prince Dányál.

5. Shaikh Abul Makárim, born 23rd Shawwál, 976. He was wild at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal. He also studied under Sháh Abul Fath Shírází.

The above five sons were all by the same mother, who, as remarked above, died in 998.

6. Shaikh Abú Turáb, born 23rd Zil Hijjah, 988. "Though

* *I. e.* Akbar is the *insán i kámil*, or perfect man.

his mother is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self-improvement."

Besides the above, Abul Fazl mentions two posthumous sons by *qummá*, or concubines, *viz.* Shaikh Abul Hámid, born 3rd Rabí' II, 1002, and Shaikh Abú Ráshid, born 1st Jumáda I, 1002. " They resemble their father."

Of Mubárak's daughters, I find four mentioned in the histories—

1. One married to Khudáwand Khán Dak'hiní; *vide* p. 442. Badáoní calls her husband a *Ráfizí*, *i. e.*, a Shí'ah, and says he died in Karí in Gujarát.

2. One married to Husámuddín ; *vide* p. 441.

3. One married to a son of Rájah 'Alí Khán of Khándesh. Their son Safdar Khán* was made, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of one thousand.

4. Láḍlí Begum, married to Islám Khán ; *vide* p. 493, note 1. Mr. T. W. Beale of Ágrah, the learned author of the *Miftáh uttawáríkh*, informs me that Láḍlí Begum died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband. Her mausoleum, called the ' Rauzah i Láḍlí Begum,' is about two miles to the east of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandrah, near Ágrah. The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fathpúr sandstone. It was completed in 1004. In 1843, Mr. Beale saw in the Rauzah several tombs without inscriptions, and a few years ago the place was sold by government to a wealthy Hindú. The new owner dug up the marble stones, sold them, and destroyed the tombs, so that of the old Rauzah nothing exists now-a-days but the surrounding wall. Mr. Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaikh Mubárak, Faizí, and Abul Fazl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Ṭughrá characters may still be seen—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به ثقتی * هذه الروضة للعالم الربانی والعارف
الصمدانی جامع العلوم شیخ مبارك الله قدس سره قد وقف ببنائه بحر العلوم
شیخ ابوالفضل سلم الله تعالی فی ظل دولة الملك العادل يطلبه المجد و
الاقبال و الكرم جلال الدنيا و الدين اكبر پادشاه غازی خلد الله تعالی ظلال
سلطنته باهتمام حضرت ابی البركات فی سنة اربع و الف اا

In the name of God the merciful, the clement, in whom I trust!

This mausoleum was erected for the divine scholar, the sage of the

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* The Lak'hnau edition of the Akbarnámah (III, 830) calls him Sundar Khán.

eternal, the gatherer of knowledge, Shaikh Mubárakullah (may his secret be sanctified!), in filial piety by the ocean of sciences, Shaikh Abul Fazl—may God Almighty preserve him!—in the shadow of the majesty of the just king, whom power, auspiciousness, and generosity follow, Jaláluddunyá waddín Akbar Pádisháh i Ghází,—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abul Barakát, in 1004 [A. D. 1595-96].

Thus it will appear that the Rauzah was built in the year in which Faizí died. Shaikh Mubárak, as was mentioned above, died in 1593 A. D. It seems, however, as if Shaikh Mubárak and Faizí had been buried at a place opposite to Ágrah, on the left bank of the Jamuná, where he first settled in 1551; for Abul Fazl says in his description of Ágrah in the Áín*—" On the other side of the river is the Chár Bágh Villa, built by Firdaus Makání [the emperor Bábar]. There the author was born, and there are the resting places of his father and his elder brother. Shaikh 'Aláuddín Majzúb and Mír Rafí'uddín Safawí and other worthies are also buried there." We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamuná, though Abul Fazl's inscription no doubt shews that such a removal was intended. It is a pity, however, that the Rauzah was sold and destroyed.

Abul Fazl's son is the wellknown

SHAIKH 'ABDURRAHMÁN AFZAL KHA'N.

He was born on the 12th Sha'bán, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunní name of 'Abdurrahmán. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Sa'ádat Yár Kokah's brother. By her 'Abdurrahmán had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan.†

When Abul Fazl was in command of the army in the Dak'hin, 'Abdurrahmán was, what the Persians call, the *tír i rúi tarkash i ú*, 'the arrow at hand at the top of the quiver', ever ready to perform duties from which others shrank, and wisely and courageously settling matters of importance. He especially distinguished himself in Talingánah. When Malik 'Ambar, in the 46th year, had caught 'Alí Mardán Bahádur (p. 496) and had taken possession of the country, Abul Fazl despatched 'Abdurrahmán and Sher Khwájah (p. 459) to oppose the enemy. They

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* My text edition, p. 441. *Vide* also p. 539; Keene's Agra Guide, p. 47, and regarding Ládlí Begum, p. 45. 'Ládlí' means in Hindústání 'a pet.'

† Which name was borne by the brother of Isfandiyár, who is so often mentioned in Firdausí's Sháhnámah.

crossed the Godáwarí near Nánder, and defeated 'Amber at the Mánjará.

Jahángír did not transfer to the son the hatred which he had felt for the father, made him a commander of two thousand horse, gave him the title of Afzal Khán, and appointed him, in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihár, *vice* Islám Khán (the husband of Abul Fazl's sister), who was sent to Bengal. 'Abdurrahmán also received Gorák'hpúr as jágír. As governor of Bihár, he had his head-quarters at Patna. Once during his absence from Patna, a dervish of the name of Quṭbuddín appeared in the district of Bhojpúr, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjainiyah Rájahs (p. 513, note), and gave out that he was Prince Khusrau, whom his unsuccessful rebellion and imprisonment by Jahángír had made the favorite of the people. Collecting a large number of men, he marched on Patna, occupied the fort which Shaikh Banárasí and Ghiyás, 'Abdurraḥmán's officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Afzal Khán's property and the Imperial treasury. 'Abdurrahmán returned from Gorák'hpúr as soon as he heard of the rebellion. The pretender fortified Patna, and drew up his army at the Pun Pun River. 'Abdurrahmán charged at once, and after a short fight dispersed the enemy. Quṭb now retreated to the fort, followed by 'Abdurrahmán, who succeeded in capturing him. He executed the man at once, and sent his head to Court, together with the two cowardly officers. Jahángír, who was always minute in his punishments, had their heads shaved and women's veils put over the faces; they were then tied to donkeys, with their heads to the tails, and paraded through the towns *(tashhír)* as a warning to others.

Not long after this affair, 'Abdurrahmán took ill, and went to Court, where he was well received. He lingered for a time, and died of an abscess, in the 8th year of Jahángír's reign (A. H. 1022), or eleven years after his father's murder.

Bishotan, son of 'Abdurrahmán, son of Shaikh Abul Fazl.

He was born on the 3rd Zí Qa'dah, 999. In the 14th year of Jahángír's reign, he was a commander of seven hundred, with three hundred horse. In the 10th year of Sháh Jahán's reign, he is mentioned as a commander of five hundred horse, which rank he held when he died in the 15th year of the same reign.

ABULFAZL'S PREFACE.

ALLÁHU AKBAR!

O Lord, whose secrets are for ever veiled
And whose perfection knows not a beginning,
End and beginning, both are lost in Thee,
No trace of them is found in Thy eternal realm.
My words are lame; my tongue, a stony tract;
Slow wings my foot, and wide is the expanse.
Confused are my thoughts; but this is Thy best praise,
In ecstasy alone I see Thee face to face!

It is proper for a man of true knowledge to praise God not only in words, but also in deeds, and to endeavour to obtain everlasting happiness, by putting the window of his heart opposite the slit of his pen, and describing some of the wondrous works of the Creator. Perhaps the lustre of royalty may shine upon him, and its light enable him to gather a few drops from the ocean, and a few atoms from the endless field of God's works. He will thus obtain everlasting felicity, and render fertile the dreary expanse of words and deeds.

I, Abulfazl, son of Mubárik, return thanksgiving to God by singing the praises of royalty, and by stringing its kingly pearls upon the thread of description; but it is not my intention to make mankind, for the first time, acquainted with the glorious deeds and excellent virtues of that remarkable man,[1] who clothes our wonderful world in new colours, and is an ornament to God's noble creation. It would be absurd on my part to speak about that which is known; I should make myself the butt of the learned. It is only my personal knowledge of

[1] Akbar.

him, a priceless jewel, which I send to the market place of the world, and my heart feels proud of being engaged in such an undertaking. But it could not have been from self-laudation that I have taken upon myself to carry out so great a task—a work which even heavenly beings would find beset with difficulties; for such a motive would expose my inability and shortsightedness. My sole object in writing this work was, first, to impart to all that take an interest in this auspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity, and energy of him who understands the minutest indications of all things, created and divine, striding as he does over the field of knowledge; and, secondly, to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life, and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who, by making use of this source of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great king, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom. In doing so, I have of course, to speak of the exalted position of a king, and also to describe the condition of those who are assistants in this great office.

No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty; and those who are wise, drink from its auspicious fountain. A sufficient proof of this, for those who require one, is the fact that royalty is a remedy for the spirit of rebellion, and the reason why subjects obey. Even the meaning of the word Pádisháh shews this; for *pád* signifies stability and possession, and *sháh* means origin, lord. A king is therefore the origin of stability and possession. If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction; the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity, and the whole earth become a barren waste. But by the light of imperial justice, some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment; and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude. *Sháh* is also a name given to one who surpasses his fellows, as you may see from words like *sháh-suwár*, *sháh-ráh;* it is also a term applied to a bridegroom—the world, as the bride, betrothes herself to the king, and becomes his worshipper.

Silly and shortsighted men cannot distinguish a *true* king from a *selfish* ruler. Nor is this remarkable, as both have in common a large treasury, a numerous army, clever servants, obedient subjects, an abundance of wise men, a multitude of skilful workmen, and a superfluity of means of enjoyment. But men of deeper insight remark a difference. In the case of the former, the things just now enumerated, are lasting; but in that of the latter, of short duration. The former does not attach himself to these things, as his object is to remove oppression, and provide for every thing which is good. Security, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, &c., are the result. The latter is kept in bonds by the external forms of royal power, by vanity, the slavishness of men, and the desire of enjoyment; hence everywhere there is insecurity, unsettledness, strife, oppression, faithlessness, robbery.

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe,[1] the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr i izidí* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyán khwarah* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one, and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission. Again, many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light. 1. *A paternal love towards the subjects.* Thousands find rest in the love of the king; and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the king will understand the spirit of the age, and shape his plans accordingly. 2. *A large heart.* The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him; nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment. His courage steps in. His divine firmness gives him the power of requital, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it. The wishes of great and small are attended to, and their claims meet with no delay at his hands. 3. *A daily increasing trust in God.* When he performs an action, he considers God as the real doer of it, (and himself as the medium,) so that a conflict of motives can produce no disturbance. 4. *Prayer and devotion.* The success of his plans will not lead him to neglect; nor will adversity cause him to forget God, and madly trust in man. He puts the reins of desire

[1] Akbar worshipped the sun as the visible representative of God, and the immediate source of life. Regarding his form of worship, *vide* below.

into the hands of reason; in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be trodden down by restlessness, nor will he waste his precious time in seeking after that which is improper. He makes wrath, the tyrant, pay homage to wisdom, so that blind rage may not get the upper hand, and inconsiderateness overstep the proper limits. He sits on the eminence of propriety, so that those who have gone astray have a way left to return, without exposing their bad deeds to the public gaze. When he sits in judgment, the petitioner seems to be the judge, and he himself, on account of his mildness, the suitor for justice. He does not permit petitioners to be delayed on the path of hope; he endeavours to promote the happiness of the creatures in obedience to the will of the Creator, and never seeks to please the people in contradiction to reason. He is for ever searching after those who speak the truth, and is not displeased with words that seem bitter, but are in reality sweet. He considers the nature of the words and the rank of the speaker. He is not content with not committing violence, but he must see that no injustice is done within his realm.

He is continually attentive to the health of the body politic, and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof. And in the same manner that the equilibrium of the animal constitution depends upon an equal mixture of the elements,[1] so also does the political constitution become well tempered by a proper division of ranks; and by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body.

The people of the world may be divided into four classes.[2]—1. *Warriors*, who in the political body have the nature of fire. Their flames, directed by understanding, consume the straw and rubbish of rebellion and strife, but kindle also the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances. 2. *Artificers* and *merchants*, who hold the place of air. From their labours and travels, God's gifts become universal, and the breeze of contentment nourishes the rose-tree of life. 3. *The learned*, such as the philosopher, the physician, the arithmetician, the geometrician, the

[1] Thus, according to the medical theories of the middle ages.

[2] This passage resembles one in Firdausí's Sháhnámah, in the chapter entitled *dar dástán i Jamshéd;* vide also Vullers' Persian Dictionary, II., 756, s. *kátúzí*. It is also found in the *Akhláq i Muhsiní*, chapter XV., *dar 'adl*, in the *Akhláq i Jalálí*, and the *Akhláq i Náçirí*, the oldest of the three Akhláqs mentioned.

astronomer, who resemble water. From their pen and their wisdom, a river rises in the drought of the world, and the garden of the creation receives from their irrigating powers a peculiar freshness. 4. *Husbandmen* and *labourers*, who may be compared to earth. By their exertions, the staple of life is brought to perfection, and strength and happiness flow from their work.

It is therefore obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with a due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish.

And as the grand political body maintains its equilibrium by the above four ranks of men, so does royalty receive its final tint from a similar fourfold division.

1. *The nobles of the state*, who in reliance on their position lead everything to a happy issue. Illuminating the battle-field with the halo of devotedness, they make no account of their lives. These fortunate courtiers resemble fire, being ardent in devotion, and consuming in dealing with foes. At the head of this class is the *Vakíl*, who from his having attained by his wisdom the four degrees of perfection,[1] is the emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household. He graces the Council by his wisdom, and settles with penetration the great affairs of the realm. Promotion and degradation, appointment and dismissal, depend on his insight. It requires therefore an experienced man, who possesses wisdom, nobility of mind, affability, firmness, magnanimity, a man able to be at peace with any one, who is frank, single-minded towards relations and strangers, impartial to friends and enemies, who weighs his words, is skilful in business, well-bred, esteemed, known to be trustworthy, sharp and farsighted, acquainted with the ceremonies of the court, cognizant of the State secrets, prompt in transacting business, unaffected by the multiplicity of his duties. He should consider it his duty to promote the wishes of others, and base his actions on a due regard to the different ranks of men, treating even his inferiors with respect, from the desire of attaching to

[1] Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness of sacrificing four things,—*ján* (life), *mál* (property), *dín* (religion), *námús* (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide …itual matters (*pír*)—an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to shew this devotedness, and then belonged to the *dín i iláhí*, or the Divine Faith, the articles of which Akbar had laid down, as may be seen below.

himself the hearts of all. He takes care not to commit improprieties in conversation, and guards himself from bad actions. Although the financial offices are not under his immediate superintendence, yet he receives the returns from the heads of all financial offices, and wisely keeps abstracts of their returns.

The Mír-mál,[1] the Keeper of the seal, the Mír-bakhshí,[2] the Bár-bégí,[3] the Qurbégí,[4] the Mír-tózak,[5] the Mír-bahrí,[6] the Mír-barr,[7] the Mír-Manzil,[8] the Khwánsálár,[9] the Munshí,[10] the Qush-bégí,[11] the Akhtah-bégí[12], belong to this class. Every one of them ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the work of the others.

2. *The assistants of victory*, the collectors and those entrusted with income and expenditure, who in the administration resemble wind, at times a heart-rejoicing breeze, at other times a hot, pestilential blast. The head of this division is the *Vizier*, also called *Díwán*. He is the lieutenant of the Emperor in financial matters, superintends the imperial treasuries, and checks all accounts. He is the banker of the cash of the revenue, the cultivator of the wilderness of the world. He must be a member of the *Divine Faith*, a skilful arithmetician, free from avarice, circumspect, warm-hearted, abstinent, active in business, pleasing in his style, clear in his writings, truthful, a man of integrity, condescending, zealous in his work. He is in reality a book-keeper. He explains all matters which appear too intricate for the *Mustaufí*;[13] and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the *Vakíl*. The Mustaufí, the Sáhib i Taujíh,[14] the Awárjah Nawís,[15] the Mír-Sámán,[16] the Názir i Buyútát,[17] the Díwán i Buyútát,[18] the Mushrif[19] of the Treasury, the Wáqi'ah

[1] Perhaps an officer in charge of the Emperor's Private purse.

[2] Paymaster of the Court.

[3] An officer who presents people at Court, their petitions, &c. He is also called *Mír 'Arz*.

[4] Bearer of the Imperial insignia.

[5] Master of Ceremonies.

[6] Harbour Master General and Admiral.

[7] Superintendent of the Imperial Forests.

[8] Quarter Master General of the Court. Akbar's court was frequently travelling.

[9] Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen.

[10] Private Secretary.

[11] Superintendent of the aviaries (falcons, pigeons).

[12] Superintendent of the Stud.

[13] Deputy Díwán.

[14] The Accountant of the Army.

[15] The Accountant of the daily expenditure at Court.

[16] The officer in charge of the Court-furniture, stores, &c.

[17] Superintendent of the Imperial workshops.

[18] The Accountant of the Imperial workshops.

[19] Clerk.

Nawís,[1] the 'Ámil[2] of the domains, are under his orders, and act by the force of his wisdom.

Some princes consider the office of the Vizier as a part of that of the *Vakíl*, and are anxious to find in their realm a man who possesses the excellent qualities of these two pillars of the edifice of the State. But as they are not always able to find a person qualified for the office of a Vakíl, they make choice of a man who has some of his qualities, and appoint him as *Mushrif i Díwán*, which office is higher in rank than that of the Díwán, but lower than that of the Vakíl.

3. *The companions of the king*, who are the ornaments of the court by the light of their wisdom, the ray of their sharpsightedness, their knowledge of the times, their intimate acquaintance with human nature, their frankness and polite address. Through the excellence of their religious faith and good will, thousands open in the market place of the world the stores of virtue. Wisely fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their wisdom; whence they resemble water in the affairs of the body political. When they are of a mild temperament, they remove the dust of affliction from the hearts of men, and bestow freshness upon the meadow of the nation; but if they depart from moderation, they inundate the world with a deluge of calamity, so that numbers are driven by the flood of misfortunes into the current of utter extinction.

At the head of this class stands the philosopher, who with the assistance of his wisdom and example purifies the morals of the nation, and girds himself with the noble aim of putting the welfare of mankind upon a sound basis. The Sadr,[3] the Mír-'Adl, the Qází,[4] the physician, the astronomer, the poet, the soothsayer, belong to this class.

4. The *servants* who at court perform the duties about the king. They occupy in the system of the State the position of earth. As such, they lie on the high road of submission, and in dust before the majesty of the king. If free from chaff and dross, they are like an elixir for the body; otherwise they are dust and dirt upon the face of success. The table servant, the armour bearer, the servants in charge of the *sharbat* and the water, the servant in charge of the mattresses and the wardrobe, belong to this class.

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[1] The Recorder.

[2] Collector.

[3] Also called *Sadr i Jahán*, the Chief-Justice and Administrator General of the empire.

[4] The Qází hears the case: the Mír 'Adl passes the sentence.

If the king be waited on by servants to whom good fortune has given excellent qualities, there arises sometimes a harmony, which is like a nosegay from the flower-bed of auspiciousness.

Just as the welfare of the whole world depends upon the successful working of the above mentioned four classes, as settled by kings, so does the body politic depend upon the proper formation of the latter four divisions.

The sages of antiquity mention the following four persons as the chief supports of the State—1. *An upright collector;* who protects the husbandman, watches over the subjects, develops the country, and improves the revenues. 2. *A conscientious commander* of the army, active and strict. 3. *A chief justice*, free from avarice and selfishness, who sits on the eminence of circumspection and insight, and obtains his ends by putting various questions, without exclusively relying on witnesses and oaths. 4. *An intelligencer*, who transmits the events of the time without addition or diminution, always keeping to the thread of truth and penetration.

It is moreover incumbent on a just king to make himself acquainted with the characters of the following five kinds[1] of men of whom the world is composed, and act accordingly. 1. The most commendable person is *the sagacious man* who prudently does that which is proper and absolutely necessary. The fountain of his virtues does not only run along his channel, but renders verdant the fields of other men. Such a one is the fittest person for a king to consult in State affairs. After him comes, secondly, *the man of good intentions*. The river of his virtues does not flow over its bed, and does not therefore become an irrigating source for others. Although it may be proper to shew him kindness and respect, yet he does not merit so high a degree of confidence. Inferior to him is, thirdly, *the simple man*, who does not wear the badge of excellence upon the sleeve of his action, yet keeps the hem of his garment free from the dust of wicked deeds. He does not deserve any distinction; but ought to be allowed to live at his ease. Worse than he is, fourthly, *the inconsiderate man*, who fills his house with furniture for his own mischief, without, however, doing harm to others. Him the king should keep in the hot place of disappointment, and bring him into the road of virtue by good advice and severe reprehension. The last of all is *the*

[1] The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the Akhláq i Muhsiní, Chapter XXXII., entitled *dar siyásat.*

vicious man, whose black deeds alarm others and throw, on account of their viciousness, a whole world into grief. If the remedies employed in the case of men of the preceding class, do not amend him, the king should consider him as a leper, and confine him separate from mankind; and provided this harsh treatment does not awaken him from his sleep of error, he should feel the torture of grief, and be banished from his dwelling; and if this remedy produce no effect either, he should be driven out of the kingdom, to wander in the wilderness of disappointment; and if even this should not improve his vicious nature, he should be deprived of the instruments of his wickedness, and lose his sight, or his hand, or his foot. But the king ought not to go so far as to cut the thread of his existence; for enquiring sages consider the human form as an edifice made by God, and do not permit its destruction.

It is therefore necessary for just kings, to make themselves first acquainted with the rank and character of men, by the light of insight and penetration, and then to regulate business accordingly. And hence it is that the sages of ancient times have said that princes who wear the jewel of wisdom, do not appoint every low man to their service; that they do not consider every one who has been appointed, to be deserving of daily admittance; that those who are thus favoured, are not therefore deemed worthy to sit with them on the carpet of intercourse; that those who are worthy of this station, are not necessarily admitted to the pavilion of familiar address; that those who have this privilege, are not therefore allowed to sit in the august assembly; that those upon whom this ray of good fortune falls, are not therefore let into their secrets; and that those who enjoy the happiness of this station, are not therefore fit for admission into the Cabinet Council.

Praise be to God, the Giver of every good gift! The exalted monarch of our time is so endowed with these laudable dispositions, that it is no exaggeration to call him their *exordium*. From the light of his wisdom, he discerns the worth of men, and kindles the lamp of their energy; whilst ever clear to himself, and without an effort, he adorns his wisdom with the beauty of practice. Who can measure, by the rules of speech, his power as a spiritual leader, and his works in the wide field of holiness;[1] and even if it were possible to give a description of it,

[1] Akbar as the spiritual leader of the members belonging to the Divine Faith, wrought many miracles, of which some are related in the seventy-seventh Áín of this book.

who would be able to hear and comprehend it? The best thing I can do is to abstain from such an attempt, and to confine myself to the description of such of his wonderful doings as illustrate the worldly side of his nature, and his greatness as a king. I shall speak—

First, of his regulations concerning *the household; secondly*, of the regulations concerning *the army; thirdly*, of the regulations concerning *the empire*, as these three contain the whole duty of a king. In doing so, I shall leave practical enquirers a present, which may seem difficult to understand, but which is easy; or rather, which may seem easy, but is in reality difficult.

Experienced men who are acquainted with the art of governing, and versed in the history of the past, cannot comprehend, how monarchs have hitherto governed without these wise regulations, and how the garden of royalty could have been fresh and verdant, without being irrigated by this fountain of wisdom.

This sublime volume then, is arranged under three heads: it enables me, in some measure, to express my feelings of gratitude for favours received.

Remark by the Author. As I had sometimes to use Hindí words, I have carefully described the consonants and vowels. Enquirers will therefore have no difficulty in reading; nor will any confusion arise from mistakes in copying. Letters like *alif, lám*, and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished as *manqúṭah*, and letters similar in form, without such a limitation. Letters which are purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus the *p* in *padíd*, the *ché* in *chaman*, the *gáf* in *nigár*, the *zh* in *muzhdah*. Sometimes I have added to the names of these letters, the phrase *having three points*. Letters peculiar to the Hindí language I have distinguished as Hindí. The letter *yá*, as in *rúy*, I have called *tahtání*, and the *té*, as in *dast*, *fauqání*. The *b* in *adab*, I have merely called *bé*. Similarly, the letters *nún*, *wáw*, *yá*, and *hé*, when clearly sounded, have been merely described as *nún*, *wáw*, &c. The nasal *nún* I have called *nún i khafí*, or *nún i pinhán*. The final and silent *h*, as in *farkhunda*h, I have called *maktúb*, *i. e.*, written, but not pronounced. The *i* and *u*, when modified to *é* or *ó*, I have called *majhúl*. As consonants followed by an alif have the vowel *a*, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.

BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

ÁÍN 1.

THE HOUSEHOLD.

He is a man of high understanding and noble aspirations who, without the help of others, recognizes a ray of the Divine power in the smallest things of the world; who shapes his inward and outward character accordingly, and shews due respect to himself and to others. He who does not possess these qualifications, ought not to engage in the struggle of the world, but observe a peaceable conduct. If the former be given to retirement, he will cultivate noble virtues; and if his position be a dependent one, he will put his whole heart in the management of his affairs, and lead a life free from distressing cares.

True greatness, in spiritual and in worldly matters, does not shrink from the minutiæ of business, but regards their performance as an act of Divine worship.[1]

If he cannot perform every thing himself, he ought to select, guided by insight and practical wisdom, one or two men of sagacity and understanding, of liberal views in religious matters, possessing diligence and a knowledge of the human heart, and be guided by their advice.

The wise esteem him not a king who confines his attention to great matters only, although some impartial judges excuse a king that does so, because avaricious sycophants who endeavour by cunning to obtain the position of the virtuous, often remind him of the difference of ranks, and succeed in lulling asleep such kings as are fond of external greatness, their only object being to make a trade of the revenues of the country, and to promote their own interests. But good princes make no difference between great and small matters; they take, with the assistance of God, the burden of this world and the responsibility of the world to come on the shoulder of resolution, and are yet free and independent, as is the case with the king of

[1] A phrase which Akbar often used.

our time. In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department, which, although former monarchs have thought it derogatory to their greatness, is yet the first step towards the establishment of a good government. For every branch he has made proper regulations, and he sees in the performance of his duty a means of obtaining God's favour.

The success of this vast undertaking depends upon two things: *first*, wisdom and insight, to call into existence suitable regulations; *secondly*, a watchful eye, to see them carried out by men of integrity and diligence.

Although many servants of the household receive their salaries on the list of the army, there was paid for the household in the thirty-ninth year of the Divine era, the sum of 309,186,795 dáms.[1] The expenses on this account, as also the revenues, are daily increasing. There are more than one hundred offices and workshops, each resembling a city, or rather a little kingdom; and by the unremitting attention of his Majesty, they are all conducted with regularity, and are constantly increasing, their improvement being accompanied by additional care and supervision on the part of his Majesty.

Some of the regulations I shall transmit, as a present, to future enquirers, and thus kindle in others the lamp of wisdom and energy.

As regards those regulations which are of a general nature, and which from their subject matter, belong to each of the three divisions of the work, I have put them among the regulations of the Household.

ÁÍN 2.

THE IMPERIAL TREASURIES.

Every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God, consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the king's household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army. All this again is connected with the exercise of proper care on the part of the monarch, his love for the people, and with an intelligent management of the revenues and the public expenditure. It is only when cared for, that the inhabitants of the towns, and those of the rural districts, are able to satisfy their wants, and to enjoy prosperity. Hence it is incumbent on just kings, to care for the former, and to protect the latter class of men. If some say that to collect

[1] Or, 7,729,669⅞ Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 dáms. The Divine era, or Táríkh i Iláhí, is Akbar's solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th February 1556; hence the thirty-ninth year corresponds to A.D. 1595.

wealth, and to ask for more than is absolutely necessary, is looked upon as contemptible by people given to retirement and seclusion, whilst the opposite is the case with the inhabitants of the towns, who live in a dependent position, I would answer that it is after all only shortsighted men who make this assertion; for in reality both classes of men try to obtain that which they think necessary. Poor, but abstemious people take a sufficient quantity of food and raiment, so as to keep up the strength necessary for the pursuit of their enquiries, and to protect them against the influence of the weather; whilst the other class think to have just sufficient, when they fill their treasuries, gather armies, and reflect on other means of increasing their power.

It was from such views, when lifting the veil and beginning to pay attention to these weighty concerns, that his Majesty entrusted his inmost secrets to the Khájah sarái I'timád Khán,[1] a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the Khájah, the reflections of his Majesty took a practical turn, widened by degrees, and shone at last forth in excellent regulations. An enquiry regarding the income of the different kinds of land was set on foot, and successfully concluded by the wisdom of upright and experienced men. With a comprehensiveness which knew no difference between friends and strangers, the lands which paid rents into the imperial exchequer were separated from the Jágír lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one krór of dáms. Incorruptible *bitakchis*[2] were selected to assist them, and intelligent treasurers were appointed, one for each. And from kindness and care for the agricultural classes, it was commanded that the collectors should not insist upon the husbandman paying coin of full weight, but to give him a receipt for whatever species of money he might bring. This

[1] *I'timád* means *trustworthiness*. Khájah sarái is the title of the chief eunuch. His real name was Phúl Malik. After serving Salím Sháh (1545 to 1553)' who bestowed upon him the title of *Muhammad Khán*, he entered Akbar's service. Akbar, after the death of Shamsuddín Muhammed Atgah Khán, his foster father, commenced to look into matters of finance, and finding the Revenue Department a den of thieves, he appointed I'timád Khán, to remodel the finances, making him a commander of One Thousand (*vide* Abulfazl's list of Akbar's grandees, in part second, No. 119); and conferring upon him the title of *I'timád Khán*. He appears to have performed his duties to Akbar's satisfaction. In 1565, he conveyed the daughter of Mírán Mubárik, king of Khándésh (1535 to 1566), to Akbar's harem, took afterwards a part in the conquest of Bengal, where he distinguished himself, and was, in 1576, appointed governor of Bhakkar. When in 1578 Akbar's presence was required in the Panjáb, I'timád Khán desired to join him. In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstandings, as it appears, with much harshness. This led to a conspiracy against his life. In the same year he was murdered by a man named Maqçúd 'Alí. *Maásir ul umará.*

[2] Writers.

laudable regulation removed the rust of uncertainty from the minds of the collectors, and relieved the subjects from a variety of oppressions, whilst the income became larger, and the state flourished. The fountain of the revenues having thus been purified, a zealous and honest man was selected for the general treasurership, and a dárógah and a clerk were appointed to assist him. Vigilance was established, and a standard laid down for this department.

Whenever a (provincial) treasurer had collected the sum of two lakhs of dáms, he had to send it to the Treasurer General at the Court, together with a memorandum specifying the quality of the sum.

A separate treasurer was appointed for the *péshkash*[1] receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for *nazar* receipts,[2] and another for the monies expended in weighing the royal person,[3] and for charitable donations. Proper regulations were also made for the disbursements; and honest superintendents, dárógahs and clerks were appointed. The sums required for the annual expenditure, are paid at the General Treasury to each cashkeeper of the disbursements, and correct receipts granted for them. A proper system of accounts having thus been inaugurated, the empire began to flourish. In a short time the treasuries were full, the army was augmented, and refractory rebels led to the path of obedience.

In Írán and Túrán, where only one treasurer is appointed, the accounts are in a confused state; but here in India, the amount of the revenues is so great, and the business so multifarious that twelve treasuries are necessary for storing the money, nine for the different kinds of cash-payments, and three for precious stones, gold, and inlaid jewellery. The extent of the treasuries is too great to admit of my giving a proper description with other matters before me. From his knowledge of the work, and as a reward for labour, his Majesty very often expresses his satisfaction, or conveys reprimands; hence everything is in a flourishing condition.

Separate treasurers were also appointed for each of the Imperial workshops, the number of which is nearly one hundred. Daily, monthly, quarterly, and yearly accounts are kept of the receipts and disbursements, so that in this branch also the market-place of the world is in a flourishing condition.

Again, by the order of his Majesty, a person of known integrity keeps in the public audience hall some gold and silver for the needy, who have their wants relieved without delay. Moreover a krór of dáms is kept in readiness within the palace, every thousand of which is kept in bags made of a coarse material. Such a bag is called in Hindí *sahsah*, and many of

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[1] Tributes.
[2] Presents, vows, &c.
[3] *Vide* the eighteenth Áín of the second book.

them put up in a heap, *ganj*. Besides, his Majesty entrusts to one of the nobility a large sum of money, part of which is carried in a *purse*.[1] This is the reason, why such disbursements are called in the language of the country *kharj i bahlah*.

All these benefits flow from the wonderful liberality of his Majesty, and from his unremitting care for the subjects of the empire. Would to God that he might live a thousand years!

AÍN 3.

THE TREASURY FOR PRECIOUS STONES.

If I were to speak about the quantity and quality of the stones, it would take me an age. I shall therefore give a few particulars, "gathering an ear from every sheaf."

His Majesty appointed for this office an intelligent, trustworthy, clever treasurer, and as his assistants, an experienced clerk, a zealous dárógah, and also skilful jewellers. The foundation therefore of this important department rests upon those four pillars. They classified the jewels, and thus removed the rust of confusion.

Rubies.—1st class rubies, not less than 1000 muhurs in value; 2nd class, from 999 to 500 muhurs; 3rd class, from 499 to 300; 4th class, from 299 to 200; 5th class, from 199 to 100; 6th class, from 99 to 60; 7th class, from 59 to 40; 8th class, from 39 to 30; 9th class, from 29 to 10; 10th class, from 9¾ to 5; 11th class, from 4¾ to 1 muhur; 12th class, from ¾ muhur to ¼ rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

Diamonds, *emeralds*, and the *red* and *blue yáqúts*, were classified as follows: 1st class, from 30 muhurs upwards; 2nd class, from 29¾ to 15 muhurs; 3rd class, from 14¾ to 12; 4th class, from 11¾ to 10; 5th class, from 9¾ to 7; 6th class, from 6¾ to 5; 7th class, from 4¾ to 3; 8th class, from 2¾ to 2; 9th class, from 1¾ to 1 muhur; 10th class, from 8¾ rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from 4¾ to 2 rupees; 12th class, from 1¾ to ¼ rupee.

The *Pearls* were divided into 16 classes, and strung by scores. The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhurs and upwards; 2nd class pearls varied from 29¾ to 15 muhurs; 3rd class, from 14¾ to 12; 4th class, from 11¾ to 10; 5th class, from 9¾ to 7; 6th class, from 6¾ to 5; 7th class, from 4¾ to 3; 8th class, from 2¾ to 2; 9th class, from 1¾ to 1; 10th class, less than a muhur, down to 5 rupees; 11th class, less than 5, to 2 rupees; 12th class, less than 2 rupees, to 1¼ rupees; 13th class, less than 1¼

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[1] A *purse* in Hindi is called *bahlah*.

rupees, to 30 dáms; 14th class, less than 30 dáms, to 20 dáms; 15th class, less than 20 dáms, to 10 dáms; 16th class, less than 10 dáms, to 5 dáms. The pearls are strung upon a number of strings indicating their class, so that those of the 16th class are strung upon 16 strings. At the end of each bundle of strings the imperial seal is affixed, to avoid losses arising from unsorting, whilst a description is attached to each pearl, to prevent disorder.

The following are the charges for boring pearls, independent of the daily and monthly wages of the workmen. For a pearl of the 1st class, $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee; 2nd class, $\frac{1}{8}$; 3rd class, $\frac{1}{10}$ rupee; 4th class, 3 dáms; 5th class, 1 súkí; 6th class, 1 dám; 7th class, $\frac{3}{4}$ dáms; 8th class, $\frac{1}{2}$ dám; 9th class, $\frac{1}{4}$ dám; 10th class, $\frac{1}{5}$; 11th class, $\frac{1}{6}$; 12th class, $\frac{1}{7}$; 13th class, $\frac{1}{8}$; 14th class, $\frac{1}{9}$; 15th class, $\frac{1}{10}$; 16th class, $\frac{1}{11}$ dám, and less.

The value of jewels is so well known that it is useless to say anything about it; but those which are at present in the treasury of His Majesty may be detailed as follows:—

Rubies weighing 11 tánks, 20 surkhs,[1] and diamonds of $5\frac{1}{4}$ tánks, 4 surkhs, each one lakh of rupees; emeralds weighing $17\frac{3}{4}$ tánks, 3 surkhs, 52,000 rupees; yáqúts of 4 tánks, $7\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs, and pearls of 5 tánks, each 50,000 rupees.

ÁÍN 4.

THE IMPERIAL MINT.

As the successful working of the mint increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details.

The inhabitants of the towns and the country perform their transactions by means of money. Every man uses it according to the extent of his necessities; the man whose heart is free from worldly desires sustains by it his life, and the worldly man considers it the final stage of his objects—the wants of all are satisfied by it. The wise man looks upon it as the foundation, from which the fulfilment of his worldly and religious wishes flows. It is absolutely necessary for the continuance of the human race, as men obtain by money their food and clothing. You may indeed gain these two things by undergoing some labour, as sowing, rearing, reaping, cleaning, kneading,

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[1] *Surkh* means *red;* also, *a little seed with a black dot on it,* called in Hind. *ghungchí,* Abrus precatorius. The Persians called it *chashm i khurús,* cock's eye. The seeds are often used for children's bracelets. Abulfazl means here the weight called in Hind. *ratí,* vulgo *ruttee.* 8 surkhs, or 8 ratís, = 1 máshah; 12 máshahs = 1 tólah, and 80 tólahs = 1 sér. A tánk is valued at 4 máshahs; but it must have weighed a little more, as in the tenth Áín, Abulfazl states that the weight of 1 dám was 5 tánks, *or* 1 tólah, 8 máshahs, 7 surkhs; *i. e.,* 1 tánk = $\frac{167}{40}$ máshahs = 4 máshahs, $1\frac{2}{5}$ surkhs.

cooking; twisting, spinning, weaving, &c.; but these actions cannot well be performed without several helpers; for the strength of a single man is not sufficient, and to do so day after day would be difficult, if not impossible. Again, man requires a dwelling, for keeping his provisions. This he calls his *home*, whether it be a tent, or a cave. Man's existence, and the continuance of his life, depend on five things—a father, a mother, children, servants, food, the last of which is required by all. Moreover, money is required, as our furniture and utensils break; they last in no case very long. But money does last long, on account of the strength and compactness of its material, and even a little of it may produce much It also enables men to travel. How difficult would it be to carry provisions for several days, let alone for several months or years!

By the help of God's goodness this excellent precious metal (gold) has come to the shore of existence, and filled the store of life without much labour on the part of man. By means of gold, man carries out noble plans, and even performs Divine worship in a proper manner. Gold has many valuable qualities: it possesses softness, a good taste, and smell. Its component parts are nearly equal[1] in weight; and the marks of the four elements are visible in its properties. Its colour reminds us of fire, its purity of air, its softness of water, its heaviness of earth; hence gold possesses many life-giving rays. Nor can any of the four elements injure it; for it does not burn in the fire; it remains unaffected by air; retains for ages its appearance although kept in water; and does not get altered when buried in the ground, whereby gold is distinguished from the other metals. It is for this reason that in old books on philosophy in which man's intellect is termed *the greater principle*, gold is called *the lesser principle*,[2] as the things required for human life depend upon it. Among its epithets I may mention 'the guardian of justice;' 'the universal adjuster;'—and indeed the adjustment of things depends on gold, and the basis of justice rests upon it. To render it service, God has allowed silver and brass to come into use, thus creating additional means for the welfare of man. Hence just kings and energetic rulers have paid much attention to these metals, and erected mints, where their properties may be thoroughly studied. The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness.

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[1] According to the chemists of the middles ages, gold consists of quicksilver and sulphur taken in equal proportions; the latter must, however, possess colouring properties. Vide the thirteenth Aín.

[2] "Were it not for piety, I would bow down to gold and say, 'Hallowed be thy name!' *Harîri.*

THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT.

A'I'N 5.

1. The *Dárógah.* He must be a circumspect and intelligent man, of broad principles, who takes the cumbrous burden of his colleagues upon the shoulder of despatch. He must keep every one to his work, and shew zeal and integrity.

2. The *Sairafí.* The success of this important department depends upon his experience, as he determines the degrees of purity of the coins. On account of the prosperity of the present age, there are now numbers of skilful sarráfs;[1] and by the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persia *dahdahí*, but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called *bárahbání*, as they have *twelve* degrees. Formerly the old *hun*, which is a gold coin current in the Deccan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½: and the round, small gold dínár of 'Aláuddín, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½.

Those who are experienced in this business have related wonderful stories of the purity of gold at the present time, and referred it to witchcraft and alchemy; for they maintain, that gold ore does not come up to this fineness. But by the attention of his Majesty, it has come up to this degree; hence the astonishment of people acquainted with this branch. It is, however, certain, that gold cannot be made finer, and of a higher degree. Honest describers and truthful travellers have indeed never mentioned this degree; but, when gold is put into fusion, small particles separate from it, and mix with the ashes, which ignorant men look upon as useless dross, whilst the skilful recover the metal from it. Although malleable gold ore be calcined and reduced to ashes, yet by a certain operation, it is brought back to its original state; but a part of it is lost. Through the wisdom of his Majesty, the real circumstances connected with this loss, were brought to light, and the fraudulent practices of the workmen thus put to the test.

A'I'N 6.

BANWA'RI'.[2]

An abbreviation for *bánwárí.* Although in this country clever Sairafis are able from experience to tell the degree of fineness by the colour and the

[1] The same as Sairafí; hence a *shroff*, a money lender.

[2] This Hind. word which is not given in the dictionaries, means the *testing of gold.*

brightness of the metal, the following admirable rule has been introduced, for the satisfaction of others.

To the ends of a few long needles, made of brass or such like metal, small pieces of gold are affixed, having their degree of fineness written on them. When the workmen wish to assay a new piece of gold, they first draw with it a few lines on a touchstone, and some other lines with the needles. By comparing both sets of lines, they discover the degree of fineness of the gold. It is, however, necessary that the lines be drawn in the same manner, and with the same force, so as to avoid deception.

To apply this rule, it is necessary to have gold of various degrees of fineness. This is obtained as follows. They melt together one máshah of pure silver with the same quantity of the best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with 6 máshahs of pure gold of 10½ degrees of fineness. Of this composition one máshah[1] is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a surkh each. If now 7½ surkhs of pure gold (of 10½ degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of the new mixture will only be 10¼ *bán.*[2] Similarly, 7 surkhs pure gold and 2 parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 bán; 6½ *s.* pure gold and 3 parts composition, 9¾ bán; 6 *s.* gold and 4 parts composition, 9½ bán; 5½ *s.* gold and 5 parts composition, 9¼ bán; 5 *s.* gold and 6 parts composition, 9 bán; 4½ *s.* gold and 7 parts composition, 8¾ bán; 4 *s.* gold and 8 parts composition, 8½ bán; 3½ *s.* gold and 9 parts composition, 8¼ bán; 3 *s.* gold and 10 parts composition, 8 bán; 2½ *s.* gold and 11 parts composition, 7¾ bán; 2 *s.* gold and 12 parts composition, 7½ bán; 1½ *s.* gold and 13 parts composition, 7¼ bán; 1 *s.* gold and 14 parts composition, 7 bán; and lastly, ½ *s.* gold and 15 parts composition, 6¾ bán. Or *generally*, every additional half surkh (or one part) of the composition diminishes the fineness of the gold by a quarter bán, the touch of the composition itself being 6½ bán.

If it be required to have a degree less than 6½ bán, they mix together ½ surkh of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7½ surkhs of the second composition (consisting of gold, copper and silver), which, when melted together, gives gold of 6¼ bán; and if 1 surkh of the first mixture be melted together with 7 surkhs of the second composition, the result will be 6 bán; and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half surkhs. But in the Banwárí, they reckon to 6 báns only, rejecting all baser compositions.

All this is performed by a man who understands the tests.

3. *The Amín.* He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that

[1] This máshah contains 6 parts gold, 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, *i. e.*, ¾ gold and ¼ alloy.

[2] The Hind. term *bán* means *temper, degree.*

friends and enemies can be sure of him. Should there be any differences, he assists the dárógah and the other workmen, maintains that which is right, and prevents quarrels.

4. The *Mushrif.* He writes down the daily expenditure in an upright and practical manner, and keeps a systematic day-book.

5. *The Merchant.* He buys up gold, silver and copper, by which he gains a profit for himself, assists the department, and benefits the revenues of the State. Trade will flourish, when justice is everywhere to be had, and when rulers are not avaricious.

6. *The Treasurer* who watches over the profits, and is upright in all his dealings.

The salaries of the first four and the sixth officers differ from each other, the lowest of them holding the rank of an *Ahadí.*[1]

7. *The Weighman*, who weighs the coins. For weighing 100 *jalálí* goldmuhurs, he gets $1\frac{3}{4}$ dáms; for weighing 1000 rupees, $6\frac{19}{25}$ dáms; and for weighing 1000 copper dáms, $\frac{1}{25}$ of a dám; and, after this rate, according to the quantity.

8. *The Melter of the ore.* He makes small and large trenches in a tablet of clay which he besmears with grease, and pours into them the melted gold and silver, to cast them into ingots. In the case of copper, instead of using grease, it is sufficient to sprinkle ashes. For the above mentioned quantity of gold, he gets $2\frac{3}{5}$ dáms; for the same quantity of silver, 5 dáms and $13\frac{1}{4}$ jétals;[2] for the same quantity of copper, 4 dáms and $21\frac{1}{2}$ jétals.

9. *The Platemaker.* He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven máshahs each, six fingers in length and breadth; these he carries to the assay master, who measures them in a mould made of copper, and stamps such as are suitable, in order to prevent alterations, and to shew the work done. He receives as wages for the above mentioned quantity of gold, $42\frac{1}{2}$ dáms.

ÁÍN 7.

THE MANNER OF REFINING GOLD.

When the abovementioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the gold, for the weight of every 100 jalálí goldmuhurs, must furnish 4 sérs of

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[1] The *Ahadís* correspond to our *Warranted officers.* Most clerks of the Imperial offices, the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, &c., belonged to this corps. They were called *Ahadís*, or *single men*, because they stood under Akbar's immediate orders. The word *Ahadí*, the *h* of which is the Arabic ح, was spelt in official returns with the Persian ه. So deep-rooted, says Badáoní, was Akbar's hatred for every thing which was Arabic.

[2] Twenty-five *jétals* make one dám. *Vide* the 10th Áín.


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saltpetre, and 4 sérs of brickdust of raw bricks. The plates after having been washed in clean water, are stratified with the above mixture (of the saltpetre and brickdust), and put one above the other, the whole being covered with cowdung, which in Hindi is called *uplah*. It is the dry dung of the *Wild Cow*. Then they set fire to it, and let it gently burn, till the dung is reduced to ashes, when they leave it to cool; then these ashes being removed from the sides, are preserved. They are called in Persian *khák i khaláç*, and in Hindí *salóni*. By a process to be mentioned hereafter, they recover silver from it. The plates, and the ashes below them, are left as they are. This process of setting fire to the dung, and removing the ashes at the sides, is twice repeated. When three fires have been applied, they call the plates *sitái*. They are then again washed in clean water, and stratified three times with the above mixture, the ashes of the sides being removed.

This operation must be repeated, till six mixtures and eighteen fires have been applied, when the plates are again washed. Then the assay master breaks one of them; and if there comes out a soft and mild sound, it is a sign of its being sufficiently pure; but if the sound is harsh, the plates must undergo three more fires. Then from each of the plates one máshah is taken away, of which aggregate a plate is made. This is tried on the touchstone; if it is not sufficiently fine, the gold has again to pass through one or two fires. In most cases, however, the desired effect is obtained by three or four fires.

The following method of assaying is also used. They take two tólahs of pure gold, and two tólahs of the gold which passed through the fire, and make twenty plates of each, of equal weight. They then spread the above mixture, apply the fire, wash them, and weigh them with an exact balance. If both kinds are found to be equal in weight, it is a proof of pureness.

10. *The Melter of the refined metal.* He melts the refined plates of gold, and casts them, as described above, into ingots. His fee for 100 gold muhurs is three dáms.

11. The *Zarráb*. He cuts off the gold, silver and copper ingots, as exactly as he can, round pieces of the size of coined money. His fees are, for 100 gold muhurs, 21 dáms, 1¼ jétals; for the weight of 1000 rupees 53 dáms, 8¾ jétals, if he cuts rupees; and 28 dáms in addition, if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper dáms his fee is 20 dáms; for the same weight of half and quarter dáms, 25 dáms; and for half quarter dáms, which are called *dumris*, 69 dáms.

In Írán and Túrán they cannot cut these pieces without a proper anvil; but Hindustani workmen cut them without such an instrument, so exactly, that there is not the difference of a single hair, which is remarkable enough.

12. *The Engraver*. He engraves the dies of the coins on steel, and such like metals. Coins are then stamped with these dies. At this day, Mauláná

'Alí Ahmad of Delhi, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel, in such a manner as equals the copyslips of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of a *yúzbáshí*;[1] and two of his men serve in the mint. Both have a monthly salary of 600 dáms.

13. The *Sikkachí*. He places the round pieces of metal between two dies; and by the strength of the hammerer *(putkchí)* both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 goldmuhurs, 1$\frac{3}{4}$ dáms; for 1000 rupees, 5 dáms, 9$\frac{1}{2}$ jétals; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 dám, 3 jétals in addition; for 1000 copper dáms, 3 dáms; for 2000 half dáms, and 4000 quarter dáms, 3 dáms, 18$\frac{3}{4}$ jétals; and for 8000 half-quarter dáms, 10$\frac{1}{2}$ dáms. Out of these fees the sikkachí has to give one-sixth to the hammerer, for whom there is no separate allowance.

14. The *Sabbák* makes the refined silver into round plates. For every 1000 rupees weight, he receives 54 dáms.

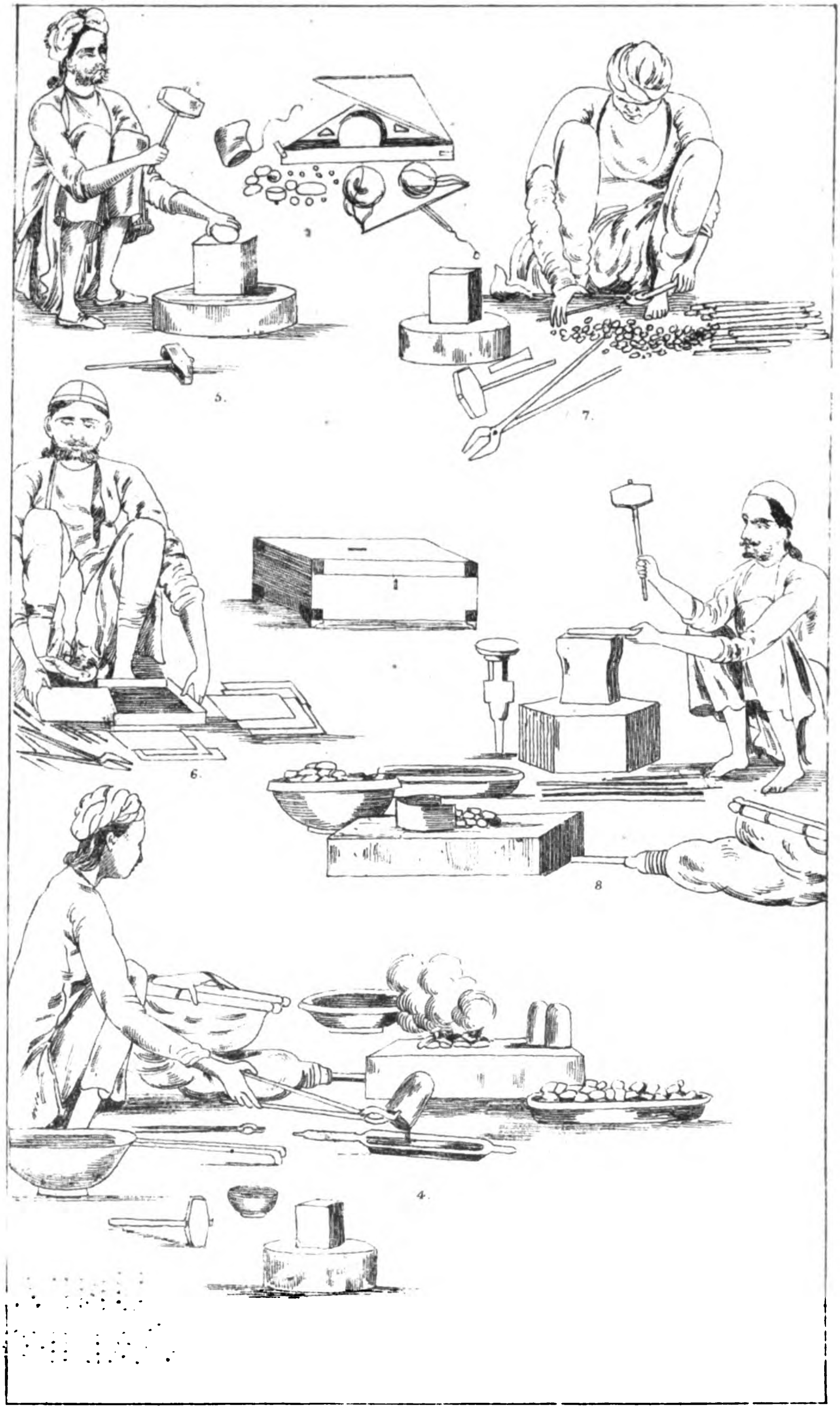
The discovery of alloy in silver. Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper. In Írán and Túrán, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver *dahdahí;* in Hindustán, the sairafis use for it the term *bist biswah.* According to the quantity of the alloy, it descends in degree; but it is not made less than five, and no one would care for silver baser than ten degrees. Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound, which of the alloys is prevailing, whilst by filing and boring it, the quality of the inside is ascertained. They also try it by beating it when hot, and then throwing it into water, when blackness denotes lead, redness copper, a white greyish colour tin, and whiteness a large proportion of silver.

THE METHOD OF REFINING SILVER.

They dig a hole, and having sprinkled into it a small quantity of wild cow dung, they fill it with the ashes of *Mughílan*[2] wood; then they moisten it, and work it up into the shape of a dish; into this they put the adulterated silver, together with a proportionate quantity of lead. First, they put a fourth part of the lead on the top of the silver, and having surrounded the whole with coals, blow the fire with a pair of bellows, till the metals are melted, which operation is generally repeated four times. The proofs of the metal being pure are, a lightning-like brightness, and its beginning to harden at the sides. As soon as it is hardened in

[1] This Turkish word signifies *a commander of one hundred men*, a captain. *Ahadís* of distinction were promoted to this military rank. The salary of a Yúzbáshí varied from five to seven hundred rupees *per mensem; vide* the third Áín of the second book.

[2] Called in Hind. *babúl*, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning.


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the middle, they sprinkle it with water, when flames resembling in shape the horns of wild goats, issue from it. It then forms itself into a dish, and is perfectly refined. If this dish be melted again, half a surkh in every tólah will burn away, *i. e.*, 6 máshahs and 2 surkhs in 100 tólahs. The ashes of the dish, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of *litharge*, called in Hindí *k'haral*, and in Persian *kuhnah*;[1] the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the Zarráb, 5 máshahs and 5 surkhs are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred tólahs of it; after which the assay master marks the mass with the usual stamp, that it may not be altered or exchanged.

In former times silver also was assayed by the banwárí system; now it is calculated as follows:—if by refining 100 tolahs, of *sháhí* silver, which is current in 'Iráq and Khurásán, and of the *lárí* and *misqálí*, which are current in Túrán, there are lost three tólahs and one surkh; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish *narjíl*, and the *mahmúdí* and *muzaffarí* of Gujrát and Málwah, 13 tólahs and 6½ máshahs are lost, they become of the imperial standard.

15. The *Qurçkúb* having heated the refined silver, hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead. His fee for the weight of 1000 rupees, is 4½ dams.

16. The *Cháshnígír* examines the refined gold and silver, and fixes its purity as follows:—Having made two tólahs of the refined gold into eight plates, he applies layers of the mixture as above described, and sets fire to it, keeping out, however, all draught; he then washes the plates, and melts them. If they have not lost anything by this process, the gold is pure. The assay-master then tries it upon the touchstone, to satisfy himself and others. For assaying that quantity, he gets 1¾ dáms. In the case of silver, he takes one tólah with a like quantity of lead, which he puts together into a bone crucible, and keeps it on the fire till the lead is all burnt. Having then sprinkled the silver with water, he hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead; and having melted it in a new crucible, he weighs it; and if it has lost in weight three[2] *birinj* (rice grains), it is sufficiently pure; otherwise he melts it again, till it comes to that degree. For assaying that quantity, his fee is 3 dáms, 4½ jétals.

17. The *Niáriyah* collects the *khák i khaláç*, and washes it, taking two sérs at the time; whatever gold there may be amongst it, will settle, from its weight, to the bottom. The *khák*, when thus washed, is called in Hindí *kukrah*, and still contains some gold, for the recovery of which, directions shall hereafter be given. The abovementioned adulterated sediment is rubbed together with quicksilver, at the rate of six máshahs *per sér*. The

[1] Some MSS. have *katah*.

[2] One MS. has *six*.

quicksilver from its predilective affinity, draws the gold to itself, and forms an amalgam which is kept over the fire in a retort, till the gold is separated from the quicksilver.

For extracting the gold from this quantity of *khák*, the *Niyáriyah* receives 20 dáms, 2 jétals.

The process of Kukrah.

They mix with the *kukrah* an equal quantity of *punhar*, and form a paste of *rasi* (aqua fortis), and wild cowdung. They then pound the first composition, and mixing it with the paste, work it up into balls of two sérs weight, which they dry on a cloth.

Punhar is obtained as follows :—

They make a hole in the earth, and fill it with the ashes of *Babúl*-wood, at the rate of six fingers of ashes for every maund of lead. The lead itself is put at the bottom of the hole, which has been smoothed; then they cover it with charcoals, and melt the lead. After that, having removed the coals, they place over it two plates of clay, fixed by means of thorns, and close up the bellows hole, but not the vent. This they keep covered with bricks, till the ashes have thoroughly soaked up the lead. The bricks they frequently remove, to learn the state of the lead. For the abovementioned quantity of lead, there are 4 máshahs of silver mixed up with the ashes. These ashes they cool in water, when they are called *punhar*. Out of every man of lead two sérs are burnt; but the mass is increased by four sérs of ashes, so that the weight of the whole mass will be one man and two sérs.

Rasi is a kind of acid, made of *ashkhár*[1] and saltpetre.

Having thus explained what *punhar* and *rasi* are, I return to the description of the process of *Kukrah*. They make an oven-like vessel, narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle, one and a half yards in height, with a hole at the bottom. Then having filled the vessel with coals within four fingers of the top, they place it over a pit dug in the earth, and blow the fire with two bellows. After that, the aforementioned balls being broken into pieces, they throw them into the fire and melt them, when the gold, silver, copper and lead, fall through the hole in the bottom of the vessel into the pit below. Whatever remains in the vessel, is softened and washed, and the lead separated from it. They likewise collect the ashes, from whence also by a certain process profit may be derived. The metal is then taken out of the pit, and melted according to the *punhar* system. The lead will mix with the ashes,

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[1] The margins of some of the MSS. explain this word by the Hind. *sijjí*, impure carbonate of soda.

from which thirty sérs will be recovered, and ten sérs will be burnt. The gold, silver and copper, remain together in a mass, and this they call *bugráwatí*, or according to some, *gubráwatí*.

The process of Bugráwatí.

They make a hòle, and fill it with the ashes of *babúl*-wood, half a sér for every 100 tólahs of *bugrawátí*. These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the bugráwatí, adding one tólah of copper, and twenty-five tólahs of lead. They now fill the dish with coals, and cover it with bricks. When the whole has melted, they remove the coals and the bricks, and make a fire of *babúl*-wood, till the lead and copper unite with the ashes, leaving the gold and silver together. These ashes are also called *k'haral*, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process, which will be hereafter explained.

ÁIN 8.

THE METHOD OF SEPARATING THE SILVER FROM THE GOLD.

They melt this composition six times; three times with copper, and three times with *sulphur*, called in Hind. *chhachhiyá*. For every tólah of the alloy, they take a máshah of copper, and two máshahs, two surkhs of sulphur. First, they melt it with copper, and then with sulphur. If the alloy be of 100 tólahs weight, the 100 máshahs of copper are employed as follows:—they first melt fifty máshahs with it, and then twice again, twenty-five máshahs. The sulphur is used in similar proportions. After reducing the mixture of gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty máshahs of copper, and melt it in a crucible. They have near at hand a vessel full of cold water, on the surface of which is laid a broomlike bundle of hay. Upon it they pour the melted metal, and prevent it, by stirring it with a stick, from forming into a mass. Then having again melted these bits, after mixing them with the remaining copper in a crucible, they set it to cool in the shade: and for every tólah of this mixture, two máshahs and two surkhs of sulphur are used, *i. e.*, at the rate of one and one half quarter sér ($1\frac{3}{8}$ sér) *per* 100 *tólahs*. When it has been three times melted in this manner, there appears on the surface a whitish kind of ashes, which is silver. This is taken off, and kept separate; and its process shall hereafter be explained. When the mixture of gold and silver has thus been subjected to three fires for the copper, and three for the sulphur, the solid part left is the gold. In the language of the Panjáb, this gold is called *kail*, whilst about Dihlí, it is termed *pinjar*. If

the mixture contained much gold, it generally turns out to be of 6½ *bán*, but it is often only five, and even four.

In order to refine this gold, one of the following methods must be used: Either they mix fifty tólahs of this with 400 tólahs of purer gold, and refine it by the *Salóni* process; or else they use the *Alóni* process. For the latter they make a mixture of two parts of wild cowdung, and one part of saltpetre, Having then cast the aforesaid *pinjar* into ingots, they make it into plates, none of which ought to be lighter than 1½ tólahs, but a little broader than those which they make in the *saloni* process. Then having besmeared them with sesame-oil, they strew the above mixture over them, giving them for every strewing two gentle fires. This operation they repeat three or four times; and if they want the metal very pure, they repeat the process till it comes up to nine *bán*. The ashes are also collected, being a kind of *k'haral*.

ÁIN 9.

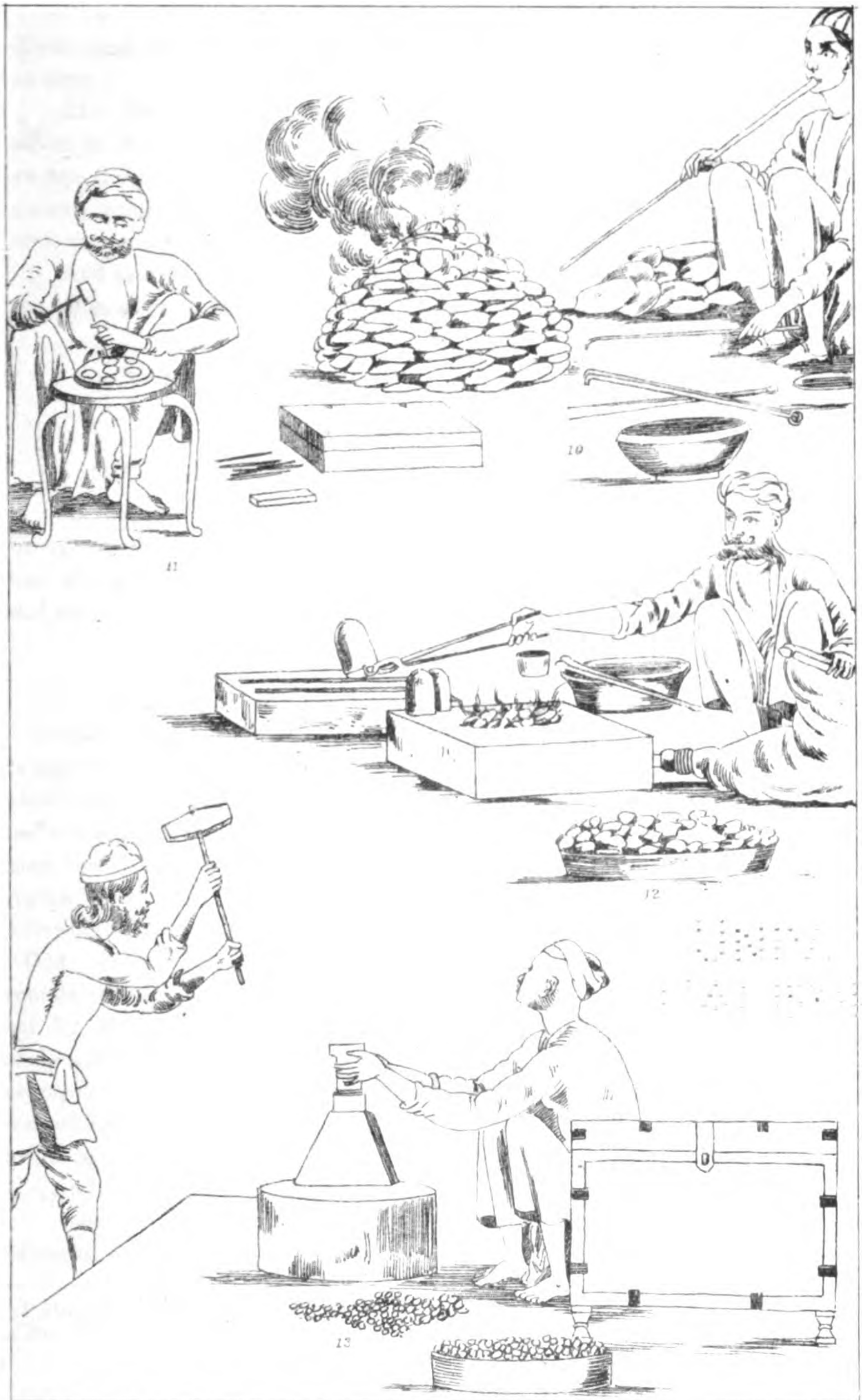
THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM THESE ASHES.

Whatever ashes and dross have been collected, both before and after the process of *alóni*, they mix with double the quantity of pure lead, put them into a crucible, and keep them for one watch over the fire. When the metal is cold, they refine it as described under the article *Sabbák*, p. 22. The ashes of it are also *k'haral*. The *salóni* process is also performed in other ways well known to those conversant with the business.

18. The *Paniwár* having melted the k'haral, separates the silver from the copper. His fee for every tólah of silver is 1½ dáms. As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 dáms to the díwán. Having reduced the *k'haral* to small bits, he adds to every *man* of it 1½ sérs of *tangár* (borax), and three sérs of pounded natrum, and kneads them together. He then puts this mass, sér by sér, into the vessel above described, and melts it, when lead mixed with silver collects in the pit. This is afterwards refined by the process of the *sabbák*, and the lead which separates from this, and mixes with the ashes, turns *punhar*.

19. The *Paikár* buys the *salóni* and *k'haral* from the goldsmiths of the city, and carries them to the mint to be melted, and makes a profit on the gold and silver. For every *man* of *salóni*, he gives 17 dáms, and for the same quantity of k'haral 14 dáms, to the exchequer.

20. The *Nichóiwálah* brings old copper-coins which are mixed with silver, to be melted; and from 100 tólahs of silver, 3½ rupees go to the


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díwán; and when he wishes to coin the silver, he pays a fixed quantity for it as duty.

21. The *Khakshóe.* When the owners of the metals get their gold and silver in the various ways which have now been described, the Khakshóe sweeps the mint, takes the sweepings to his own house, washes them, and gains a profit. Some of the sweepers carry on a very flourishing trade. The state receives from this man a monthly gift of 12½ rupees.

And in like manner all the officers of the mint pay a monthly duty to the state, at the rate of three dáms for every 100 dáms.

ÁÍN 10.

THE COINS OF THIS GLORIOUS EMPIRE.

As through the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver have been brought to the greatest degree of purity, in like manner the form of the coins has also been improved. The coins are now an ornament to the treasury, and much liked by the people. I shall give a few particulars.

A. *Gold Coins.*

1. The *S'hansah* is a round coin weighing 101 tólahs, 9 máshahs, and 7 surkhs, in value equal to 100 *la'l i jaláli*-muhurs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, *alsultánu ala'zamu alkháqánu almu'azzamu khallada alláhu mulkahu wa sultánahu zarbu dari-lkhiláfati Ágrah,*—"The great sultán, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Ágrah." On the field of the reverse is *the beautiful formula,*[1] and the following verse of the Qorán:[2]—*Alláhu yarzaqu man yasháu bighairi hisábin,*—"God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure;"—and roundabout are the names of the first four califs. This is what was first cut by Mauláná Maqçúd, the engraver; after which Mullá 'Alí Ahmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side, *Afzalu dínárin yanfuquhu alrajulu, dínárun yanfuquhu 'ala açhábihi fí sabílilláh,*—"The best coin which a man expends, is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God."

And on the other side he wrote,

Alsultánu al'áli alkhalífatu almuta'áli khallada alláhu ta'ála mulkahu wa sultánahu, wa abbada 'adlahu wa ihsánahu,—"The sublime sultán, the exalted

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[1] Also called *Kalimah,* or the Confession of Faith, *lá iláha ill-alláh, Muhammadun rasúl-ulláh.*

[2] Qor. Sur. II, 208.

calif, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and give eternity to his justice and bounty!"

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two Rubá'ís of the court-poet and philosopher *Shaikh Faizi* were engraved by him. On one side,

Khurshéd kih haft bahr azú gauhar yáft
Sang é siyah az partaw i án jauhar yáft
Kán az nazar é tarbiyat é ú zar yáft
Wán zar sharaf az sikkah i Sháh Akbar yáft.

"It is the Sun[1] from which the seven oceans get their pearls,
The black rocks get their jewels from his lustre.
The mines get their gold from his fostering glance,
And their gold is ennobled by Akbar's stamp."

and, *Alláhu akbar, jalla jaláluhu,*—"God is great, may his His glory shine forth!" in the middle. And on the other side,

Ín sikkah kih piráyah i ummíd buwad
Bá naqsh i dawám u nám i jáwíd buwad
Símá i sa'ádatash hamín bas kih badahr
Yak zarrah nazar-kardah i khurshéd buwad.

"This coin, which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp, and an immortal name.
As a sign of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient
That once for all ages the sun has cast a glimpse upon it."

and the date, according to the *Divine era*, in the middle.

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tólahs and 8 máshahs, in value equal to 100 *round* muhurs, at 11 máshahs each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square. On one side it has the same impression as the *s'hansah*, and on the other side the following Rubá'í by *Faizi*:—

Ín naqd i rawán i ganj i sháhinsháhí
Bá kaukab i iqbál kunad hamráhí
Khurshéd biparwarash azánrú kih badahr
Yábad sharaf az sikkah i Akbarsháhí.

"This current coin of the imperial treasure
Accompanies the star of good fortune.
O sun, foster it, because for all ages
It is ennobled by Akbar's stamp!"

[1] According to the Natural Philosophers of the Middle Ages, the influence of the sun calls the metals, the pearls and precious stones into existence; *vide* the thirteenth Áín. The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III.

4. The *Átmah* is the fourth part of the *s'hansah*, round and square. Some have the same impression as the *s'hansah*; and some have on one side the following Rubá'í by Faizí—

Ín sikkah kih dast i bakht rá zéwar bád
Piráyah i nuh sipihr u haft akhtar bád
Zarrín naqdést kár azú chún zar bád
Dar dahr rawán banám i sháh akbar bád.

"This coin—May it adorn the hand of the fortunate,
And may it be an ornament of the nine heavens and the seven stars!—
Is a gold coin,—May golden be its work!
Let it be current for all ages to the glory of Sháh Akbar."

And on the other side the preceding Rubá'í.

5. The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *átmah*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, in value equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one twenty-fifth, of the *s'hansah.*

6. The *Chugul*,[1] of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the *s'hansah*, in value equal to two muhurs.[2]

7. The *round La'l i Jalálí*,[3] in weight and value equal to two *round muhurs*, having on one side "*Alláhu akbar*," and on the other *Yá mu'ínu*—"O helper."

8. The *Áftábí* is round, weighs 1 tólah, 2 máshahs and 4⅜ surkhs, in

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[1] Or *Jugul*. Abulfazl's spelling in the text is ambiguous.

[2] The MSS. differ. Most of them place the *Chugul* as the sixth coin, *after* the *Binsat*, and read:—

"The *Chugul*, of a square form, weighing 3 tólahs, 5¼ surkhs; its value is thirty rupees. Also, of a *round* form, weighing 2 tólahs, 9 máshahs, having a value of *three round muhurs*, of 11 máshahs each, (*i. e.*, 27 rupees). But the impression of both is the same. They are the *fiftieth* part of the *S'hansah*."

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the *S'hansah;* for the two Chuguls, as given by Abulfazl, would each be the $\frac{100}{3}$th part of the two kinds of *S'hansah*, not the *fiftieth* part.

Mr. Thomas in his excellent edition of Prinsep's Useful tables, pp. 5 and 6, gives an *extract* from a MS. of the *Áín* in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the *square* form of the *Chugul*, weighing 3 tólahs, 5¼ surkhs, worth 30 rupees; and then passes on to the *eighth* coin, the *Áftábí*.

Two other MSS.—among them Col. Hamilton's—read *after* the *Binsat*, (*i. e.*, after the twenty-fifth line of p. 24 of my text edition)—

"6. The *Chahárgóshah* (or *square*), weighing 3 tólahs, 5¼ surkhs, worth 30 rupees."

"7. The *Gird* (or *round*); weighing 2 tólahs, 9 máshahs, in value equal to the 3 *round muhurs* of 11 máshahs each."

"Both have the same impression."

"8. The *Chugul*, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a *S'hansah*, in value equal to two *La'l i Jálalí muhurs*."

This reading obviates all difficulties. But the real question is whether the *Chahárgóshah*, the *Gird*, and the *Chugul* are *three* distinct coins.

[3] For *the round La'l i Jalálí*, some MSS. only read, "*The Gird*," *i. e.*, round, taking the words *La'l i Jalálí* to the preceding. *Vide* the tenth coin.

value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "*Alláhu akbar, jalla jalláluhu,*" and on the other the date according to the Divine era, and the place where it is struck.

9. The *Iláhí* is round, weighs 12 máshahs, $1\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs, bears the same stamp as the *Áftábí*, and has a value of 10 rupees.

10. The *square La'l i Jalálí* is of the same weight and value; on one side "*Alláhu akbar,*" and on the other "*jalla jaláluhu.*"

11. The *'Adlgutkah* is round, weighs 11 máshahs, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side "*Alláhu akbar,*" and on the other, "*Yá mu'ínu.*"

12. The *Round muhur*, in weight and value equal to the *'Adlgutkah*, but of a different[1] stamp.

13. *Mihrábí*[2] is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the *round muhur*.

14. The *Mu'íní* is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the *La'l i jalálí*, and the *round muhur*. It bears the stamp "*yá mu'ínu.*"

15. The *Chahárgóshah*, in stamp and weight the same as the *Áftábí*.

16. The *Gird* is the half of the *Iláhí*, and has the same stamp.

17. The *D'han*[3] is half a *La'l i Jalálí*.[4]

18. The *Salímí* is the half of the *'Adlgutkah*.

19. The *Rabí* is a quarter of the *Áftábí*.

20. The *Man*, is a quarter of the *Iláhí*, and *Jalálí*.

21. The *Half Salímí* is a quarter of the *'Adlgutkah*.

22. The *Panj* is the fifth part of the *Iláhí*.

23. The *Pandau* is the fifth part of the *La'l i Jalálí;* on one side is a lily, and on the other a wild rose.

24. The *Sumní*, or *Ashtsiddh*, is one-eighth of the *Iláhí;* on one side "*Alláhu akbar,*" and on the other "*jalla jaláluhu.*"

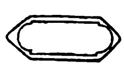
25. The *Kalá* is the sixteenth part of the *Iláhí*. It has on both sides a wild rose.

26. The *Zarah* is the 32nd part of an *Iláhí*, and has the same stamp as the *kalá*.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin *La'l i jalális*, *D'hans*, and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.

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[1] It has the *Kalimah*. (Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Áín).

[2] The figure called *mihrábí*, is 

[3] In Forbes's Dictionary, *dahan*.

[4] Several MSS. read—"*Half a quarter* Iláhí and La'l i Jalálí." Forbes gives *six* rupees (?).

[5] Several MSS. have *Rabí'*. Perhaps we should write *Rabbí*.

B. *Silver Coins.*

1. The *Rupee* is round, and weighs eleven and one half máshahs. It was first introduced in the time of *Shér Khán.* It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "*Alláhu akbar, jalla jaláluhu,*" and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty dáms, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The *Jalálah* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalálah.*

4. The *Charn* is a quarter *Jalálah.*

5. The *Pandau* is a fifth of the *Jalálah.*

6. The *Asht* is the eighth part of the *Jalálah.*

7. The *Dasá* is one-tenth of the *Jalálah.*

8. The *Kalá* is the sixteenth-part of the *Jalálah.*

9. The *Súkí* is one-twentieth of the *Jalálah.*

The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rupee,* which are however different in form.

C. *Copper Coins.*

1. The *Dám* weighs 5 tánks, *i. e.*, 1 tólah, 8 máshahs, and 7 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called *Paisah,* and also *Bahlóli;* now it is known under this name (dám). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the dám is divided into twenty-five parts, each of which is called a *jétal.*[1] This imaginary division is only used by accountants.

2. The *Adhélah* is half of a *dám.*

3. The *Páulah* is a quarter *dám.*

4. The *Damrí* is one-eighth of a *dám.*

In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, *viz.*, at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmadábád (Gujrát), and Kábul. Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places, and besides in the following ten places,—Iláhabás, Ágrah, Ujain, Súrat, Dihlí, Patana, Kashmír, Láhór, Multán, Tándah. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, *viz.*, Ajmír, Audh, Atak, Alwar, Badáon, Banáras, Bhakkar, Bahrah, Patan, Jaunpúr, Jálandhar, Hardwár, Hisár Fírúzah,

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[1] Often misspelt *chétal.* The text gives | the correct spelling.

Kálpí, Gwáliár, Górak'hpúr, Kalánwar, Lak'hnau, Mandú, Nágór, Sarhind, Siyálkót, Sarónj, Sahâranpúr, Sárangpúr, Sambal, Qanauj, Rantanbhúr.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhurs*, *rupees*, and *dáms*.

Unprincipled men cause a great deal of mischief by rubbing down the coins, or by employing similar methods; and in consequence of the damage done to the nation at large, his Majesty continually consults experienced men, and from his knowledge of the spirit of the age, issues new regulations, in order to prevent such detrimental practices.

The currency underwent several changes. *First*, when (in the 27th year) the reins of the government were in the hands of Rájah Tódarmal,[1] *four* kinds of muhurs were allowed to be current: *A*. There was a *La'l i Jalálí*, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 tólah, $1\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 dáms. Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign, a muhur with the imperial stamp, of which *three* degrees passed as current, *viz.*, *B*. This muhur, when perfectly pure, and having the full weight of 11 máshahs. Its value was 360 dáms. If from wear and tear it had lost in weight within three grains of rice, it was still allowed to be of the same degree, and no difference was made. *C*. The same muhur, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 dáms. *D*. The same

[1] Rájah Tódarmal, a K'hetrí by caste, was born at Láhór. He appears to have entered Akbar's service during the eighteenth year of the emperor's reign, when he was employed to settle the affairs of Gujrát. In the 19th year, we find him in Bengal in company with *Mun'im Khán;* and three years later, again in Gujrát. In the 27th year, he was appointed *Díwán* of the empire, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a K'hetrí in the 32nd year, he was sent against the Yúsufzaís, to avenge the death of *Bír Bar*. In the 34th year, old age and sickness obliged him to send in his resignation, which Akbar unwillingly accepted. Retiring to the banks of the Ganges he died—or, *went to hell*, as Badáoní expresses himself in the case of Hindus—on the eleventh day A. H. 998, or 10th November 1589, the same year in which Rájah Bhagawán Dás died. Tódarmal had reached the rank of a *Chahárhazárí*, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son *D'hárú*, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with T'hat'hah.

Abulfazl did not like Tódarmal personally, but praises him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. Aurangzéb said, he had heard from his father, that Akbar complained of the rájah's *independence, vanity*, and *bigoted adherence to Hinduism*. Abulfazl openly complained of him to Akbar; but the emperor with his usual regard for faithful services, said that he could not drive away an old servant. In his adherence to Hinduism, Tódarmal may be contrasted with *Bír Bar*, who a short time before his death had become a member of the *Divine Faith*. Once when accompanying Akbar to the Panjáb, in the hurry of the departure, Todarmal's idols were lost; and as he transacted no business before his daily worship, he remained for several days without food and drink, and was at last with difficulty cheered up by the emperor.

muhur when it had lost in wright from six to nine rice grains; its value was 350 dáms.

Muhurs of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Of *Rupees*, three kinds were then current, *viz.*, *A.* one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 11½ máshahs; it went under the name of *Jalálah*, and had a value of 40 dáms. *B.* The round, old *Akbarsháhi* Rupee, which, when of full weight, or even at a surkh less, was valued at 39 dáms. *C.* The same rupees, when in weight two surkhs less, at 38 dáms.

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Secondly, on the 18th Mihr of the 29th year of the Divine era, 'Azaduddaulah Amír Fathullah[1] of Shíráz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued, that on the *muhurs*, as far as *three* grains; and on the *rupees*, as far as *six* grains short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight. If muhurs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, whatever their deficiency might be; but it was not ordered, that only muhurs down to nine grains less, should be regarded as muhurs. Again, according to the same regulation, the value of a muhur that was one surkh deficient, was put down as 355 dáms and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one

[1] Amír Fathullah of Shíráz was the pupil of Khájah Jamáluddín Mahmúd, Kamáluddín of Shirwán, and Mír Ghiásuddín Mançúr of Shíráz. He so excelled in all branches of Natural philosophy, especially mechanics, that Abulfazl said of him, "If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amír will restore them." At the earnest solicitations of 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr, he left Shíráz for the Dekhan. In A.H. 991, after the death of 'Ádil Sháh, he was invited by Akbar, who raised him to the dignity of a *Sadr*, and bestowed upon him, three years later, the title of *Amínulmulk*. He was appointed to assist Tódarmal, and rendered good service in working up the old revenue books. His title *Amínulmulk*, to which Abulfazl alludes (*vide* p. 28, l. 9 of my text edition), was in the same year changed to *'Azaduddaulah*, or *the arm of the empire*. The Amír went afterwards to Khándésh. After his return in 997 to Akbar, who was then in Kashmír, he was attacked with fever, of which he died. Thinking to understand the medical art, he refused the advice of the famous Hakím 'Alí, and tried to cure the fever by eating *harísah*, (*vide* the twenty-fourth Áín), which caused his death.

Next to Abulfazl, Faizí, and Bír Bar, the Amír was perhaps most loved by Akbar. Several of his mechanical inventions, mentioned below, are ascribed by Abulfazl to Akbar himself (!). The Amír was, however, on the best terms with Abulfazl, whose son he instructed. According to the author of the *Mir-át ul 'Álam*, he was "a worldly man, often accompanying the emperor on hunting parties, with a rifle on his shoulder, and a powder-bag in his waistband, treading down science, and performing feats of strength, which Rustam could not have performed."

It is stated by the author of the *Maásir ul umará* that according to some, the Amír was a *Sih-hazárí*, or Commander of three thousand; but I do not find his name among the lists of Akbar's grandees given in the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, and the last Áín of the second book of this work. Instead of *Amír* Fathullah, we also find, especially in Badáoní, *Sháh* Fathullah. He lies buried on the *Takht i Sulaimán*. Faizí's ode on his death is very fine.

surkh of *coined* gold at the low rate of *four* dáms and a fraction. According to Tódarmal's regulation, a deduction of *five* dáms was made for a deficiency of one surkh; and if the muhur had lost something more than the three grains, for which he had made no account, even if it were only ½ surkh, full five dáms were subtracted; and for a deficiency of 1½ surkhs, he deducted ten dáms, even if the deficiency should not be quite 1½ surkhs. By the new law of 'Azaduddaulah, the value of a muhur was lessened by six dáms and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 dáms and a fraction only.[1]

'Azaduddaulah abolished also the regulation, according to which the value of a round rupee had been fixed at one dám less than the square one, notwithstanding its perfection in weight and purity, and fixed the value of the round rupee, when of full weight or not less than one surkh, at forty dáms; and whilst formerly a deduction of two dáms was made for a deficiency of two surkhs, they now deduct for the same deficiency only one dám and a fraction.

Thirdly, when 'Azaduddaulah went to Khándésh, the Rájah estimated the value of muhurs that had been expressed in Jalálah rupees, in round rupees; and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on muhurs and rupees according to the old rates.

Fourthly, when Qulij Khán[2] received the charge of the government, he adopted the Rájah's manner of estimating the muhurs; but he deducted

[1] For 'Azaduddaulah having fixed the value of 1 surkh of coined gold at 4 dáms and a small fraction, the value of a muhur of full weight (11 máshahs = 11 × 8 surkhs) was only 11 × 8 × (4 + a small fraction) dáms, *i. e.*, according to Abulfazl, 353 dáms and a fraction, instead of 360 dáms.

[2] *Qulij Khán* is first mentioned during the seventeenth year of Akbar's reign, when he was made governor of the Fort of Súrat, which Akbar after a siege of forty-seven days had conquered. In the 23rd year he was sent to Gujrát; and after the death of Sháh Mançúr, he was, two years later, appointed as *Díwán*. In the 28th year he accompanied the army during the conquest of Gujrát. In the 34th year, he received *Sambhal* as jágír. After the death of Tódarmal, he was again appointed as *Díwán*. This is the time to which Abulfazl refers. In 1002 he was made governor of Kábul, where he was not successful. After his removal, he accompanied, in 1005, his son-in-law Prince Danyál as *Atálíq*, or tutor, but he soon returned to Akbar. During the absence, in 1007, of the emperor in Khándésh, he was governor of Ágrah. Two years later he was promoted to the governorship of the Panjáb and Kábul. At the accession of Jahángír, he was sent to Gujrát, but returned next year to the Panjáb, where he had to fight against the Raushaniyyahs. He died, at an advanced age, in 1035, or A. D. 1625-26. Abulfazl, in the last Áín of the second book, mentions him as *Chahárhazárí*, or Commander of Four Thousand, which high rank he must have held for some time, as *Nizámí i Harawí*, in his *Tabáqat i Akbarí*, mentions him as such, and as Díwán. When tutor to Prince Danyál, he was promoted to the command of Four Thousand Five Hundred. Qulij Khán was a pious man, and a stanch Sunní; he was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of *Ulfatí*; some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the *Mir-át ul 'Álam*. The high rank which he held, was less due to his talents as a statesman, than to his family-connexion with the kings of Túrán. Of his two sons, Mírzá Saifullah and Mírzá Husain Qulij, the latter is best known.

ten dáms for a deficiency in the weight of a muhur, for which the Rájah had deducted five dáms; and twenty dáms, for the former deduction of ten dáms; whilst he considered every muhur as bullion, if the deficiency was 1¼ surkhs. Similarly, every rupee, the deficiency of which was one surkh, was considered as bullion.

Lastly, his Majesty trusting to his advisers, and being occupied by various important affairs, paid at first but little attention to this subject, till after having received some intimation of the unsatisfactory state of this matter, he issued another regulation, which saved the nation further losses, and was approved of by every one, far and near. On the 26th of Bahman, of the year 36, according to the Divine era (A. D. 1592,) he adopted the second [*i. e.*, 'Azaduddaulah's] method, with one exception, namely, he did not approve of the provision that a muhur the deficiency of which did not exceed *three*, and a rupee, the deficiency of which did not exceed *six*, surkhs, should still be regarded as of full weight. And this regulation was the only effectual method for preventing the fraudulent practices of unprincipled men; for the former regulations contained no remedy in cases when the officers of the mint coined money of the above deficiency in weight, or when treasurers reduced full coins to the same deficiency. Besides shameless, thievish people made light grain weights, and used to reduce muhurs, deficient by three grains, to six grains deficiency, whilst they accepted muhurs six grains deficient as muhurs deficient by nine grains. This reduction of coins being continued, large quantities of gold were stolen, and the losses seemed never to end. By the command of his Majesty grain weights of *bábághúrí* were made, which were to be used in weighing. On the same date other stringent regulations were issued, that the treasurers and revenue collectors should not demand from the tax-payers any particular species of coins, and that the exact deficiency in weight and purity, whatever it might be, should be taken according to the present rate and no more. This order of his Majesty disappointed the wicked, taught covetous men moderation, and freed the nation from the cruelty of oppressors.

ÁÍN 11.

THE DIRHAM AND THE DÍNÁR.

Having given some account of the currency of the empire, I shall add a few particulars regarding these two ancient coins, and remark on the value of ancient coinage.

The *Dirham*, or *Dirhám*, as the word is sometimes given, is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date stone. During the califate of

'Omar, it was changed to a circular form; and in the time of *Zubair*, it was impressed with the words *Alláhu* (God), *barakat* (blessing). *Hajjáj* stamped upon it the chapter of the Qorán called *Ikhláç;* and others say that he imprinted it with his own name. Others assert, that 'Omar was the first who stamped an impression on dirhams; whilst, according to some, Greek, Khusravite, and Himyarite dirhams were in circulation at the time of Abdulmalik, the son Marwán, by whose order Hajjáj, the son of Yúsuf, had struck dirhams. Some say that Hajjáj refined the base dirhams, and coined them with the words *Alláhu ahad* (God is one), and *Alláhu çamad* (God is eternal); and these dirhams were called *makrúhah* (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured; unless this term be a corruption of some other name. After Hajjáj, at the time of the reign of *Yazíd* ibn i Abdulmalik, 'Omar ibn Hubairah coined in the kingdom of 'Iráq better dirhams than Hajjáj had made; and afterwards Khálid ibn Abdullah Qasrí, when governor of 'Iráq, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yúsuf ibn 'Omar. Again, it has been said that Muç'ab ibn Zubair was the first who struck dirhams. Various accounts are given of their weights; some saying that they were of ten or nine, or six or five *misqáls;* whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve and ten *qiráts*, asserting at the same time that 'Omar had taken a dirham of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen qiráts, being the third part of the aggregate sum. It is likewise said that at the time of 'Omar there were current several kinds of dirhams: *first*, some of eight *dángs*, which were called *baghlí*, after *Rás baghl* who was an assay-master, and who struck dirhams by the command of 'Omar; but others call them *baghallí*, from *baghal*, which is the name of a village;[1] *secondly*, some of four dángs, which were called *tabrí; thirdly*, some of three dángs, which were known as *maghribí;* and *lastly*, some of one dáng, named *yamaní*, the half of which four kinds 'Omar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight. Fázil of Khujand says that in former days dirhams had been of two kinds, *first* :—full ones of eight and six dángs (1 *dang* of his = 2 *qiráts;* 1 *qirát* = 2 *tassúj*; 1 *tassúj* = 2 *habbah*)*;* and *secondly*, deficient ones of four dángs and a fraction. Some hold different opinions on this subject.

The *Dínár* is a gold coin, weighing *one misqál*, *i. e.*, $1\frac{3}{7}$ dirhams, as they put 1 *misqál* = 6 *dángs;* 1 *dáng* 4 *tassúj;* 1 *tassúj* = 2 *habbahs;* 1 *habbah* = 2 *jaus* (barley grains); 1 *jau* = 6 *khardals* (mustard-grain); 1 *khardal* = 12 *fals;* 1 *fal* = 6 *fatíls;* 1 *fatíl* = 6 *naqírs*; 1 *naqír* = 6 *qitmírs;* and 1 *qitmír* = 12 *zarrahs*. One *misqál*, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. *Misqál* is a weight, used in weighing gold; and it is also the name of the coin. From some ancient writings it appears

[1] According to some inferior MSS., the name of a kind of gold.

that the Greek *misqál* is out of use, and weighs two *qírát* less than this; and that the Greek dirham differs likewise from others, being less in weight by $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *misqál*.

ÁÍN 12.

THE PROFIT OF THE DEALERS IN GOLD AND SILVER.

One round muhur of 11 máshahs buys one tólah of gold of 10 *bán*; or one tólah, 2 surkhs of $9\frac{3}{4}$ bán; or 1 tólah, 4 *s.* of $8\frac{1}{2}$ bán; or 1 tólah 6 *s.* of $9\frac{1}{4}$ bán; or 1 tólah, 1 máshah of 9 bán; and similarly, according to the same proportion, the decrease of one bán increases the quantity of gold which a muhur can buy, by one máshah.

The merchant buys for 100 *La'l i Jalálí* muhurs 1·30 *t.* 2 *m.* $0\frac{5}{8}$ *s.* of *Hun* gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ báns. Of this quantity 22 *t.* 9 *m.* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *s.* burn away in melting, and mix with the *khák i khaláç*, so that 107 *t.* 4 *m.* $1\frac{1}{8}$ *s.* of pure gold remain, which are coined into 105 muhurs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a tólah of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees. From the *khák i khaláç* are recovered 2 *t.* 11 *m.* 4 *s.* of gold, and 11 *t.* 11 *m.* $4\frac{1}{2}$ *s.* of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, $12\frac{1}{2}$ tangahs,[1] so that altogether the abovementioned quantity of *Hun* gold yields 105 muhurs, 39 Rs., and 25 dáms.

This sum is accounted for as follows. *First*, 2 *Rs.* 18 *d.* $12\frac{1}{2}$*j.*, due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; *secondly*, 5 *Rs.* 8*d.* 8*j.* for ingredients; which sum is made up of 1 *R.* 4 *d.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *j.* on account of articles used in refining the metal, *viz.*, 26 *d.* $16\frac{1}{2}$*j.* dung; 4 *d.* 20*j.* salóní; 1 *d.* 10*j.* water; 11 *d.* 5*j.* quicksilver, and 4 *Rs.* 4 *d.* $6\frac{1}{2}$*j.* on account of the *khák i khaláç* (*viz.*, 21 *d.* $7\frac{1}{2}$*j.* charcoal, and 3 *Rs.* 22 *d.* 24*j.* lead); *thirdly*, 6 *Rs.* $37\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold; this item goes to the Díwán in case the gold belongs to the exchequer; *fourthly*, 100 *La'l i Jalálí* muhurs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; *fifthly*, 12 *Rs.* 37 *d.* $3\frac{1}{2}$*j.* which the merchant takes as his profit; *sixthly*, 5 muhurs 12 *Rs.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, which go to the exchequer.[2] According to this proportion, merchants make their profits.

Although gold is imported into Hindustan, it is to be found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country, as also in Tibet. Gold may also be obtained by the *Salóní*-process from the sands of the Ganges and Indus,

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[1] One tangah = 2 dáms; now-a-days one tangah = 2 *pais*.

[2] There is a slight mistake of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *jétals*, as the several items added up give 105 *m.* 39 *Rs.* 24 *d.* $23\frac{3}{4}$ *j.*, but not 105 *m.* 39 Rs. 25 *d.*

and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold: however, the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit.

One Rupee buys 1 *t.* 0 *m.* 2 *s.* of pure silver; hence for 950 Rs. the merchant gets 969 *t.* 9 *m.* 4 *s.* of silver. Out of this quantity, 5 *t.* 0 *m.* 4¾ *s.* burn away in casting ingots. The remainder yields 1006 rupees, and a surplus of silver worth 27½ dáms. The several items are—*first*, 2 *Rs.* 22 *d.* 12 *j.*, as wages for the workmen (*viz.*, The *Weighman* 5 *d.* 7¾ *j.*, the *Cháshnigír* 3 *d.* 4½; the *Melter* 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*; the *Zarráb* 2 *Rs.* 1 *d.* 0 *j.*; the *Sikkachí* 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*); *secondly*, 10 *d.* 15 *j.*, on account of requisites (*viz.*, 10 *d.* charcoal, and 15 *j.* water); *thirdly*, 50 *Rs.* 13 *d.* 0 *j.*, payable to the Díwán; *fourthly*, 950 Rs., which the merchant gets in exchange for the silver he brought; and *fifthly*, 3 *Rs.* 21 *d.* 10½ *j.*, being the profit of the merchant. If he refines the base silver at his own house, his profit will be much greater; but when he brings it to be coined, his profit cannot be so great.

Of the silver called *lárí* and *sháhí*, and the other above mentioned baser coins, one rupee buys 1 *t.* 0 *m.* 4 *s.*, so that 950 Rupees will buy 989 *t.* 7 *m.* In the *Sabbákí* process, 14 *t.* 10 *m.* 1 *s.* burn away, being at the rate of 1½ *t. per cent.*; and in making the ingots, 4 *t.* 11 *m.* 3 *s.* are lost in the fire. The remainder yields 1012 rupees; and from the *khák i k'haral* 3½ *Rs.* are recoverable. The several items are—*first*, 4 *Rs.* 27 *d.* 24¾ *j.* on account of the wages of the workmen (*viz.*, the *Weighman* 5 *d.* 7¾ *j.*; the *Sabbák* 2 *Rs.* 0 *d.* 19 *j.*; the *Qurçkób* 4 *d.* 19 *j.*; the *Cháshnigír* 3 *d.* 4 *j.*; the *Melter* 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*; the *Zarráb* 2 *Rs.* 1 *d.*; the *Sikkachí* 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*); *secondly*, 5 *Rs.* 24 *d.* 15 *j.* for necessaries, (*viz.* 5 *Rs.* 14 *d.* lead; 10 *d.* charcoal; and 15 *j.* water); *thirdly*, 50 *Rs.* 24 *d.*, payable to the state; *fourthly*, 950 *Rs.* which the merchant receives for his silver; *fifthly*, 4 *Rs.* 29 *d.* his profit.[1] Sometimes the merchant gets the silver cheap, when his profit is much larger.

1044 dáms buy one *man* of copper, *i. e.*, at the rate of 26 *d.* 2½ *j. per sér.* Out of this quantity, one sér is burnt away in melting; and as each sér yields 30 dáms, there are coined altogether 1170 dáms, from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18 *d.* 19½ *j.* as profit. 33 *d.* 10 *j.* go to the workmen; and 15 *d.* 8 *j.* for necessaries, (*viz.* 13 *d.* 8 *j.* for charcoal; 1 *d.* for water; and 1 *d.* for clay); 58½ *d.* go to the state.

ÁÍN 13.

THE ORIGIN OF METALS.

The Creator by calling into existence the four elements, has raised up wonderful forms. *Fire* is absolutely warm, dry, light; *air* is relatively

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[1] These items added give *Rs.* 1015, 25*d.* 14¾ *j.*, *i. e.*, a little more than the sum mentioned by Abulfazl (1015 *Rs.* 20 *d.*)

warm, moist, light; water is relatively cold, moist, heavy; earth is absolutely cold, dry, heavy. Heat is the cause of lightness, and cold of heaviness; moistness easily separates particles, whilst dryness prevents their separation. This wonderful arrangement calls four compounds into existence, *first*, the *ásár i 'ulwí*;[1] *secondly*, stones; *thirdly*, plants; *fourthly*, animals. From the heat of the sun, watery particles become lighter, mix with the air, and rise up. Such a mixture is called *bukhár* (gas). From the same cause, earthy particles mix with the air, and rise up. This mixture is called *dukhán* (vapour). Sometimes, however, airy particles mix with the earth. Several philosophers call both of the above mixtures *bukhár*, but distinguish the mixture of watery particles and air by the name of *moist*, or *watery bukhár*, whilst they call the mixture of earthy particles and air, *dry bukhár*, or *dukhání bukhár* (vapour-like gas). Both mixtures, they say, produce above the surface of the earth, clouds, wind, rain, snow, &c.; and, below the surface of our earth, earthquakes, springs, and minerals. They also look upon the *bukhár* as the body, and upon the *dukhán* as the soul of things. From a difference in their quality and quantity, various bodies are called into existence, as described in books on philosophy.

Minerals are of five kinds: *first*, those which do not melt on account of their dryness, as the *yáqút*; *secondly*, those which do not melt, on account of their liquidity, as quicksilver; *thirdly*, those which can be melted, being at the same time neither malleable, nor inflammable, as blue stone; *fourthly*, those which can be melted, being however not malleable, but inflammable, as sulphur; *fifthly*, those which can be melted, and are malleable, but not inflammable, as gold. A body is said to melt, when from the union of the inherent principles of dryness and moisture its particles are moveable; and a body is called malleable, when we can make it extend in such a manner, as to yield a longer and wider surface, without, however, either separating a part from it, or adding a part to it.

When in a mixture of *bukhár* with *dukhán*, the former is greater in quantity, and when, after their mixture and complete union, the heat of the sun causes the whole to contract, QUICKSILVER will be produced. Since no part of it is destitute of *dukhán*, the dryness is perceptible; hence, on touching it, it does not affect the hand, but flees from it; and since its contraction was produced by heat, no warmth can dissolve it. Again, when in a mixture of *bukhár* and *dukhán*, both are nearly in equal proportion, a tenacious greasy moisture is produced. At the time of fermentation, airy particles enter, when cold causes the whole to contract. This mass is inflammable. If the *dukhán* and the greasiness are a little in excess, SULPHUR will be produced, in colour

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[1] Or *doings from on high*, as rain, snow, &c.

either red or yellow, or grey or white. If the proportion of the dukhán is large, and that of the grease less, ARSENIC will result, which is red and yellow. And if the quantity of the *bukhár* is greater, pure, black and yellow NAPHTHA will arise, after the mixture gets solid. Since in all, cold was the cause of the contraction, they can be melted; and on account of the prevalence of greasiness and tenacious moistness, they are also inflammable, though, on account of the moistness, not malleable.

Although quicksilver and sulphur are the only component parts of "the seven bodies," there arise various forms from a difference in purity, or from peculiar circumstances of the mixture, or from a variety of the action of the component parts on each other. Thus *silver* will result, when neither of the two components mixes with earthy particles, when they are pure and become perfectly united, and when the sulphur is white, and less than the quicksilver. Or, when both are in equal proportions and the sulphur red, and capable of colouring, *gold* will originate. Again, under similar circumstances, if both contract after the mixture, but before a complete union has been effected, *khárchiní* will be produced. This body is also called *Ḱhanchini*, and seems really to be raw gold; some say, it is a kind of copper. Again, if only the sulphur be impure, and the quicksilver the larger component, with an additional power of burning, *copper* will result. And if the mixture be not thorough, and the quicksilver larger, *tin* will be produced; some say that purity of the components is essential. If both compounds be of an inferior kind, closely mixed, and if the earthy particles of the quicksilver have a tendency of separating, and the power of burning be inherent in the sulphur, *iron* will result. And if under similar conditions the intermixture be not perfect, and the quicksilver quantitatively larger, *lead* will come into existence. These seven metals are called *the seven bodies;* and quicksilver has the name of *the mother of the bodies*, and sulphur, *the father of the bodies*. Quicksilver is also denominated *the spirit*, and arsenic and sulphur, the *pivots of life*.

Jast (pewter), which, according to the opinions of some, is *Rúh i tútiyá*, and resembles lead, is nowhere mentioned in philosophical books, but there is a mine of it in Hindustan, in the territory of *Jálór*, which is a dependency of the Súbah of Ajmír. Some practical mechanics[1] are of opinion that the metal called *riçáç* is a silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver a silver in the state of apoplexy; that lead is gold apoplectic and burnt, and bronze crude gold; and that the chemist, like the doctor, can restore these diseased metals by the principles of similarity and opposition.

Practical men form of the above seven bodies several compounds, used for ornaments, vessels, &c. Among them I may mention, 1. *Safídrú*, which the

[1] According to some MSS., the Hindús.

people of Hindustan call *káṉsi*. It is a mixture of 4 sérs of copper to 1 sér of tin, melted together. 2. *Rúi*, 4 sérs of copper to 1½ sérs of lead. It is called in this country *bhangár*. 3. *Brass*, which the Hindus call *pítal*, is made in three ways, *first*, 2½ sérs copper to 1 sér *rúh i tútiya*, which is malleable, when cold; *secondly*, 2 sérs of copper to 1 sér of *ruh i tútiyá*, which is malleable, when heated; *thirdly*, 2 sérs of copper to 1 sér of *rúh i tútiyá*, not worked with the hammer, but by casting. 4. *Sím i sukhtah*, composed of lead, silver, and bronze; it has a black lustre, and is used in painting. 5. *Haftjósh*, which, like the *Khárchíní*, is nowhere to be found; it is said to consist of six metals. Some call it *táliqún*, whilst others give this name to common copper. 6. *Ashtdhát*, a compound of eight metals, *viz.*, the six of the *haftjósh*, *rúh i tútiyá*, and *káṉsi*. It is also made of seven components. 7. *Kaulpatr*, 2 sérs of *safidrú*, and 1 sér of copper. It is coloured, and looks well, and belongs to the inventions of his Majesty.[1]

ÁÍN 14.

ON SPECIFIC GRAVITY.

It has been said above that various compounds result from a mixture of *bukhár* and *dukhán*, which themselves consist of light and heavy elements. Besides, bukhár is *wet* or *dry*; and a complete union of the two sets in, sometimes before and after the mixture, and sometimes in either of these conditions. It is on this account that a compound whose fiery and airy particles are more numerous than its watery and earthy particles, is lighter than a mineral in which there are more watery and earthy particles; and likewise, every mineral in which the bukhár predominates over the dukhán, is lighter than a mineral, in which the opposite is the case. Again, a mineral in which the complete union of the bukhár and dukhán has set in, is heavier than one which has not reached this degree, because the interstices between the particles, and the entering of air, make a body large and light. Bearing this in mind, we have a means of discovering the weight and lightness of every body. Some one,[2] now long ago dead, has expressed the weight of several bodies in verses, (metre *Mujtass*)—

Za rúy i jussah i haftád, u yak diram símáb,
Chiló shashast, u za arzíz síy u hasht shumár,
Zahab çadast surub panjah o nuh áhan chil;
Birinj u mis chihil ó panj nuqrah panjah u chár.

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[1] This phrase seems to mean that the invention was made at the time of Akbar.

[2] *Abú Naçr i Faráhí*, of Faráh, a town in Sijistán. His real name is Muhammad Badruddín. He has written a Vocabulary in rhyme, entitled *Niçáb uççibyán*, which for centuries has been read in nearly every Madrasah of Persia and India; *vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal, for 1868, p. 7.

"Quicksilver[1] is 71; Rúi is 46; Tin is 38; Gold 100; Lead 59; Iron 40: Brass and Copper 45; Silver 54." Others have expressed the numbers by mnemotechnical words in rhyme, (metre *Ramal*)—

Nuh filizz é mustawiyyul hajm rá chún barkashí,
Ikhtiláf é wazn dárad har yaké bé ishtibáh.
Zar lakan, zíbaq alam, usrub dahan, arzíz hal,
Fizzah nad, áhan yakí, miss o shabah mah, rúi máh.

"If you weigh equal volumes of the following *nine* metals, you will doubtlessly find their different weights as follows:—gold *lakan*,[2] quicksilver *alam*, lead *dahan*, tin *hal*, silver *nad*, iron *yakí*, copper and brass *mah*, rúi *máh*." If of these nine metals, pieces be taken of equal dimensions, their weights will be different. Some sages ascribe this variety in weight to the difference in the qualitative constitution of the bodies, and trace to it their lightness or heaviness, their floating or sinking in water, and their weights as indicated by common and hydrostatic balances.

Several deep-sighted philosophers compute the weight of bodies with a reference to water. They fill a suitable vessel with water, and throw into it 100 misqáls of each metal; and from the quantities of water thrown out upon the introduction of the metals, are found the differences between them in volume and weight. The greater the quantity of the water is which 100 misqáls of a body displace, the greater is its volume, and the less its weight; and reversely. Thus 100 m. of silver displace 9⅗ m. of water, and the same quantity of gold, 5¼ m. If the weight of the water displaced by a body be subtracted from its weight in air, its weight in water will be found. The scales of the air-balance are both suspended in air: those of the hydrostatic balance are both on the surface of the water. As the heavier body possesses the greater power for sinking, it will, in any case, move in the direction of the perpendicular; but, if either of the two scales be on the surface of the water, and the other in the air, the latter scale, although perhaps the lighter, will necessarily sink, as air, being a finer substance than water, does not offer so much resistance. A body will sink in water, if the quantity of water displaced by it be less than the weight of the body; and a body will float, if that quantity be greater; and if the water displaced be equal to the weight

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[1] We fix the specific gravities as follows:—*Gold* 19.26; *Mercury* 13.6; *Lead* 11.325; *Silver* 10.47; *Copper* 9; *Tin* 7.32; *Iron* 7.7, for which numbers water is unity. Abul Fazl takes gold as standard; and assuming, for his values, 19.26 as its specific gravity, we would get, *Mercury* 13.87; *Lead* 11.36; *Silver* 10.40; *Copper* 8.67; *Iron* 7.76; *Tin* 7.32; *Rúi* 8.86.

[2] The Arabic consonants of the mnemotechnical words *lakan*, *alam*, &c., represent numbers; thus $l + k + n = 30 + 20 + 50$; $a + l + m = 1 + 30 + 40$; &c.

of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water. *Abú Raihán* has drawn up a table, which I shall insert here.

Quantity of water displaced by 100 *misqáls of*	Misqáls.	Dángs.	Tassújes.	*Apparent weight* (*weight in water*) *of* 100 *misqáls of*	Misqáls.	Dángs.	Tassújes.
Gold,[1]	5	1	2	Gold,	95	4	2
Quicksilver,	7	2	1	Quicksilver,	92	3	3
Lead,	8	5	3	Lead,	91	1	3
Silver,	9	4	1	Silver,	90	1	3
Rúi,	11	2	3	Rúi,	88	4	3
Copper,	11	3	3	Copper,	88	3	3
Brass,	11	4	3	Brass,	88	2	3
Iron,	12	5	2	Iron,	87	3	2
Tin,	13	4	3	Tin,	86	2	3
Yáqút (light blue),	25	1	2	Yáqút (light blue,)	74	4	2
Yáqút (red),	26	3	3	Yáqút (red,)	74	3	3
Ruby,	27	5	2	Ruby,	72	3	2
Zumurrud,	36	2	3	Zumurrud,	63	4	3
Pearl,	37	1	3	Pearl,	62	5	3
Lapis lazuli,	38	3	3	Lapis lazuli,	61	3	3
Cornelian,	38	3	3	Cornelian,	61	3	3
Amber,	39	3	3	Amber,	60	3	3
Billaur,	40	3	3	Billaur,	60	3	3

The weight (*in air*) *of the undermentioned metals, the volume of* 100 *misqáls of gold being taken as the unit of volume.*	Misqáls.	Dángs	Tassújes.	*The weight* (*in air*) *of the undermentioned precious stones, the volume of* 100 *misqáls of the blue yáqút being taken as the unit of volume.*	Misqáls.	Dángs	Tassújes.
Gold,	100	0	0	Yáqút (light blue,)	94	3	3
Quicksilver,	71	1	1	Yáqút (red,)	94	3	3
Lead,	59	2	2	Ruby,	90	2	3
Silver,	54	3	3	Zumurrud,	69	3	3
Rúi,	46	2	3	Pearls,	67	5	2
Copper,	45	3	3	Lapis lazuli,	65	3	2
Brass,	45	3	5(?)	Cornelian,	64	4	2
Iron,	40	0	0	Amber,	64	3	1
Tin,	38	2	2	Billaur,	63	3	3

[1] With the exception of *Quicksilver*, *Silver*, and *Yáqút* (*light blue*), the numbers given in the MSS., and the above list, are slightly wrong, because the sum of the weights of the water displaced and the apparent weight, ought to give 100 misqáls (1 *m.* = 6 *d.*; 1 *d.* = 4 *t.*) But in most items there is an excess of *one dáng.*

ÁÍN 15.

THE IMPERIAL HAREM.

His Majesty is a great friend of good order and propriety in business. Through order the world becomes a meadow of truth and reality; and that which is but external, receives through it a spiritual meaning. For this reason, the large number of women—a vexatious question even for great statesmen—furnished his Majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom, and to rise from the low level of worldly dependence to the eminence of perfect freedom. The imperial palace and household are therefore in the best order.

His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with princes of Hindustan, and of other countries; and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world.

As the sovereign, by the light of his wisdom, has raised fit persons from the dust of obscurity, and appointed them to various offices, so does he also elevate faithful persons to the several ranks in the service of the seraglio. Short-sighted men think of impure gold, which will gradually turn into pure gold;[1] but the far-sighted know that his Majesty understands how to use elixirs[2] and chemical processes. Any kind of growth will alter the constitution of a body; copper and iron will turn to gold, and tin and lead to silver; hence it is no matter of astonishment, if an excellent being changes the worthless into men. "The saying of the wise is true that the eye of the exalted is the elixir for producing goodness." Such also are the results flowing from the love of order of his Majesty, from his wisdom, insight, regard to rank, his respect for others, his activity, his patience. Even when he is angry, he does not deviate from the right path; he looks at every thing with kindly feelings, weighs rumours well, and is free from all prejudice; he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people, and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment.

His Majesty has made a large enclosure with fine buildings inside, where he reposes. Though there are more than five thousand women, he has given to each a separate apartment. He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties. Several chaste women have been appointed as *dárógháhs*, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, every thing is here also in proper order. The salaries are sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which his Majesty most generously bestows, the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1028 Rs. *per mensem*. Some

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[1] So according to the opinion of the philosophers of the Middle Ages.

[2] Elixirs change *quickly* that which is worthless into pure gold.

of the servants have from 51 to 20, others from 40 to 2 Rs. Attached to the private audience hall of the palace, is a clever and zealous writer, who superintends the expenditure of the Harem, and keeps an account of the cash and the stores. If a woman wants anything, within the limit of her salary, she applies to one of the *Tahwíldárs* (cash-keepers) of the seraglio. The Tahwíldár then sends a memorandum to the writer, who checks it, when the General Treasurer makes the payment in cash, as for claims of this nature no cheques are given.

The writer also makes out an estimate of the annual expenditure, writes out summarily a receipt, which is countersigned by the ministers of the state. It is then stamped with a peculiar Imperial seal, which is only used in grants connected with the Harem, when the receipt becomes payable. The money itself is paid by the cash-keeper of the General Treasury to the General Tahwíldár, who on the order of the writer of the Harem, hands it over to the several Sub-Tahwíldárs for distribution among the servants of the seraglio. All monies are reckoned in their salaries at the current rate.[1]

The inside of the Harem is guarded by sober and active women; the most trustworthy of them are placed about the apartments of his Majesty. Outside of the enclosure the eunuchs are placed; and at a proper distance, there is a guard of faithful *Rájpúts*, beyond whom are the porters of the gates. Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, Ahadís, and other troops, according to their ranks.

Whenever *Bégums*, or the wives of nobles, or other women of chaste character, desire to be presented, they first notify their wish to the servants of the seraglio, and wait for a reply. From thence they send their request to the officers of the palace, after which those who are eligible are permitted to enter the Harem. Some women of rank obtain permission to remain there for a whole month.

Notwithstanding the great number of faithful guards, his Majesty does not dispense with his own vigilance, but keeps the whole in proper order.

A'ÍN 16.

THE ENCAMPMENT ON JOURNEYS.

It would be difficult to describe a large encampment; but I shall say something on the equipage used for hunting parties and short journeys.

1. The *Guláłbár* is a grand enclosure, the invention of his Majesty, the doors of which are made very strong, and secured with locks and keys. It is never less than one hundred yards square. At its eastern end a

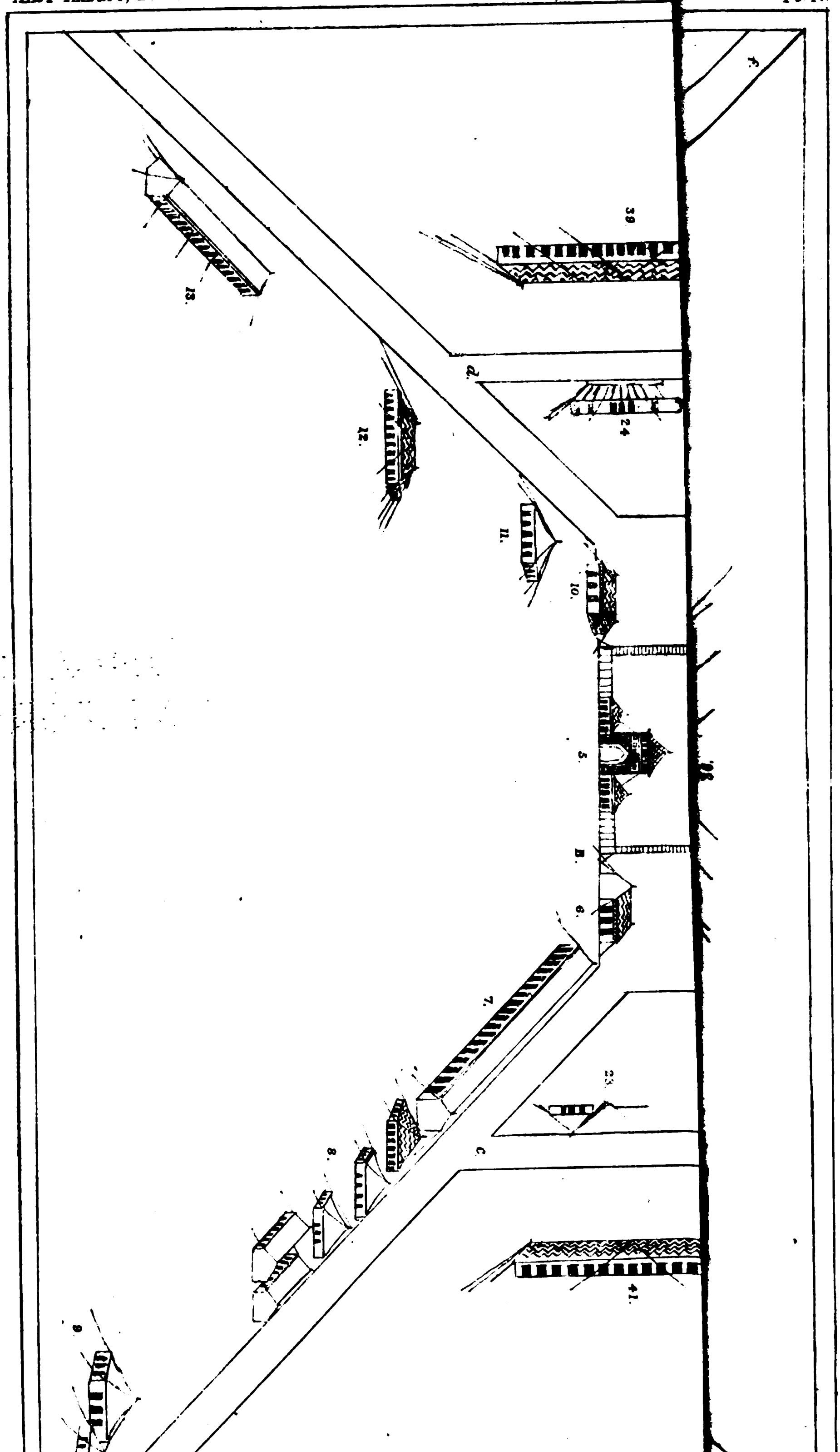
[1] At 40 dáms *per rupee.*

pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 54 divisions, 24 yards long, and 14 broad; and in the middle there stands a large *Chaubín ráotí*,[1] and round about it a *Sarápardah*.[1] Adjoining to the *Chaubín*, they built up a two-storied pavilion, in which his Majesty performs divine worship, and from the top of which, in the morning, he receives the compliments of the nobility. No one connected with the seraglio enters this building without special leave. Outside of it, twenty-four *chaubín ráotís* are erected, 10 yards long, and 6 yards wide, each separated by a canvass, where the favourite women reside. There are also other pavilions and tents for the servants, with *Sáibáns*[2] of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a *Sarápardah* of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the *Urdúbégís*,[3] and other female servants. Farther on up to the private audience hall, there is a fine open space, 150 yards long and 100 yards broad, called the *Mahtábí;* and on both sides of it, a screen is set up as before described which is supported by poles 6 yards long, fixed in the ground at distances of two yards. The poles are one yard in the ground, and are ornamented with brass knobs on the top, and kept firm by two ropes, one passing inside, and the other outside of the enclosure. The guards watch here, as has been described.

In the midst of the plain is a raised platform,[4] which is protected by an awning, or *Namgírah*, supported by four poles. This is the place, where his Majesty sits in the evening, and none but those who are particularly favoured, are here admitted. Adjoining to the *Gulálbár*, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions, each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the *Mahtabí;* and in the midst of it, is a *Chaubín ráotí*, ten yards long, and a tent containing forty divisions, over which twelve awnings are spread, each of twelve yards, and separated by canvasses. This place, in every division of which a convenient closet is constructed, is called *Ibachkí*, which is the (Chagatái) name used by his Majesty. Adjoining to this a *Sarápardah* is put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty-six square yards, the Sarápardah being, as before, sustained by poles with knobs. In the midst of it the state-hall is erected, by means of a thousand carpets; it contains seventy-two rooms, and has an opening fifteen yards wide. A tentlike covering, or *Qalandarí*, made of waxcloth, or any other lighter material, is spread over it, which affords protection against the rain and the sun; and round about it, are fifty awnings, of twelve yards each. The pavilion, which serves as *Díwán i kháç*, or *private* audience hall, has proper doors and locks. Here the nobles, and the officers of the army, after having

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[1] Described in the twenty-first Áín.
[2] Awnings. [3] Armed women.
[4] As may be still seen in the ruins of Fathpúr Síkrí.


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obtained leave through the *Bakhshis*,[1] pass before the Emperor, the list of officers eligible for admission being changed on the first of every month. The place is decorated, both inside and outside with carpets of various colours, and resembles a beautiful flower-bed. Outside of it, to a distance of 350 yards, ropes are drawn, fastened to poles, which are set up at a distance of three yards from each other. Watchmen are stationed about them. This is the *Díwán i 'Ám*, or *public* audience hall, round which, as above described, the various guards are placed. At the end of this place, at a distance of twelve *tanábs* is the *Naqqárah Khánah*,[2] and in the midst of the area the *Ákásdiah*[3] is lighted up.

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the *Farráshes* on a piece of ground which the *Mír Manzils*[4] have selected as an eligible spot, whilst the other camp furniture is sent in advance, to await the approach of his Majesty. Each encampment requires for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts, and 100 bearers. It is escorted by 500 troopers, *Mansabdárs*,[5] *Ahadís*. Besides, there are employed a thousand Farráshes, natives of Írán, Túrán, and Hindustan, 500 pioneers, 100 water-carriers, 50 carpenters, tent-makers, and torch-bearers, 30 workers in leather, and 150 sweepers.

The monthly pay of the foot varies from 240 to 130 dáms.

ÁÍN 17.

THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ARMY.

Although his Majesty but rarely collects his armies, a large number of troops accompany him in whatever direction an expedition may go; but a considerable number, in every province, are employed on various services, and are not allowed to follow him. On account of the crowding of camp-followers, and the number of the troops themselves, it would take a soldier days to find his tent; and how much worse would it be for a stranger? His Majesty has invented an admirable method of encamping his troops, which is a source of much comfort to them. On an open ground they pitch the imperial seraglio, the audience hall, and the *Naqqárah khánah*, all occupying a space the length of which is 1530 yards. To the right and left, and behind, is an open space of 360 yards, which no one but the guards are allowed to enter. Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to

[1] Paymasters. The Commanding Officers were at the same time paymasters, as they collected the rents of the lands assigned to them for the payment of their contingents.

[2] A turret on the top of which the band plays. Regarding the *tanáb*, *vide* the tenth Áín of the third book.

[3] A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed. *Vide* p. 50.

[4] Quarter masters.

[5] Grandees.

the left centre are the tents of Maryam Makání,[1] Gulbadan Bégum, and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Dányál; to the right, those of Prince Sultán Salím; and to the left, those of Prince Sháh Murád. Behind their tents, at some distance, the offices and workshops are placed, and at a further distance of 30 yards behind them, at the four corners of the camp, the bázárs. The nobles are encamped without on all sides, according to their rank.

The guards for Thursday, Friday and Saturday, encamp in the centre; those for Sunday and Monday, on the right; and those for Tuesday and Wednesday, on the left.

ÁÍN 18.

ON ILLUMINATIONS.

His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select"[2] is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element which is the source of man's existence, and of the duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

How beautifully has Shaikh Sharafuddín Munyarí[3] said, "What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the sun is down?" Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light, (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty.

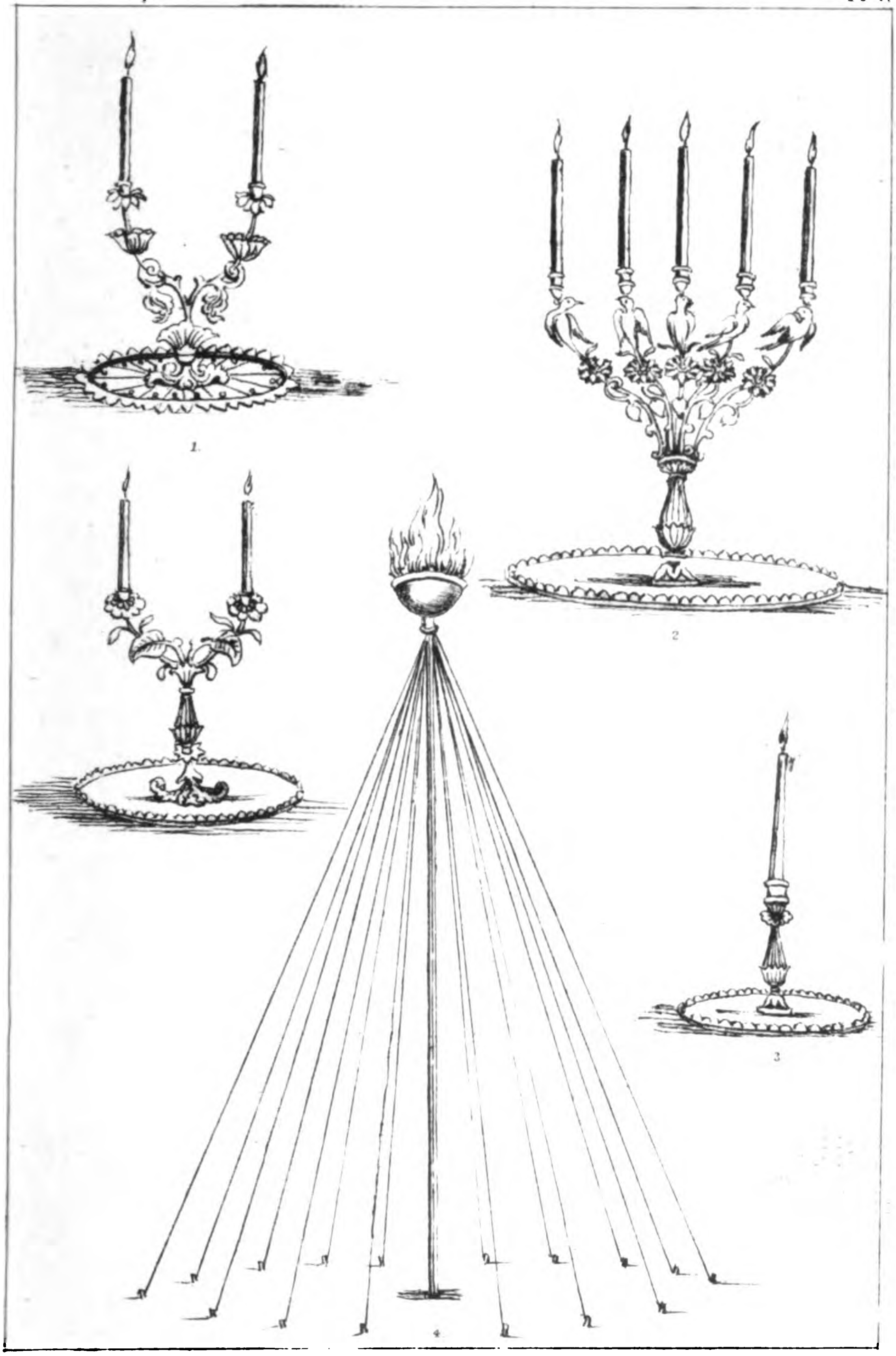
At noon of the day, when the sun enters the 19th degree of Aries, the whole world being then surrounded by his light, they expose a round piece of a white and shining stone, called in Hindí *Súrajkránt*, to the rays of the sun. A piece of cotton is then held near it, which catches fire from the heat of the stone. This celestial fire is committed to the care of proper persons.

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[1] *Maryam Makání*, (*i. e.*, dwelling with the Virgin Mary, who together with Ásiah, the wife of Pharao, Khadíjah, the name of Muhammad's first wife, and Fátimah, his daughter, are the four *perfect* women of the Islám) is the *title* of Akbar's mother. Her name was *Hamídah Bánú Bégum*; *vide* Badáoní, ed. Bibl. Ind. I, p. 437. Gulbadan Bégum (*i. e.*, Lady Rose body) appears to be the name of one of Akbar's favourite wives.

[2] The members of the *Divine Faith*.

[3] This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Munair is a town in Bahár; *vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1868, p. 7, l. 3, from below, and the biographies of Indian Saints in the fourth book. His works are to be found among the Persian MSS. of the Society's Library.


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The lamp-lighters, torch-bearers and cooks of the household use it for their offices; and when the year has passed away in happiness, they renew the fire. The vessel in which this fire is preserved, is called *Agingir*, *i. e.*, fire-pot.

There is also a shining white stone, called *Chandrkrdnt*, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one *gharí*[1] before sunset, his Majesty, if on horseback, alights, or if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty, and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve white candles, on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver, and bring them before his Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light.

It is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of the candlesticks and shades, and to give an account of the offices of the workmen. Some of the candlesticks weigh ten *mans* and upwards, and are adorned with various designs; some single, others of two branches and more: they give light to the internal eye. His Majesty has invented a candlestick, one yard high. Five others are placed on the top of it, and each is adorned with the figure of an animal. White wax candles, three yards and upwards in length, are cast for it, so that a ladder is required to snuff it. Besides there are everywhere flambeaux[2] both inside and outside, which increase the light very much. The first, second, and third nights of every lunar month, when there is moonlight but for a short time, eight wicks are used;[3] from the fourth to the tenth, they decrease one in number every night, so that on the tenth night, when the moon is very bright, one is sufficient; and they continue in this state till the fifteenth, and increase one wick every day from the sixteenth to the nineteenth. For the twentieth night the number is the same as on the nineteenth; on the twenty-first and twenty-second they increase one daily; the twenty-third is the same as the twenty-second; and from the twenty-fourth to the last, eight wicks are lighted up. They allow for every wick one sér of oil, and half a sér of cotton. In some places there are fat-burners, where grease is burnt instead of oil. The allowance varies according to the size of the wick.

In order to render the royal camp conspicuous to those who come from

[1] One *gharí* = 24 minutes.
[2] Oil-burners with several wicks are very common in India.
[3] For each flambeau.

far, his Majesty has caused to be erected, in front of the Durbár, a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes; and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call *Ákásdiah.*[1] Its light is seen from great distances, guides the soldiers to the imperial camp, and helps them to find their tents. In former times, before the lamp was erected, the men had to suffer hardships from not being able to find the road.

In this department, Mansabdars, Ahadís, and other troops, are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 dáms.

ÁÍN 19.

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The *Shamsah*[2] of the arch of royalty is a divine light, which God directly transfers to kings, without the assistance of men; and kings are fond of external splendour, because they consider it an image of the Divine glory. I shall mention some of the insignia used at present.

1. The *Aurang*, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, &c. 2. The *Chatr*, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The *Sáibán* is of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of the umbrella, is covered with brocade, and ornamented with precious stones. One of the attendants holds it, to keep off the rays of the sun. It is also called *Áftábgír*. 4. The *Kaukabah*,[3] of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are only used by kings.

5. The *'Alam*, or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the *Qur*,[4] wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On days of festivity, and in battle, they are unfurled. 6. The *Chatrtóq*, a kind of *'Alam*, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks. 7. The *Tumantóq* is like the *Chatrtóq*, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The *Jhandá* is an Indian flag. The Qur necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.

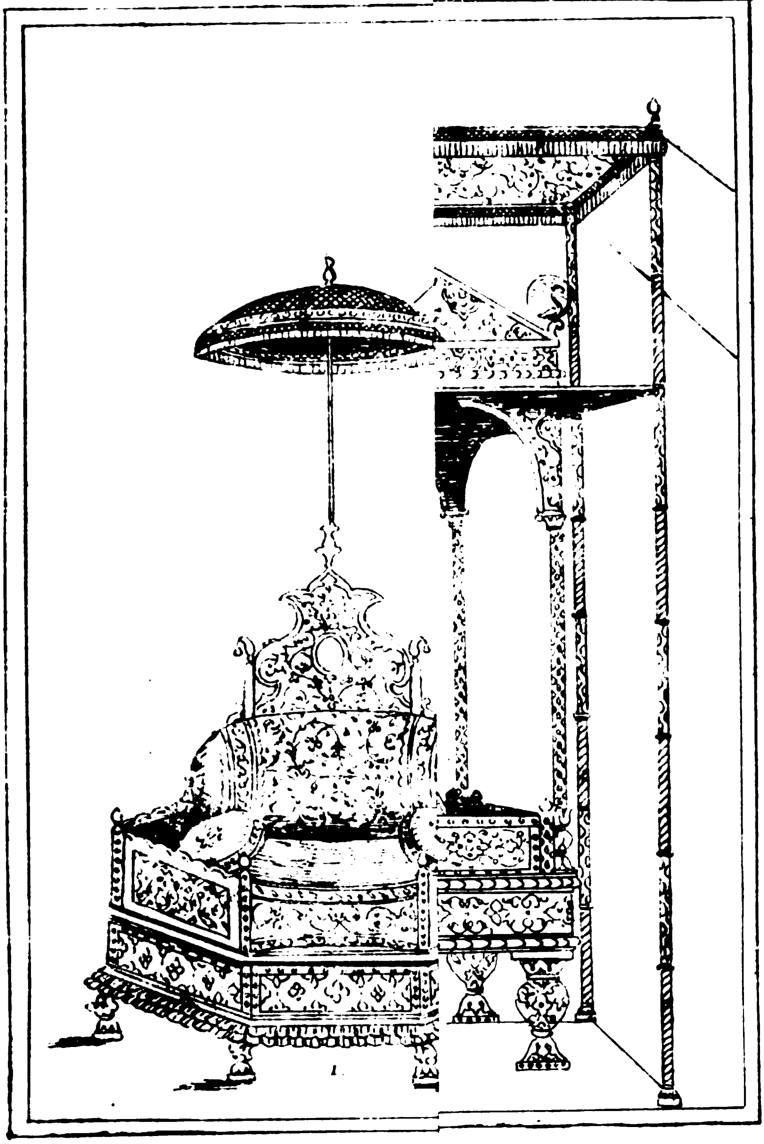
Of musical instruments used in the *Naqqárahkhánah*, I may mention, 1. *the Kuwargah*, commonly called *damámah;* there are eighteen pair of

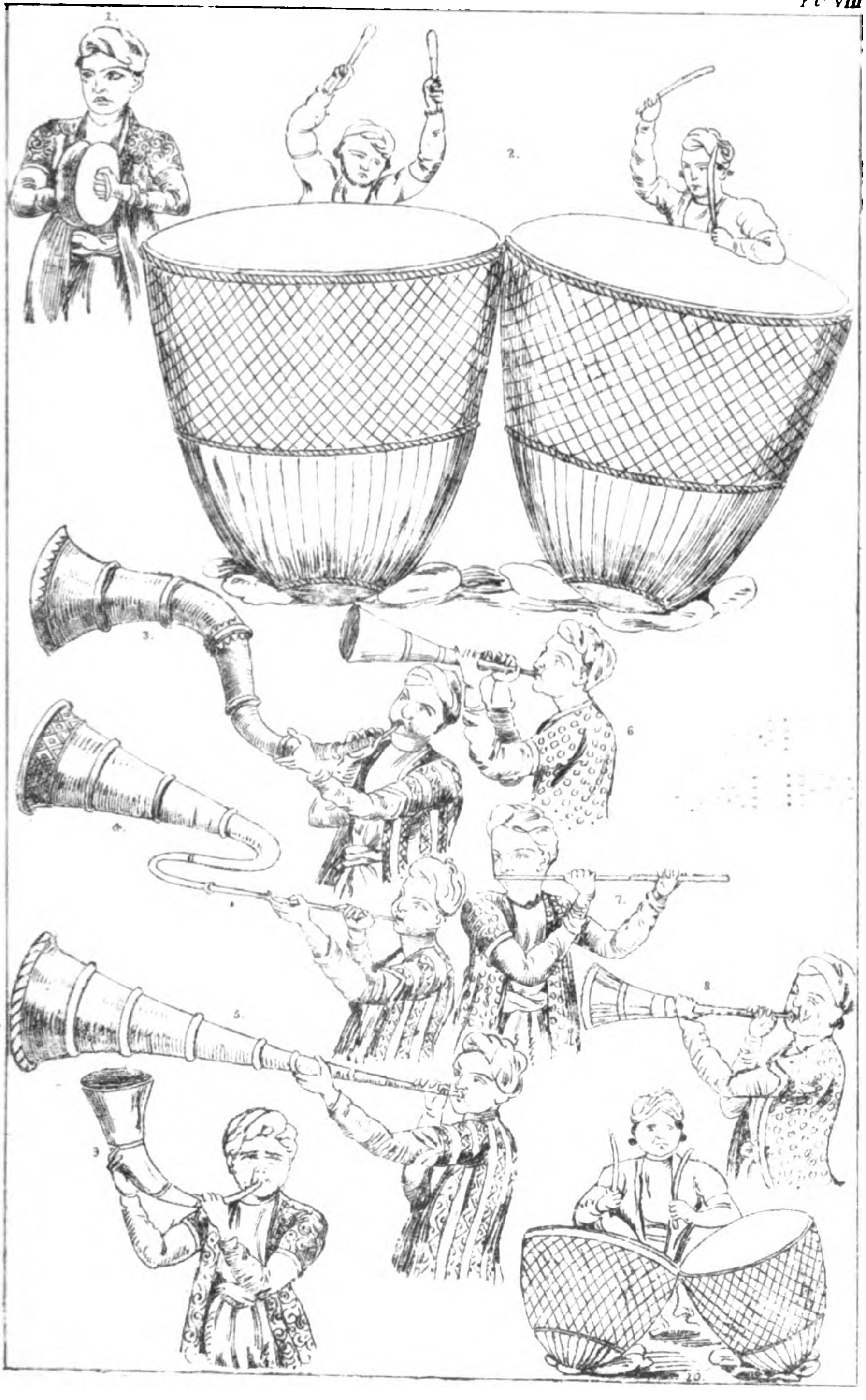
[1] From *Ákás* sky, and *diah* lamp. The Ákásdiyah is also mentioned by *Bernier*.

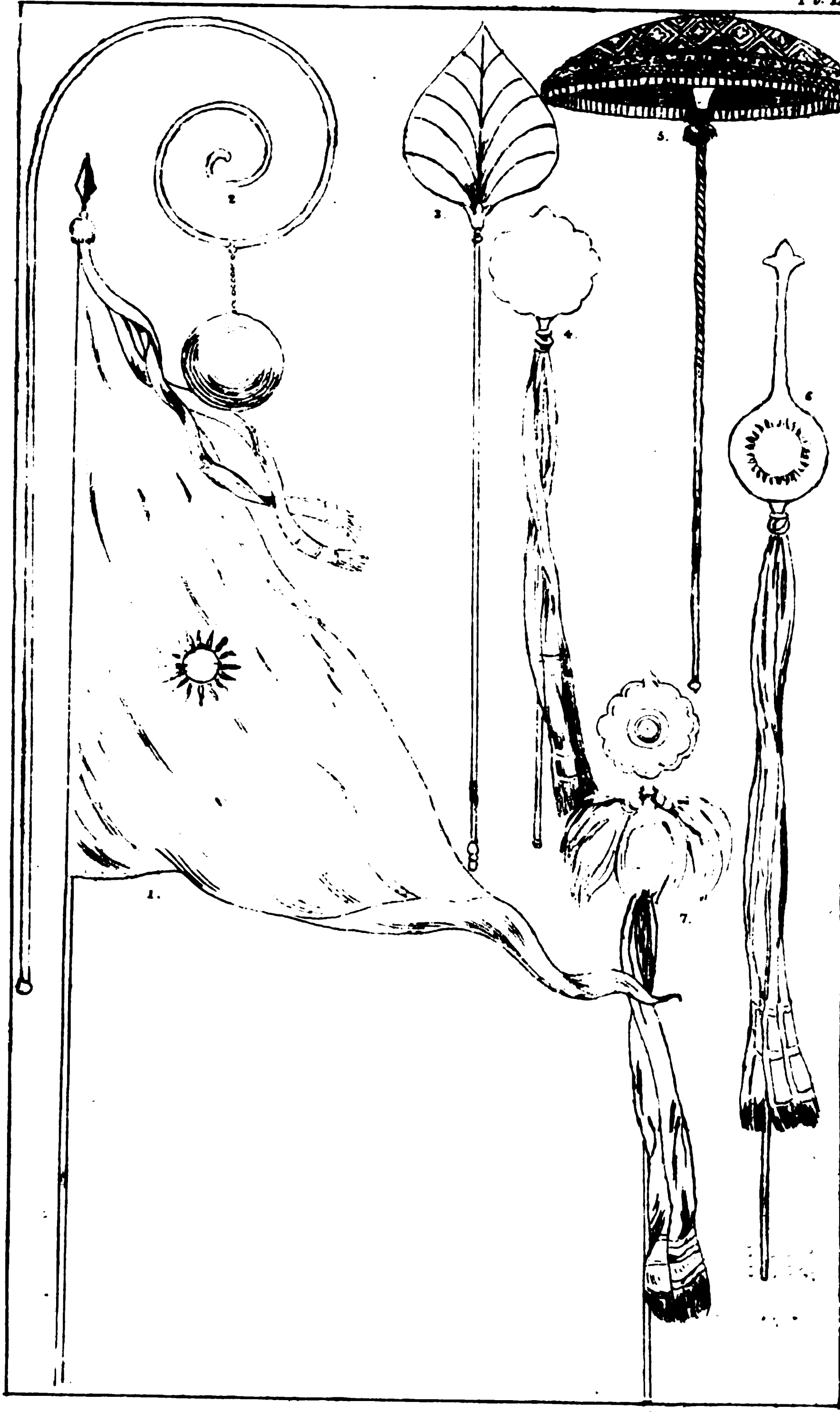
[2] *Shamsah* is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night, these pictures are illuminated.

[3] *Vide* the plates.

[4] The *Qur* is a collection of flags, arms, and other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes.


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them more or less; and they give a deep sound. 2. *The naqqárah*, twenty pair, more or less. 3. *The duhul*, of which four are used. 4. The *Karaná*[1] is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals: and they never blow fewer than four. 5. *The surná* of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The *nafír*, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The *sing* is of brass, and made in the form of a cow's horn; they blow two together. 8. The *sanj*, or *cymbal*, of which three pair are used.

Formerly the band played four gharís before the commencement of the night, and likewise four gharís before daybreak; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn. One gharí before sunrise, the musicians commence to blow the surná, and wake up those that are asleep; and one gharí after sun rise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the kuwargah a little, whereupon they blow the karaná, the nafír, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the naqqárah; after a little pause the surnás are blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the nafírs. One hour later the naqqárahs commence, when all musicians raise "the auspicious strain."[2] After this they go through the following seven performances. 1. The *Mursalí*, which is the name of a tune played by the *mursil;* and afterwards the *bardásht*, which consists likewise of certain tunes, played by the whole band. This is followed by a pianissimo, and a crescendo passing over into a diminuendo; 2. The playing of the four tunes, called *ikhláṭí, ibtidáí, shírází, qalandarí nigar qatrah*,[3] or *nukhúd qatrah*, which occupies an hour. 3. The playing of the old Khwárizmite tunes. Of these his Maiesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes *Jalálsháhí, Mahámír karkat (?)*, and the *Naurózi*. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of *Bá miyán daur*. 6. The passing into the tunes *azfar*, also called *ráh i bálá*, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The Khwárizmite tunes, played by the *Mursil*, after which he passes into the *mursalí;* he then pauses, and commences the blessings on his Majesty, when the whole band strikes up a pianissimo. Then follows the reading of beautiful sentences and poems. This also lasts for an hour. Afterwards the surna-players perform for another hour, when the whole comes to a proper conclusion.

His Majesty has such a knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess; and he is likewise an excellent hand in performing, especially on the naqqárah.

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[1] Or Karraná.

[2] Probably blessings on his Majesty.

[3] Several of these names of melodies are unclear, and will in all probability remain so. Perhaps the words *shírází qalandarí*, "a hermit of Shíráz," belong to each other. *Nigar qatrah* means, *behold the tear.*

Mansabdárs, Ahadís, and other troops are employed in this department. The monthly pay of a foot-soldier does not exceed 340, and is not less than 74 dáms.

ÁÍN 20.

THE ROYAL SEALS.

Seals are used in the three[1] branches of the Government; in fact every man requires them in his transactions.[2] In the beginning of the present reign, Mauláná Maqçúd, the seal-engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqá'* character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Tímúrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the *nasta'líq* character, only with his Majesty's name. For judicial transactions a second kind of seal was made, *mihrábí* in form,[3] which had the following verse round the name of his Majesty—

Rásti mújib i rizá i khudást, kas nadidam kih gum shud az rah i rást.

"Uprightness is the means of pleasing God; I never saw any one lost in the straight road."

Tamkín made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Mauláná 'Alí Ahmad of Dihlí improved both. The round small seal goes by the (chagatái) name of *Uzuk*, and is used for *farmán i sabtís*;[4] and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of his Majesty, was at first only used for letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both. For other orders a square seal is used, engraved with the words *Alláhu Akbar, jalla jalálulu*, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the seraglio. For the seals attached to *farmáns*, another stamp is used of various forms.

Of seal-engravers I shall mention

1. *Mauláná Maqçúd of Herát*, one of the servants of Humáyún, who writes well the *riqá'* and *nasta'líq* characters. The astrolabe, globes, and various *misṭars*[5] which he made, were much admired by people of experience. The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art.

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[1] Corresponding to the threefold division of the *Áín i Akbarí.*

[2] The word *muhur*, a seal, means also a *stamp*, and generally, the *signature of a man*. We *sign* documents, Orientals stamp their names to them. Sealing wax is rarely used on account of the climate; a tenacious black liquid, or the juice of the *bhélá* nut is preferred.

[3] *Vide* note p. 30.

[4] *Vide* the eleventh Áín of the second book.

[5] Copyists take a piece a pasteboard of the same size as the paper on which they write. Then they draw two parallel vertical lines, each about an inch from the two vertical sides of the pasteboard. Along these lines they make small holes at equal intervals, and draw a string from the first hole at the left hand to the first hole of the right of the pasteboard. Similarly, the two second holes are joined, and so on, care being taken that the horizontal strings are parallel. This contrivance is called *misṭar*, from *saṭar*, a line. The copyist then puts the blank

2. *Tamkín of Kábul.* He was educated in his native country, and brought his art to such a perfection, as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whom he surpassed in the *nasta'líq.*

3. *Mír Dóst of Kábul.* He cuts both the *riqá'* and *nasta'líq* characters in cornelian. He does not come up to the preceding artists. His *riqá'* is better than his *nasta'líq.* He also understands assaying.

4. *Mauláná Ibráhím.* In the art of cutting cornelians he is the pupil of his brother Sharaf of Yazd. He surpasses the ancient engravers; and it is impossible to distinguish his *riqá'* and *nasta'líq* from the master pieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words *la'l jaláli,* or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. *Mauláná 'Alí Ahmad*[1] of Dihlí who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are taken as copies. His *nasta'líq* is charming; but he writes also other characters well. He learned the trade from his father Shaikh Husain, studied the manner of Mauláná Maqçúd, and eventually surpassed all.

A'IN 21.

THE FARRA'SH KHA'NAH.

His Majesty considers this department as an excellent dwelling-place, a shelter from heat and cold, a protector against the rain, as the ornament of royalty. He looks upon its efficiency as one of the insignia of a ruler, and therefore considers the care bestowed upon it, as a part of Divine worship. The department has been much improved, both in the quality and the quantity of the stores, and also by the introduction of new fashions. I shall mention a few particulars as specimens for future enquirers.

1. The *Bárgáh,* when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand people. It takes a thousand farráshes a week to erect it with the help of machines. There are generally two door poles, fastened with hinges. If plain, (*i. e.,* without brocade, velvet, or gold ornaments,) a bárgáh costs 10,000 Rupees and upwards, whilst the price of one full of ornaments is unlimited. The price of others may be estimated from the price of a plain one. 2. The *Chaubín ráwatí* is raised on ten pillars. They go a little into the ground, and are of equal height, with the exception of two, which are a little higher, as

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sheets on the top of the misṭar, and presses on them with the hands, when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly.

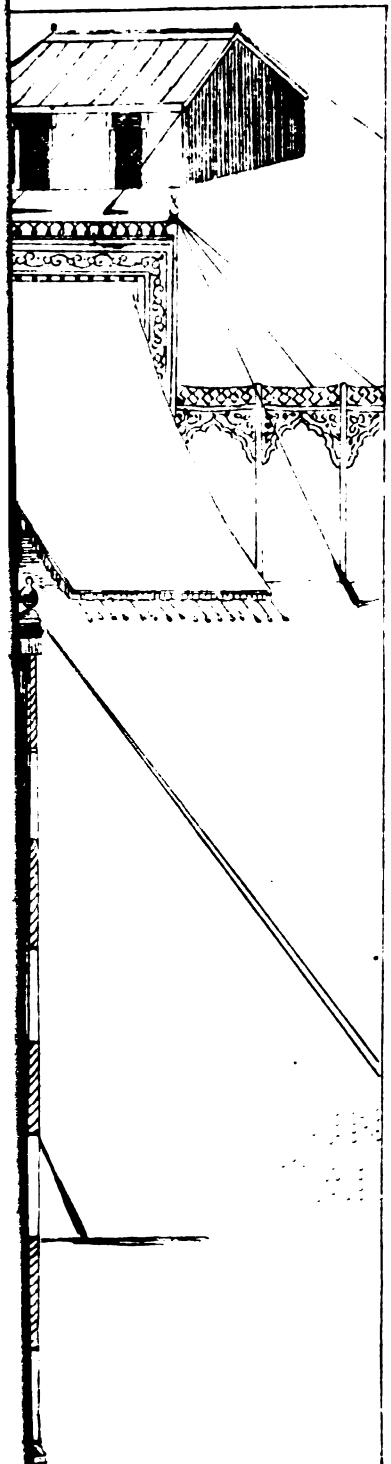
[1] *Nizám* of Herát, in his Tabaqát i Akbarí, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets, and gives a few of his verses.

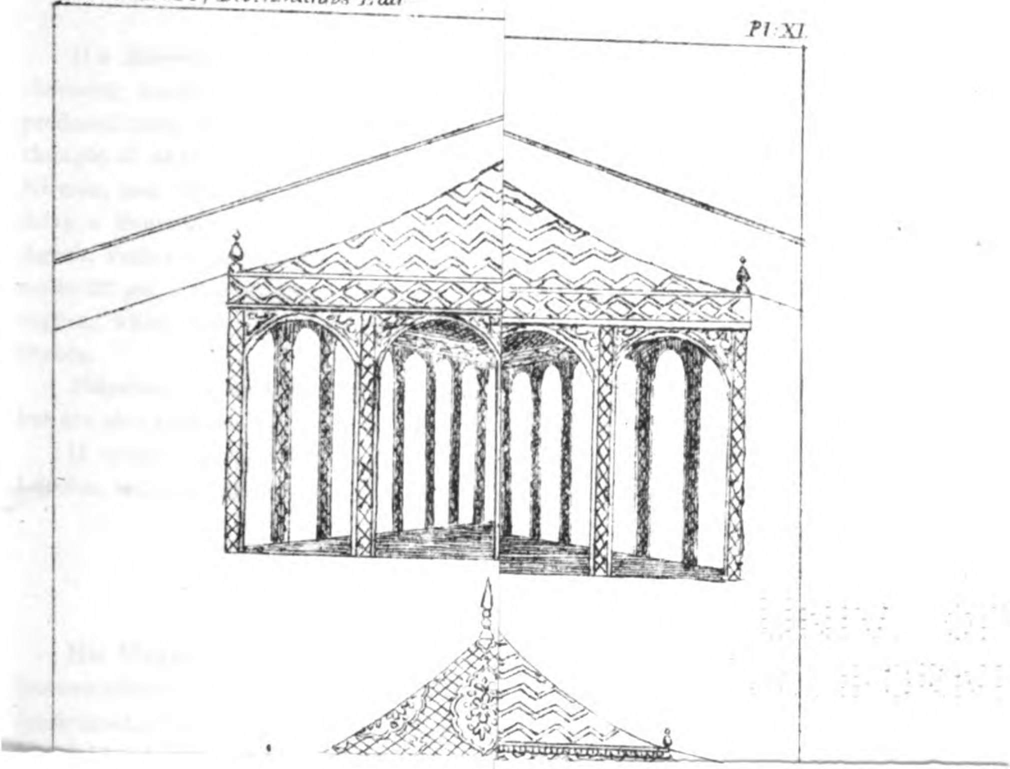
the cross beam rests upon them. The pillars have, above and below, a *dásah*,[1] to keep them firm, and several rafters pass over the dásahs and the crossbeam, the whole being kept tightly together by clamps and bolts and nuts. The walls and the roof consist of mats. There is one door or two; and at the height of the lower dásahs there is a raised platform. The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet-sackcloth, tied to the walls with silk tape. 3. The *Doáshyánah manzil*, or house of two stories, is raised upon eighteen pillars, six yards in height, which support a wooden platform; and into this, pillars of four cubits in length are fixed with bolt and nuts, forming an upper story. The inside and outside are ornamented, as in the preceding. On the march it is used by his Majesty as a sleeping apartment, and also as a place of divine worship, where he prays to the Sun; and hence the building resembles a man who strives after God without forgetting his worldly duties, whose one eye is directed to the solitude of pure devotion, and the other eye to the motly *sarái* of the world. After the devotions are over, the women are allowed to enter, to pay their compliments, and after them, outsiders. On journeys his Majesty inspects in this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, &c.,) which is called *jharókah*, or window. 4. The *Zamíndóz* is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two door poles; screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions. 5. The *'Ajáibí* consists of nine awnings on four pillars. Five of the awnings are square, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole. 6. The *Mandal* is composed of five awnings joined together, and is supported by four poles. Four of the awnings are let down, so as to form a private room; sometimes all four are drawn up, or one side only is left open. 7. The *At'hk'hambah* consists of seventeen awnings, sometimes separate, sometimes joined together; they are supported by eight poles. 8. The *Khargáh* is a folding tent made in various ways; some with one, others with two doors. 9. The *Shámyánah*-awning is made of various sizes, but never more than of twelve yards square. 10. The *Qalandarí* has been described.[2] 11. The *Sarápardah* was made in former times of coarse canvass, but his Majesty has now caused it to be made of carpeting, and thereby improved its appearance and usefulness. 12. The *Gulálbár*, is a wooden screen, its parts being fastened together, like the walls of the *Khargáh*, with leather straps, so that it can be folded together, when the camp breaks off. The *gulálbár* is covered with red cloth, tied with tape.

[1] A triangular piece of wood fixed into the angle formed by the vertical beam and the cross-beam, *a support*.

[2] *Vide* p. 46.

Pl. X.





Carpets.

His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen, who have produced many master-pieces. The carpets of Írán and Túrán are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Góshkán, Khúzistán, Kirmán, and Sabzwár.[1] All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. There are found in every town, especially in Ágrah, Fathpúr, and Láhór. In the imperial workshops, single carpets are made 20 *gaz*, 7 *tassujes* long, and 6 *gaz*, 11½ *tassújes* broad, at a cost of 1810 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2715 rupees.

Takyahnamads, or woolen coverlets, are brought from Kábul and Persia, but are also made in this country.

It would take up too much time to describe the *jájams*, *shatrinjís*, *balúchis*, and the fine mats which look as if woven with silk.

ÁÍN 22.

THE ÁBDÁR KHÁNAH.

His Majesty calls this source of life "the water of immortality," and has committed the care of this department to proper persons. He does not drink much, but pays much attention to this matter. Both at home and on travels, he drinks Ganges water. Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river, who dispatch the water in sealed jars. When the court was at the capital Ágrah and in Fathpúr, the water came from the district of Sárún;[2] but now[3] that his Majesty is in the Panjáb, the water is brought from Hardwár. For the cooking of the food, rain water or water taken from the Jamnah and the Chanáb is used, mixed with a little Ganges water. On journeys and hunting parties his Majesty, from his predilection for good water, appoints experienced men as water-tasters.

Saltpetre, which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, is used by his Majesty as a means for cooling water, and is thus a source of joy for great and small. Saltpetre is a saline earth. They fill with it a perforated vessel, and pour some water over it, and collecting what drops through,

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[1] *Góshkán*, or *Jóshaqán*, a town in 'Iráq i 'Ajamí, half way between Káshán and Içfahán. Khúzistán is the Persian province of which Shushtar, or Shustar, is the capital; the ancient *Susiana*. Kirmán is the capital of the Persian province Kirmán, which borders on Balúchistán. *Sabzwár* is one of the chief cities of the Persian province Khurásán, between Mashhad (Meshed) and the Caspian Sea.

[2] The nearest station on the Ganges from Ágrah.

[3] A. D. 1596. As in 1586 Fathpúr had ceased to be the capital, Akbar resided mostly in the Panjáb.

they boil it, clean it, and let it crystalize. One sér of water is then put into a goglet of pewter, or silver, or any other such metal, and the mouth closed. Then two and a half sérs of saltpetre are thrown into a vessel, together with five sérs of water, and in this mixture the goglet is stirred about for a quarter of an hour, when the water in the goglet will become cold. The price of saltpetre varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 mans *per rupee*.

Since the thirtieth year[1] of the *Divine Era*, when the imperial standards were erected in the Panjáb, snow and ice have come into use. Ice is brought by land and water, by post carriages or bearers, from the district of Panhán, in the northern mountains, about forty-five *kós* from Láhór. The dealers derive a considerable profit, two to three sérs of ice being sold *per rupee*. The greatest profit is derived when the ice is brought by water, next when by carriages, and least when by bearers. The inhabitants of the mountains bring it in loads, and sell it in piles containing from 25 to 30 seers, at the rate of 5 dáms. If they have to bring it very far, it costs 24 *d.* 17 *j.*; if the distance be an average one, 15 *d.*

Out of the ten boats employed for the transport of ice, one arrives daily at the capital, each being manned by four boatmen. The ice bundles contain from six to twelve sérs, according to the temperature. A carriage brings two loads. There are fourteen stages, where the horses are changed; and besides, one elephant is used. Twelve pieces of ten to four sérs arrive daily. By this kind of transport, a sér of ice costs in winter 3 *d.* 21 *j.*; during the rains 14 *d.* 20 *j.*; in the intermediate time 9 *d.* 21½ *j.*; and in the average[2] 5 *d.* 15½ *j.* If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages. They bring every day one load, containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year the ice costs 5 *d.* 19½ *j.*; in the middle 16 *d.* 2⅛ *j.*; and in the end 19 *d.* 15⅝ *j.*, *per sér*; in the average[2] 8⅞ *d.*

All ranks use ice in summer; the nobles use it throughout the whole year.

ÁÍN 23.

THE IMPERIAL KITCHEN.

His Majesty even extends his attention to this department, and has given many wise regulations for it; nor can a reason be given why he should not do so, as the equilibrium of man's nature, the strength of the body, the

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[1] A. D. 1586.

[2] The text has *sarásarí*, which may mean *the average*; but the price given by Abulfazl is not an average. The charges for ice, at the time of Akbar, may be compared to the prices of the present age. Here, in Calcutta, one sér of American ice costs two annas, or ⅛ rupee, *i. e.*, $\frac{40}{8}$ = 5 dáms of Akbar.

capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being shewn for appropriate food. This knowledge distinguishes man from beasts, with whom, as far as mere eating is concerned, he stands upon the same level. If his Majesty did not possess so lofty a mind, so comprehensive an understanding, so universal a kindness, he would have chosen the path of solitude, and given up sleep and food altogether; and even now, when he has taken upon himself the temporal and spiritual leadership of the people, the question, "What dinner has been prepared to-day?" never passes over his tongue. In the course of twenty-four hours his Majesty eats but once, and leaves off before he is fully satisfied; neither is there any fixed time for this meal, but the servants have always things so far ready, that in the space of an hour, after the order has been given, a hundred dishes are served up. The food allowed to the women of the seraglio commences to be taken from the kitchen in the morning, and goes on till night.

Trustworthy and experienced people are appointed to this department; and all good servants attached to the court, are resolved to perform well whatever service they have undertaken. Their head is assisted by the Prime Minister himself. His Majesty has entrusted to the latter the affairs of the state, but especially this important department. Notwithstanding all this, his Majesty is not unmindful of the conduct of the servants. He appoints a zealous and sincere man as *Mír Bakáwal*, or Master of the Kitchen, upon whose insight the success of the department depends, and gives him several upright persons as assistants. There are also treasurers for the cash and the stores, several tasters, and a clever writer. Cooks from all countries prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also oily, sweet and spicy dishes. Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty.

In the beginning of the year the Sub-treasurers make out an annual estimate, and receive the amount; the money bags and the door of the store-house being sealed with the seals of the Mír Bakáwal and the writer; and every month a correct statement of the daily expenditure is drawn up, the receipt for which is sealed by the same two officers, when it is entered under the head of the expenditure. At the beginning of every quarter, the *Díwán i buyútát*[1] and the *Mír Bakáwal*, collect whatever they think will be necessary; *e. g.*, *Suk'hdás* rice from Bharáij, *Déwzírah* rice from Gwáliár, *Jinjín* rice from Rájórí and Nímlah, *g'hí* from *Hiçár Fírúzah;* ducks, water-fowls, and

[1] Superintendent of the stores, workshops, &c.

certain vegetables from Kashmír. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, berberies, fowls, ducks, &c., are fattened by the cooks; fowls are never kept longer than a month. The slaughter-house is without the city or the camp, in the neighbourhood of rivers and tanks, where the meat is washed, when it is sent to the kitchen in sacks sealed by the cooks. There it is again washed, and thrown into the pots. The water-carriers pour the water out of their leather bags into earthen vessels, the mouths of which are covered with pieces of cloth, and sealed up; and the water is left to settle before it is used. A place is also told off as a kitchen garden, that there may be a continual supply of fresh greens. The Mír Bakáwal and the writer determine the price of every eatable, which becomes a fixed rule; and they sign the day-book, the estimates, the receipts for transfers, the list of wages of the servants, &c., and watch every transaction. Bad characters, idle talkers, unknown persons are never employed; no one is entertained without security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient.

The victuals are served up in dishes of gold and silver, stone and earthen-ware; some of the dishes being in charge of each of the Sub-Bakáwals. During the time of cooking, and when the victuals are taken out, an awning is spread, and lookers-on kept away. The cooks tuck up their sleeves, and the hems of their garments, and hold their hands before their mouths and noses when the food is taken out; the cook and the Bakáwal taste it, after which it is tasted by the Mír Bakáwal, and then put into the dishes. The gold and silver dishes are tied up in red cloths, and those of copper and china in white ones. The Mír Bakáwal attaches his seal, and writes on it the names of the contents, whilst the clerk of the pantry writes out on a sheet of paper a list of all vessels and dishes, which he sends inside, with the seal of the Mír Bakáwal, that none of the dishes may be changed. The dishes are carried by the Bakáwals, the cooks, and the other servants, and macebearers precede and follow, to prevent people from approaching them. The servants of the pantry send at the same time, in bags containing the seal of the Bakáwal, various kinds of bread, saucers of curds piled up, and small stands containing plates of pickles, fresh ginger, limes, and various greens. The servants of the palace again taste the food, spread the table cloth on the ground, and arrange the dishes; and when after some time his Majesty commences to dine, the table servants sit opposite him in attendance: first, the share of the derwishes is put apart, when his Majesty commences with milk or curds. After he has dined, he prostrates himself in prayer. The Mír Bakáwal is always in attendance. The dishes are taken away according to the above list. Some victuals are also kept half ready, should they be called for.

The copper utensils are tinned twice a month; those of the princes, &c., once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones.

ÁÍN 24.

RECIPES FOR DISHES.

There are many dishes, but the description is difficult. I shall give some particulars. Cooked victuals may be arranged under three heads, *first*, such in which no meat is used, called now-a-days *çúfiyánah; secondly*, such in which meat and rice, &c., are used; *thirdly*, meats with spices. I shall give ten recipes of each kind.

First, 1. *Zard birinj.* 10 *s.* of rice; 5 *s.* of sugarcandy; 3½ *s.* of g'hí; raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ½ *s.* of each; ¼ *s.* of salt; ⅛ *s.* of fresh ginger; 1½ dáms saffron, 2½ misqáls of cinnamon. This will make four ordinary dishes. Some make this dish with fewer spices, and even without any: and instead of without meat and sweets, they prepare it also with meat and salt. 2. *Khushkah.* 10 *s.* rice; ½ *s.* salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One maund of *Déwzirah* paddy yields 25 *s.* of rice, of which 17 sérs make a full pot; *jinjin* rice yields 22 sérs. 3. *K'hichri.* Rice, split dal, and g'hí 5 *s.* of each; ⅓ *s.* salt: this gives seven dishes. 4. *Shirbirinj.* 10 *s.*, milk; 1 *s.* rice; 1 *s.* sugarcandy; 1 *d.* salt: this gives five full dishes. 5. *T'húli.* 10 *s.* of wheat ground, of which one-third will be lost; half of that quantity of g'hí; 10 misqáls of pepper; 4 *m.* cinnamon; 3½ *m.* cloves and cardamums; ½ *s.* salt; some add milk and sweetmeats: this gives four dishes. 6. *Chik'hi.* 10 *s.* of wheat-flour, made into a paste, and washed till it is reduced to 2 *s.* fine paste. This is mixed with spices, and dressed with various kinds of meat. 1 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* onions; saffron, cardamums, and cloves, ½ *d.* of each; cinnamon, round pepper, and coriander seed, 1 *d.* of each; fresh ginger, salt 3 *d.* of each: this gives two dishes; some add lime juice. 7. *Bádinján.* 10 *s.* rice; 1½ *s.* g'hí; 3¾ *s.* onions; ½ *s.* ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 *m.* of each; cloves, cardamums, and assafœtida, each ½ *m.* This gives six dishes. 8. *Pahit.* For ten sérs of dál, or vetches, or gram, or skinned lentils, &c., take 2½ *s.* g'hi; ½ *s.* of salt and fresh ginger; 2 *m.* cuminseed; 1½ *m.* assafœtida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with *Khushkah.* 9. *Ság.* It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 *s.* spinach, fennel, &c., 1½ *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* onions; ½ *s.* fresh ginger; 5½ *m.* of pepper; ½ *m.* of cardamums and cloves: this gives six dishes. 10. *Halwá.* Flour, sugarcandy, g'hí, 10 *s.* of each, which will give fifteen dishes; it is eaten in various ways.

There are also various kinds of sugared fruits, and drinks, which I cannot here describe.

Secondly, 1. *Qabúlí.* 10 *s.* rice; 7 *s.* meat; 3½ *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* gram skinned; 2 *s.* onions; ½ *s.* salt; ¼ *s.* fresh ginger; cinnamon, round pepper, cuminseed, of each 1 *d.*; cardamums and cloves, ½ *d.* of each; some add almonds and raisins: this gives five dishes. 2. *Duzdbiryán.* 10 *s.* rice, 3½ *s.* g'hí; 10 *s.* meat; ½ *s.* salt: this gives five dishes. 3. *Qímah Paláo.* Rice and meat as in the preceding; 4 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* peeled gram; 2 *s.* onions; ½ *s.* salt; ¼ *s.* fresh ginger, and pepper; cuminseed, cardamums and cloves, 1 *d.* of each: this gives five dishes. 4. *Shullah.* 10 *s.* meat, 3½ *s.* rice; 2 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* gram: 2 *s.* onions; ½ *s.* salt, ¼ *s.* fresh ginger; 2 *d.* garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamums, cloves, 1 *d.*, of each: this gives six dishes. 5. *Bughrá.* 10 *s.* meat; 3 *s.* flour; 1½ *s.* g'hí, 1 *s.* gram; 1½ *s.* vinegar; 1 *s.* sugarcandy; onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, ¼ *s.* of each; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 1 *d.* of each; 2 *d.* cinnamon; 8 *m.* round pepper: this gives twelve dishes. 6. *Qímah Shúrbá.* 10 *s.* meat; 1 *s.* rice; 1 *s.* g'hí; ½ *s.* gram, and the rest as in the *Shullah:* this gives ten full dishes. 7. *Harísah.* 10 *s.* meat; 5 *s.* crushed wheat; 2 *s.* g'hí; ½ *s.* salt; 2 *d.* cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. *Kashk.* 10 *s.* meat; 5 *s.* crushed wheat; 3 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* gram; ¼ *s.* salt; 1½ *s.* onions; ½ *s.* ginger; 1 *d.* cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 2 *m.* of each: this gives five dishes. 9. *Halím.* The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 *s.* g'hí; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ¼ *s.* of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. *Quṭáb,* which the people of Hindústán call *sanbúsah.* This is made several ways. 10 *s.* meat; 4 *s.* flour; 2 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* onions; ¼ *s.* fresh ginger; ½ *s.* salt; 2 *d.* pepper and coriander seed; cardamum, cuminseed, cloves, 1 *d.* of each; ¼ *s.* of *summáq.* This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Thirdly, 1. *Biryán.* For a whole *Dashmandí* sheep, take 2 *s.* salt; 1 *s.* g'hí; 2 *m.* saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminseed: it is made in various ways. 2. *Yakhní.* For 10 *s.* meat, take 1 *s.* onions, and ½ *s.* salt. 3. *Yulmah.* A sheep is scalded in water till all the hair comes off; it is then prepared like *yakhní*, or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable. 4. *Kabáb* is of various kinds. 10 *s.* meat; ½ *s.* g'hí; salt, fresh ginger, onions, ¼ *s.* of each; cuminseed, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums cloves, 1½ *d.* of each. 5. *Musamman.* They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole, ½ *s.* minced meat, ½ *s.* g'hí; 5 eggs; ¼ *s.* onions; 10 *m.* coriander; 10 *m.* fresh ginger; 5 *m.* salt; 3 *m.* round pepper; ½ *m.* saffron; it is prepared as the preceding. 6. *Dupiyázah.* 10 *s.* meat, middling fat; 2 *s.* g'hí; 2 *s.* onions; ¼ *s.* salt; ⅛ *s.* fresh pepper; cuminseed, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 *d.* of each; 2 *d.* pepper: this will give

five dishes. 7. *Mutanjanah sheep.* 10 *s.* meat, middling fat; 2 *s.* g'hí; ½ *s.* gram; ¼ *s.* ginger; 1 *d.* cuminseed; round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed 2 *d.* of each; this will give seven dishes full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. *Dampukht.* 10 *s.* meat; 2 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* onions; 11 *m.* fresh ginger; 10 *m.* pepper; 2 *d.* cloves; 2 *d.* cardamums. 9. *Qalyah.* 10 *s.* meat; 2 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* onions; 2 *d.* pepper; cloves, cardamums, 1 *d.* each; ⅛ *s.* salt: this will give eight dishes. In preparing *qalyah,* the meat is minced, and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the *mutanjanah.* Here in Hindustan they prepare it in various ways. 10. *Malghúbah* 10 *s.* meat; 10 *s.* curds; 1 *s.* g'hí; 1 *s.* onions, ¼ *s.* ginger; 5 *d.* cloves: this will give ten dishes.

ÁÍN 25.

OF BREAD.

This belongs, properly speaking, to the preceding chapter. Bread is made in the pantry. There is a *large* kind, baked in an oven, made of 10 *s.* flour; 5 *s.* milk; 1½ *s.* g'hí; ¼ *s.* salt. They make also smaller ones. The *thin* kind is baked on an iron plate. One sér will give fifteen, or even more. There are various ways of making it: one kind is called *chapátí,* which is sometimes made of *khushkah;* it tastes very well, when served hot. For the bread used at court, one *man* of wheat is made to yield ½ *m.* of fine flour; 2 *s.* coarsely pounded flour; and the rest bran; if this degree of fineness be not required, the proportions are altered.

ÁÍN 26.

THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. (Çúfiyánah.[1])

His Majesty cares very little for meat, and often expresses himself to that effect. It is indeed from ignorance and cruelty that, although various kinds of food are obtainable, men are bent upon injuring living creatures, and lending a ready hand in killing and eating them; none seems to have an eye for the beauty inherent in the prevention of cruelty, but makes himself a tomb for animals. If his Majesty had not the burden of the world on his shoulders, he would at once totally abstain from meat; and now, it is his intention to quit it by degrees, conforming, however, a little to the spirit of the age. His Majesty abstained from meat for some time on Fridays, and then on Sundays; now on the first day of every solar month, on Sundays, on solar and lunar eclipses, on days between two fasts, on the Mondays of the

[1] Living according to the manner of the Súfís.

month of Rajab,[1] on the feast-day of every solar month, during the whole month of *Farwardín*,[2] and during the month, in which his Majesty was born, *viz*, the month of *Ábán*. Again, when the number of fast days of the month of Ábán had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of *Ázar* also were kept as fasts. At present the fast extends over the whole month. These fast days, however, from pious motives, are annually increased by at least five days. Should fasts fall together, they keep the longer one, and transfer the smaller by distributing its days over other months. Whenever long fasts are ended, the first dishes of meat come dressed from the apartments of Maryam Makání, next from the other bégums, the princes, and the principal nobility.

In this department nobles, ahadís, and other military, are employed. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 100 to 400 dáms.

ÁÍN 27.

STATISTICS OF THE PRICES OF CERTAIN ARTICLES.

The prices of course vary, as on marches, or during the rains, and for other reasons; but I shall give here the average prices for the information of future enquirers.

A. The spring harvest.

Wheat, *per man*, ...	12 *d.*	Linseed, *per man*, ...	10 *d.*
Kábul gram, do.	16 *d.*	Safflower (carthamus), do...	8 *d.*
Black gram, do.	8 *d.*	Fenugreek, do	10 *d.*
Lentils, do.	12 *d.*	Peas, do.	6 *d.*
Barley, do.	8 *d.*	Mustardseed, do.	12 *d.*
Millet, do................	6 *d.*	Kéwú, do.	7 *d.*

B. The autumnal harvest.

Mushkín paddy, *per man*, ..	110 *d.*	Déwzírah rice, do.	90 *d.*
Sádah paddy, do...........	100 *d.*	Jinjin rice, do.............	80 *d.*
Suk'hdás rice, do.	100 *d.*	Dakah (?) rice, do.	50 *d.*
Dúnahparsád rice, do.......	90 *d.*	Zirhí rice, do.	40 *d.*
Sámzírah rice, do.	90 *d.*	Sát'hí rice, do.............	20 *d.*
Shakarchíní rice, do.	90 *d.*	Múng (black gram) do.	18 *d.*

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[1] Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A. H. 949, a Sunday, This corresponds to the 15th October, 1542. The Mondays of the month of Rajab were observed as fasts, because the Sundays had been included in the list of fast days. The members of the *Divine Faith* fasted likewise during the month of their birth.

[2] February—March ; vide the first Áín of the third book ; *Ábán* corresponds to October—November.

Másh (a kind of vetch) *per man*,	16 *d.*	Lahdarah, do.	8 *d.*
Mót'h (do.), do.	12 *d.*	Kódram, do.	7 *d.*
White sesame, do.	20 *d.*	Kúrí, do.	7 *d.*
Black sesame, do.	19 *d.*	Shamákh (Hind. *Sánwank*), do.	6 *d.*
Lóbiyá (a king of bean), do.	12 *d.*	Gál (Hind. *Kangni*), do,	8 *d.*
Juwárí (a kind of millet), do.	10 *d.*	Millet (Hind. *chinah*), do.	8 *d.*

Múng dál, *per man*,	18 *d.*	Lentils, *per man*,	16 *d.*
Nukhúd dál, do.	16½ *d.*	Mót'h dál, do.	12 *d.*

Wheat flour, *per man*,	22 *d.*	Nukhúd flour, *per man*,	22 *d.*
Do. coarse, do.	15 *d.*	Barley flour, do.	11 *d.*

C. Vegetables.

Fennel, *per man*,	10 *d.*	Garlic flowers, *per sér*,	1 *d.*
Spinach, do.	16 *d.*	Upalhák, (from Kashmír) do.	1 *d.*
Mint, do.	40 *d.*	Jítú, do.	3 *d.*
Onions, do.	6 *d.*	Ginger, do.	2½ *d.*
Garlic, do.	40 *d.*	Póí, do.	1 *d.*
Turnips, do.	21 *d.*	Kachnárbuds, do.	½ *d.*
Cabbage, *per sér*,	1 *d.*	Chúká (sorrel), do.	½ *d.*
Kankachhú, from Kashmír, do.	4 *d.*	Bat'hwah, do.	¼ *d.*
Dunwrétú, do.	2 *d.*	Ratsaká, do.	1 *d.*
Shaqáqul (wild carrot), do.	3 *d.*	Chauláí, do.	¼ *d.*

D. Living animals and meats.

Dáshmandí sheep, *per head*,	6½ *R.*	Duck, *per head*,	1 *R.*
Afghán sheep, 1st kind, do.	2 *R.*	Tughdarí (bustard), do.	20 *d.*
Do., 2d kind, do.	1½ *R.*	Kulang (heron), do.	20 *d.*
Do., 3d kind, do.	1¼ *R.*	Jarz (a kind of bustard), do.	18 *d.*
Kashmír sheep, do.	1½ *R.*	Durráj (black patridge), do.	3 *d.*
Hindustani sheep, do.	1½ *R.*	Kabg, (partridge), do.	20 *d.*
Barbarí goat, 1st kind, do.	1 *R.*	Búdanah, do.	1 *d.*
Do., 2d kind, do.	¾ *R.*	Lawah, do.	1 *d.*
Mutton, *per man*,	65 *d.*	Karwának (stone curlew), do.	20 *d.*
Goat, do.	54 *d.*	Fákhtah, (ringdove), do.	4 *d.*
Geese, *per head*,	20 *d.*		

E. Butter, Sugar, &c.

G'hí, *per man*,	105 *d.*	Refined sugar, *per sér*,	6 *d.*
Oil, do.	80 *d.*	White sugar candy, do.	5½ *d.*
Milk, do.	25 *d.*	White sugar, *per man*,	128 *d.*
Curds, do.	18 *d.*	Brown sugar, do.	56 *d.*

F. Spices.

Saffron, *per sér*,	400 *d.*	Aniseed, *per sér*,	2 *d.*
Cloves, do.	60 *d.*	Turmeric (Hind. *haldí*) do.	10 *d.*
Cardamums, do.	52 *d.*	Coriander seed, do.	3 *d.*
Round pepper, do.	17 *d.*	Siyáhdánah (Hind. *kalaunjí*), do.	1½ *d.*
Long pepper, do.	16 *d.*	Assafœtida, do.	2 *d.*
Dry ginger, do.	4 *d.*	Sweet fennel, do.	1 *d.*
Fresh do., do.	2½ *d.*	Cinnamon, do.	40 *d.*
Cummin seed, do.	2 *d.*	Salt, *per man*,	16 *d.*

G. Pickles.

Sour limes, *per sér*,	6 *d.*	Pickled quinces, *per sér*,	9 *d.*
Lemon-juice, do.	5 *d.*	Do. garlic, do.	1 *d.*
Wine vinegar,	5 *d.*	Do. onions, do.	½ *d.*
Sugarcane vinegar, do.	1 *d.*	Do. bádinján (egg-plant,) do.	1 *d.*
Pickled ashtarghár, do.	8 *d.*	Do. raisins & munaqqa, do.	8 *d.*
Mangoes in oil, do.	2 *d.*	Do. kachnár, do.	2 *d.*
Do. in vinegar, do.	2 *d.*	Do. peaches, do.	1 *d.*
Lemons in oil, do.	2 *d.*	Do. sahajnah (horse-raddish),	1 *d.*
Do. in vinegar, do.	2 *d.*	Do. karílbuds (capparis), do.	⅛ *d.*
Do. in salt, do.	1½ *d.*	Do. karílberries, do.	½ *d.*
Do. in lemon-juice, do.	3 *d.*	Do. súran, do.	1 *d.*
Pickled ginger,	2½ *d.*	Do. mustard,	¼ *d.*
Adarshákh, do.	2½ *d.*	Do. tórí (a kind of cucumber,)	½ *d.*
Turnips in vinegar, do.	1 *d.*	Do. cucumbers, do.	½ *d.*
Pickled carrots, do.	½ *d.*	Do. bádrang, (gourd) do.	½ *d.*
Do. bamboo, do.	4 *d.*	Do. kachálú, do.	½ *d.*
Do. apples, do.	8 *d.*	Do. raddishes, do.	½ *d.*

ÁÍN 28.

THE FRUITERY.

His Majesty looks upon fruits as one of the greatest gifts of the Creator, and pays much attention to them. The horticulturists of Írán and Túrán have, therefore, settled here, and the cultivation of trees is in a flourishing state. Melons and grapes have become very plentiful and excellent; and water-melons, peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, &c., are everywhere to be found. Ever since the conquest of Kábul, Qandahár, and Kashmír, loads of fruits are imported; throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bázárs well supplied. Muskmelons come in season, in Hindústán, in the month of *Farwardín* (February—March), and

are plenty in *Urdibihisht* (March—April). They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called *náshpátí*, *bábáshaikhi*, *'alishérí*, *alchah*, *barg i nai*, *dúd i chirágh*, *&c.* They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of *Shariwar*, (August) they come from Kashmír, and before they are out of season, plenty are brought from Kábul; during the month of *Ázar* (November) they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshán, and continue to be had during *Dai* (December.) When they are in season in Zábulistán, good ones are also obtainable in the Panjáb; and in Bhakkar and its vicinity they are plentiful in season, except during the forty cold days of winter. Various kinds of grapes are here to be had from *Khurdád* (May) to *Amurdád* (July), whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmír grapes during *Shahriwar*. Eight sérs of grapes sell in Kashmír at one dám, and the cost of the transport is two rupees *per man*. The Kashmírians bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious. From *Mihr* (September) till *Urdíbihisht* grapes come from Kábul, together with cherries,[1] which his Majesty calls *sháhálú*, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, girdálús, and álúchas, &c., many of which fruits grow also in Hindústán. From Samarqand even they bring melons, pears, and apples.

Whenever his Majesty wishes to take wine, opium, or *kúknar* (he calls the latter *sabras*), the servants in charge place before him stands of fruits; he eats a little, but most is distributed. The fruits are marked according to their degree of excellence: melons of the first quality are marked with a line drawn round the top; those of the second, with two lines; and so on.

In this department Mansabdárs, Ahadís, and other soldiers are employed; the pay of a foot soldier varies from 140 to 100 *d.*

The following tables contain particulars regarding the names, seasons, taste, and prices, of various fruits.

A. Túrání Fruits.

Arhang[2] melons, 1st quality, @ $2\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*	Kábul and European apples, 5 to 10 for .... 1 *R.*
Do., 2nd and 3rd do., @ 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*	Kashmír grapes, *per man*, ... 108 *d.*
Kábul melons, 1st do., @ 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*	Dates, *per sér*, ...10 *d.*
Do., 2d do., @ $\frac{3}{4}$ to ....1 *R.*	Raisins, do. .... 9 *d.*
Do., 3rd do., @ $\frac{1}{2}$ to .... $\frac{3}{4}$ *R.*	Ábjósh (large raisins), do..... 9 *d.*
Samarqand apples, 7 to 15 for 1 *R.*	Plums, do., ... 8 *d.*
Quinces, 10 to 30 for ....1 *R.*	Khúbání (dried apricots), *per sér*, 8 *d.*
Guavas, 10 to 100 for ....1 *R.*	Qandahár dry grapes, do., .. 7 *d.*
Pomegranates, *per man*, $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 *R.*	

[1] The original has a word *kílás*, which is not to be found in our dictionaries. It may be *cerasus*.

[2] A town in Badakhshán.

Figs, *per sér*,	7 *d.*	Chilghúzah nuts, *per sér*,	8 *d.*
Munaqqa, do.	6¾ *d.*	Sinjid (jujubes), do.	6½ d.
Jujubes, do.	3½ *d.*	Pistachios, do.	6 *d.*
Almonds, without the shell, do.	28 *d.*	Jauz (nuts), do.	4½ *d.*
Do., with do., do.	11 *d.*	Filberts, do.	3 *d.*
Pistachios, do.	9 *d.*	Hazel nuts, do.	2½ *d.*

B. The sweet fruits of Hindustan.

Mangoes, *per hundred*, up to	40 *d.*	Usírá,	*
Pineapples, one for	4 *d.*	Dates, *per sér*,	4 *d.*
Oranges, two for	1 *d.*	Angúhal,	*
Sugarcanes, two for	1 *d.*	Délá, do.	1 *d.*
Jackfruits, two for	1 *d.*	Gúlah,	*
Plantains, do.	1 *d.*	Bholsarí, *per sér*,	4 *d.*
Bér, *per sér*,	2 *d.*	Tarkul, two for	1 *d.*
Pomegranates, *per man*,	80 to 100 *d.*	Paniálah, *per sér*,	2 *d.*
Guavas, two for	1 *d.*	Lahsaurah, do.	1 *d.*
Figs, *per sér*,	1 *d.*	Gumbhí, do.	4 *d.*
Mulberry, do.	2 *d.*	Karahrí,	4 *d.*
Custard apples,[1] one for	1 *d.*	Tarrí,	*
Melons, *per man*,	40 *d.*	Bangah, two for	1 *d.*
Water melons, one	2 to 10 *d.*	Gúlar, *per sér*,	2 *d.*
K'hirní, *per sér*,	4 *d.*	Pílú, do.	2 *d.*
Mahuwá, do.	1 *d.*	Barautah,	*
Dép'hal, do.	4 *d.*	Piyár, do.	4 *d.*
Téndú, do.	2 *d.*		

Mulberries and gúlars are in season during *spring;* pine apples, oranges, sugarcane, bérs, úsírás, bhólsarís, gumbhís, dép'hals during *winter*; jackfruits, tarkuls, figs, melons, lahsauras, karahrís, mahuwás, téndús, pílús, barautahs, during *summer ;* and mangoes, plantains, dates, delas, gúlahs, pomegranates, guavas, watermelons, paniálas, bangahs, k'hirnís, piyárs, during the rains.

C. Dried Fruits.

Cocoanuts, one for	4 *d.*	Mak'háná, *per sér*,	4 *d.*
Dry Dates, *per sér*,	6 *d.*	Súpyárí, do.	8 *d.*
Walnuts, do.	8 *d.*	Kaulgattah, do.	2 *d.*
Chiraunchí, do.	4 *d.*		

Dates, walnuts, chiraunchís, and kaulgattahs are in season during *summer*, and cocoanuts, mak'hánás and supyárís, during *winter*.

[1] The original says that custard apples are to be had throughout the whole year. This seems a mistake of the MSS. The remark suits the next fruit (melons).

* The Original does not mention the price.

D. Vegetables.

Palwal, *per sér,*	2 *d.*	Kachálú, *per sér,*	2 *d.*
Gourd, one...............	2 *d.*	Chachíndá, do.	2 *d.*
Bádinján, *per sér,*	1½ *d.*	Súran, do.	1 *d.*
Turai, do...	1½ *d.*	Carrots, do.	1 *d.*
Kandúrí, do...............	1½ *d.*	Sing'hárah, do.	3 *d.*
Sénb, do.	1½ *d.*	Sálak, do.	2 *d.*
Pét'h, do.	1½ *d.*	Pindálú, do.	2 *d.*
Karílah, do.	1½ *d.*	Séálí,......	*
Kakúrah, do...............	1½ *d.*	Kasérú do.................	3 *d.*

Súrans and séálís are in season during *summer;* palwals, gourds, turais, kachálús, chachíndás, kandúrís, sénbs, pét'hs, karílahs, kakúrahs, and sing'hárahs during the *rains;* and carrots, sálaks, pindálús, and kasérús, during *winter*. Bádinjáns are to be had throughout the year.

E. Sour Fruits.

Limes, *four* up to	1 *d.*	G'hép,....................	*
Amalbét, do...............	1 *d.*	Bijaurá, one for............	8 *d.*
Galgal, two up to	1 *d.*	Ánwlah, *per sér,*............	2 *d.*

Limes and ánwlahs are to be had in summer, the others during the *rains.*

F. Fruits somewhat acid.

Ambilí, *per sér,*	2 *d.*	Kait, four up to............	1 *d.*
Badhal, one for............	1 *d.*	Kánkú, ...	*
Kamrak, four up to	1 *d.*	Pákar, *per sér,*	½ *d.*
Nárangí, two up to	1 *d.*	Karná, one for	1 *d.*
Mountain grapes, ...	*	Labhírá	*
Jáman, *per sér,*	1 *d.*	Janbhírí, five up to	1 *d.*
P'hálsah, do...............	1½ *d.*	Garnah, ...	*
Karaundá, do.	1 *d.*		

Kamraks and nárangís are in season during *winter;* ambilís, badhals, mountain-grapes, p'hálsas, labhíras, during *summer*; and kaits, pákars, karnás, jámans, karaundás, jhanbhírís, during the *rains.*

The fruits of Hindustan are either sweet, or subacid, or sour; each kind is numerous. Some fruits also taste well when dry; others as above described are used when cooked. I shall give now a few details.

The Mangoe. The Persians call this fruit *Naghzak,* as appears from a verse of *Khusrau.*[1] This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the *gourmands* of Túrán and Írán place it above muskmelons and grapes.

[1] *Vide* the fourth note on p. 75 of my | text edition.

* The Original does not mention the price.

In shape it resembles an apricot, or a quince, or a pear, or a melon, and weighs even one sér and upwards. There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and subacid mangoes. The tree looks well, especially when young; it is larger than a nut tree, and its leaves resemble those of the willow, but are larger. The new leaves appear soon after the fall of the old ones in autumn, and look green and yellow, orange, peach-coloured, and bright red. The flower which opens in spring, resembles that of the vine, has a good smell, and looks very curious. About a month after the leaves have made their appearance, the fruit is sour, and is used for preserves and pickles. It improves the taste of *qalyahs* (p. 61.) as long as the stone has not become hard. If a fruit gets injured whilst on the tree, its good smell will increase. Such mangoes are called *kóilás*. The fruit is generally taken down when unripe, and kept in a particular manner. Mangoes ripened in this manner are much finer. They mostly commence to ripen during summer, and are fit to be eaten during the rains; others commence in the rainy season, and are ripe in the beginning of winter: the latter are called *Bhadiyyah*. Some trees bloom and yield fruit the whole year; but this is rare. Others commence to ripen, although they look unripe; they must be quickly taken down; else the sweetness would produce worms. Mangoes are to be found every where in India, especially in Bengal, Gujrát, Málwah, Khándésh, and the Dekhan. They are rarer in the Pánjab, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made Láhór his capital. A young tree will bear fruit after four years. They put also milk and treacle round about the tree, which makes the fruits sweeter. Some trees yield in one year a rich harvest, and less in the next: others yield for one year no fruit at all. When people eat a great deal of mangoes, they may promote digestion by partaking of milk with the kernels of the mangoe stones. The kernels of old stones are subacid, and taste well: when two or three years old, they are used as medicine. If a half ripe mangoe, together with its stalk to a length of about two fingers, be taken from the tree, and the broken end of its stalk be closed with warm wax, and kept in butter, or honey, the fruit will retain its taste for two or three months, whilst the colour will remain even for a year.

Pineapples[1] are also called *Kat'hal i Safarí*, or the jackfruits for travels, because young plants, put into a vessel, may be taken on travels, and will yield fruits. In colour and shape they resemble an oblong orange; and in taste and smell, a mangoe. The plant is about a yard long, and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk, and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out these leaves, separate them, and

[1] Jahángír in his *Memoirs (Toozuk i Jahángírí*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 3,) states that the pineapples, at his time, came from the harbour towns held by the Portuguese

put them singly into the ground: they are the seedlings. Each plant bears only once, and one fruit only.

Oranges have the colour of saffron, and the shape of quinces. They belong to the best fruits to be had in Hindústán. The tree resembles the lime tree; its flower has a weak, but fine smell.

Sugarcane, which the Persians call *Naishakar*, is of various kinds; one species is so tender and so full of juice, that a sparrow can make it flow out by pecking it; and it would break to pieces, if let fall. Sugarcane is either soft, or hard. The latter is used for the preparation of brown sugarcandy, common sugar, white candy, and refined sugar, and thus becomes useful for all kinds of sweetmeats. It is cultivated as follows. They put some healthy sugarcane in a cool place, and sprinkle it daily with water. When the sun enters the sign of Aquarius, they cut off pieces, a cubit and upwards in length, put them into soft ground, and cover them up with earth. The harder the sugarcane is, the deeper they put it. Constant irrigation is required. After seven or eight months it will come up.

Sugarcane is also used for the preparation of intoxicating liquor, but brown sugar is better for this purpose. There are various kinds of preparing it. One way is as follows. They pound *Babúl* bark, mixing it at the rate of ten sérs to one *man* of sugarcane, and put three times as much water over it. Then they take large jars, fill them with the mixture, and put them into the ground, surrounding them with dry horse-dung. From seven to ten days are required to produce fermentation. It is a sign of perfection, when it has a sweet, but astringent taste. When the liquor is to be strong, they again put to the mixture some brown sugar, and sometimes even drugs and perfumes, as ambergis, camphor, &c. They let also meat dissolve in it. This beverage when strained, may be used, but it is mostly employed for the preparation of arrack.

They have several methods of distilling it; *first*, they put the above liquor into brass vessels, in the interior of which a cup is put, so as not to shake, nor must the liquid flow into it. The vessels are then covered with inverted lids which are fastened with clay. After pouring cold water on the lids, they kindle the fire, changing the water as often as it gets warm. As soon as the vapour inside reaches the cold lid, it condenses, and falls as arrack into the cup. *Secondly*, they close the same vessel with an earthen pot, fastened in the same manner with clay, and fix to it two pipes, the free ends of which have each a jar attached to them, which stands in cold water. The vapour through the pipes will enter the jars, and condense. *Thirdly*, they fill an earthen vessel with the above mentioned liquor, and fasten to it a large spoon with a hollow handle. The end of the handle they attach to a pipe, which leads into a jar. The vessel is covered with a lid, which is kept full with cold water. The arrack, when condensed, flows through the

spoon into the jar. Some distil the arrack twice, when it is called *Duátashah*, or twice burned. It is very strong. If you wet your hands with it, and hold them near the fire, the spirit will burn in flames of different colours, without injuring the hands. It is remarkable that when a vessel, containing arrack, is set on fire, you cannot put it out by any means; but if you cover the vessel, the fire gets at once extinguished.

The *Jackfruit* has the shape of a black pudding, looks greenish, and is sometimes a yard long, and half a yard broad. When small, it resembles a water melon; its peel is full of thorns. It grows out of the branches, the trunk, and the roots. Those that grow below the ground are sweetest. On opening you see round clusters, so viscous, that the fingers stick together, when you take them out. The tree looks like a nut tree, but is somewhat bigger, and has larger leaves. The flower, like the fruit, has a good smell. The fruits are also taken down, when unripe. They then apply chalk, &c., when the fruits will get ripe.

The *Plantain* tree looks straight like a spear; the leaves come out of the trunk thick and soft, and resemble an unsewn plaited sleeve, but are much larger and wider. Out of the middle rises something looking like a spindle, of a lilac colour; this is the bud. The fruit consists of a cluster of seventy to eighty plantains. In shape they resemble small cucumbers; the peel is easily removed. As plantains are very heavy, you cannot eat many. There are various kinds of plantains. The plant is every year cut down, and a stump only is left of it: if this is not done, it will no longer bear fruit. The vulgar believe that the plantain tree yields camphor, but this is wrong; for the camphor tree, as shall be hereafter explained, is a different tree, although it has the same name. They also say that pearls originate in plantain trees,—another statement upon which the light of truth does not shine.

The *Mahuwá* tree resembles the mangoe tree; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called *Gilaundah*, yields an intoxicating liquor.

The *Bhólsirí* tree is large and handsome;[1] the fruit has an orange colour, and resembles jujubes.

The *Tarkul* tree, and its fruit, resemble the cocoanut palm and its fruit. When the stalk of a new leaf comes out of a branch, they cut off its end, and hang a vessel to it, to receive the out-flowing juice. The vessel will fill twice or three times a day. The juice is called *tárí;* when fresh it is sweet; when it is allowed to stand for some time, it turns subacid, and is inebriating.

The *Paniálah* fruit resembles the *Zardálú;* and its tree, the lime tree; the leaves are like those of the willow. When unripe, the fruit is green; and red, when ripe.

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[1] The text has here a few words the | meaning of which I do not understand.

The *Gumbhí* has a stem the branches of which are like creepers; its leaves and fruits, as those of the *kunár*, come from below the roots.

The *Tarrí* forms at the root; it grows mostly in the mountains, and weighs a *man*, more or less, when the creeper is a year old; and two, when two years old. It looks like a millstone. When older, it grows larger according to the same proportion. Its leaves resemble those of the water melon.

The *Piyár* is like a small grape; brownish and sweet. The inside of the kernel is like butter, and is used in the preparation of food; it is called *Chiraunjí*. Its tree is about a yard high.

The *Cocoanut* is called by the Persians *Jauz i Hindí;* the tree resembles the date tree, but is larger; its wood, however, looks better, and the leaves are larger. The tree bears fruit throughout the whole year; they get ripe in three months. They are also taken down, when unripe and green, and kept for some time. Their inside contains a cup full of milk-like juice, which tastes well, and is very often drunk in summer, mixed with sugar. When ripe the fruit looks brown. The juice has now become solid, and gets black when mixed with butter; it is sweet and greasy. When eaten with *pán*-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and *ghichaks* (a kind of violin). There are nuts having four, three, two, and one, holes or eyes; each kind is said to possess certain qualities, the last being considered the best. Another kind is used for the preparation of an antidote against poison. The nuts weigh sometimes twelve* sérs and upwards. The bark of the tree is used for ropes; the large ropes used on ships are made of it.

Dates are called in Hindí *Pindk'hajúr*. The tree has a short stem, rising little above the ground, and produces from four to five hundred fruits.

The *Súpyárí*, or betel nut, is called in Persian *fúfal*. The tree is graceful, and slender like the cypress. The wind often bends it, so that its crown touches the ground; but it rises up again. There are various kinds. The fruit when eaten raw, tastes somewhat like an almond, but gets hard when ripe. They eat it with betel leaves.

The *Sing'hárah* is a triangular fruit; its creeper grows in tanks, and the fruit is on the surface of the water. They eat it raw or roasted.

The *Sálak* grows in tanks under the earth. They go into the water and dig it up.

The *Pindálú* is reared on lattice work, and grows about two yards high. Its leaf resembles the betel leaf; they dig up the root.

The *Kasérú* grows in tanks. When the water gets low, they take it out of the ground and eat it, raw or boiled.

The *Sédlí* root is long and conical; the plant is a creeper, to whose root the fruit is attached.

The *Orange* has the shape of an egg. One kind is called *kághazí*. Between the peel and the fruit is a thin white membrane. The fruit is juicy, and tastes well; one kind is to be had throughout the whole year.

The *Amalbét* is like a lime, and very sour. If you put a steel needle into this fruit, the needle in a short time will dissolve; and a white shell when put into its juice, will soon disappear.

The *Karná* resembles an apple, and appears after the plant has reached the third year. At first the fruit is green, sour, and also somewhat bitter, but turns afterwards yellow and bitter; when ripe it is red and sweet. When it is kept long, it turns green again. The tree looks like an orange tree, but the leaves are somewhat broader, and the buds like fine arrows. The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambergis; but it is beyond my power to describe the process of the manufacture.

The *Betel* leaf is properly speaking a vegetable, but *connoisseurs* call it an excellent fruit. Mír Khusrau of Dihlí in one of his verses says, "It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit of Hindústán." The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied, and the satisfied hungry. I shall describe some of the various kinds. 1. The leaf called *Bilahrí* is white and shining, and does not make the tongue harsh and hard. It tastes best of all kinds. After it has been taken away from the creeper, it turns white, with some care, after a month, or even after twenty days, when greater efforts are made. 2. The *Kákér* leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The *Jaiswár* leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The *Kapúri* leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The *Kapúrkánt* leaf is yellowish-green, and pungent like pepper; it smells like camphor. You could not eat more than ten leaves. It is to be had at Banáras; but even there it does not thrive in every soil. 6. The *Banglah* leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of *Chait* (March—April), about New-Year's time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with *Karhanj* leaves on it, and put it below the ground. From fifteen to twenty days after, according as leaves and knots form, a new creeper will appear from a knot, and as soon as another knot forms, a leaf will grow up. The creepers and new leaves form for seven months, when the plant ceases to grow. No creeper has more than thirty leaves. As the plant grows, they prop it with canes, and cover it, on the top and the sides, with wood and straw, so as to rear it up in the shade. The plant requires continually to be watered, except during the rains. Sometimes they put

milk, sesame oil and its seeds pressed out, about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names: 1. The *Karhanj* leaf, which they separate for seedlings, and call *Péṛi*. The new leaf is called *Gadautah*. 2. The *Nautí* leaf. 3. The *Bahutí* leaf. 4. The *Chhíw* leaf. 5. The *Adhinídá* leaf. 6. The *Agahniyah* or *Léwár* leaf. 7. The *Karhanj* leaf itself. With the exception of the *Gadautah*, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some; others keep it for seedlings: they consider it very excellent, but *connoisseurs* prefer the *Péṛi*.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called *Lahásah*, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called *Dhóli*; a *lahásah* is made up of *dholis*. In winter they turn and arrange the leaves after four or five days; in summer every day. From 5 to 25 leaves, and sometimes more, are placed above each other, and adorned in various ways. They also put some betelnut and *kat'h*[1] on one leaf, and some chalk[2] paste on another, and roll them up: this is called a *bérah*. Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie both leaves with a silk thread. Others put single leaves on plates, and use them thus. They are also prepared as a dish.

ÁÍN 29.
ON FLAVOURS.

As I have mentioned various kinds of food, I shall also say something on flavours. *Heat* renders pungent that which is agreeable, bitter that which is greasy, and brackish that which has the proper flavour; *cold* makes the first acid, the second astringent, and the third tart. Astringency when affecting the tongue merely is called in Arabic *qabz;* and *'ufúçat*, when affecting the whole frame. A *moderate* temperature renders the first quality greasy, the second sweet, and the last tasteless. These are the fundamental flavours. Others count four, *viz.*, the sweet, the bitter, the acid, the brackish. The flavours produced by combinations is endless; some have however names, *e. g.*, *bashá'at* is a bitter and tart flavour, and *zu'úqah* a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

ÁÍN 30.
ON PERFUMES.

His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives. The court-hall is continually scented with ambergis, aloewood, and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented

[1] An astringent vegetable extract eaten by the natives of India with the *pán* leaf. It looks brown, and stains the tongue and the gums red.

[2] In Persian *chúnah*; but Anglo-Indice, *chunám*.

by his Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes, whilst sweet-smelling flowers are used in large quantities. Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair. I shall give a few recipes.

1. *Santúk* is used for keeping the skin fresh: 1½ tólahs Civet; 1 *t.* *Chúwah*;[1] 2 máshahs *Chambéli* essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. *Argajah*, ¾ *s.* sandel wood; 2 *t.* Iksír and Míd; 3 *t.* Chúwah; 1 *t.* violet root, and géhlah (the seed of a plant); ½ *m.* camphor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. *Gulkámah*. Pound together 1 *t.* best Ambergis; ½ *t.* Ládan; 2 *t.* best musk; 4 *t.* wood of aloes, and 8 *t.* Iksír i 'abír; and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a sér of the juice of the flower called *Gul i surkh*, and expose it to the sun, till it dries up. Wet it in the evening with rose-water and with the extract of the flower called *Bahár*, and pound it again on *Samáq* stone. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called *Bahár i Náranj*, and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black *Raihán* (also called black *Názbúi*). A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. *Rúhafzá*, 5 *s.* Aloewood; 1¼ *s.* Sandelwood; 1¼ *s.* Ládan; Iksír, Lúbán, Dhúp (a root brought from Kashmír), 3⅓ *t.* of each; 20 *t.* violet root; 10 *t.* Ushnah, called in Hind. *Chharílah*. Press till it gets tenacious like syrup. To be made into cakes with four bottles of rose-water. It is burnt in censers, and smells very fine. 5. *Opatnah* is a scented soap. 2¾ *s.* Ládan; 1½ *s.* 5 *d.* Aloewood; the same quantity of Bahár i Náranj, and 1⅓ *s.* of its bark; 1 *s.* 10 *d.* Sandelwood; 1 *s.* 5 *d.* Sumbul uṭṭíb, called in Hind. *Chhar*; the same quantity of Ushnah; 38½ *t.* musk; 1 *s.* 4 *t.* *páchah* leaves; 36 *t.* apples; 11 *t.* Su'd, called in Hind. *Mót'h*; 5 *d.* violet root; 1 *t.* 2 *m.* Dhúp; 1½ *t.* Ikankí (a kind of grass); the same quantity of Zurumbád, called in Hind. *kachúr*, (zerumbet); 1 *t.* 2 *m.* Lúbán; 106 bottles of rose-water; 5 bottles of extract of Bahár. Pound the whole, sift it, and boil slowly in rose-water. When it has become less moist, let it dry. 6. *'Abírmáyah*,[2] 4 *d.* Aloewood; 2 *d.* Sandelwood; 1 *d.* violet root; 3 *d.* Sumbuluṭṭíb; 3 *d.* Duwálak; 4 *t.* musk of Khatá (Cathay); 2½ *d.* Ládan; 7½ *d.* Bahár i Náranj. Pound, and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose-water, and put it into the shade to dry. 7. *Kishtah*, 24 *t.* Aloewood; 6½ Ládan, Lúbán, and Sandelwood; Iksír and Dhúp, 2 *t.* of each; violet root and musk, 2 *t.*; 1 *t.* Ushnah; mix with 50 *t.* refined sugar, and boil gently in 2 bottles of rose-water. It is made into cakes. It smells very fine when burnt, and is exhilarating. 8. *Bukhúr*, 1 *s.* Aloewood and Sandelwood; ¼ *s.* Ládan; 2 *t.*

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[1] This and the following names of perfumes are explained further on in this chapter.

[2] *Vide* below the twelfth flower.

musk; 5 *t.* Iksír; mix with two sérs of refined sugar and one bottle of rosewater over a slow fire. 9. *Fatílah,* 5 *s.* Aloewood; 72 *t.* Sandelwood; Iksír and Ládan, 20 *t.* of each; 5 *t.* Violet root; 10 *t.* Lúbán; 3 *t.* refined sugar; mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. *Bárját,* 1 *s.* Aloewood; 5 *t.* Ládan; 2 *t.* musk; 2 *t.* Sandelwood; 1 *t.* Lúbán; ½ *t.* Camphor. Then distill it like *Chúwah,* (*vide* below). 11 *'Abír-Iksír,* ¾ *s.* Sandelwood; 26 *t.* Iksír; 2 *t.* 8 *m.* musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. *Ghasúl* (a liquid soap), 35 *t.* Sandelwood; 17 *t.* Katúl (?)[1]; 1 *t.* musk; 1 *t.* Chúwah; 2 *m.* Camphor; 2 *m.* Míd. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

A List of Perfumes[2] and their Prices.

'Ambar i ashhab,	1 to 3 Muhurs, *per tólah.*
Zabád (civet),	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*, do.
Musk,	1 to 4½ *R.*, do.
Lignum aloes, Hind. *Agar,*	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*, *per sér.*
Chúwah (Distilled wood of Aloes),	⅛ *R.* to 1 *R.*, *per tólah.*
Gaurah,[3]	3 to 5 *R.*, do.
Bhímsíní Camphor,	3 *R.* to 2 *M.*, do.
Míd,	1 to 3 *R.*, do.
Za'farán,	12 to 22 *R.*, *per sér.*
Za'farán i Kamandí,	1 to 3 *M.*, do.
Za'farán (from Kashmír),	8 to 12 *R.*, do.
Sandalwood,	32 to 55 *R.*, *per man.*
Náfah i mushk,	3 to 12 *M.*, *per sér.*
Kalanbak (Calembic,)	10 to 40 *R.*, *per man.*
Siláras,	3 to 5 *R.*, *per sér,*
'Ambar i Ládan,	1½ to 4 *R.*, do.
Káfúr i Chínah,	1 to 2 *R.*, do.
'Araq i Fitnah,	1 to 3 *R.*, *per bottle.*
'Araq i Béd i Mushk,	1 to 4 *R.*, do.
Rosewater,	⅛ to 1 *R.*, do.
'Araq i Bahár,	1 to 5 *R.*, do.
'Araq i Chambélí,	⅛ to ¼ *R.*, do.
Violet-root,	½ to 1 *R.*, *per sér.*
Azfár uttíb,	1½ to 2 *R.*, do.
Barg i Máj (brought from Gujrát),	½ to 1 *R.*, do.
Sugandh Gúgalá,	10 to 13 *R.*, do.

[1] According to some MSS. *Kanwal.*

[2] Most of the following names are explained below.

[3] In the text, p. 85, by mistake *Kaurah.* *Vide* my text edition p. 94, l. 6.

Lúbán (from Sargard ?), ...	⅛ to 3 *R.*, *per tólah.*
Lúbán (other kinds), ...	1 to 2 *R.*, *per sér.*
Alak, Hind. *Chhar*, ...	¼ to ½ *R.*, do.
Duwálak, Hind. *Chharílah*, ...	3 to 4 *d.*, do.
Géhlah, ...	*
Su'd, ...	*
Ikankí, ...	*
Zurumbád, ...	*

A List of fine smelling Flowers.

1. The *Sewtí.* Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.
2. The *Bhólsarí.* Whitish; in the rains.
3. The *Chambélí.* White, yellow, and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter.
4. *Ráibél.* White and pale yellow. In the end of the hot season, and the beginning of the rains.
5. The *Móngrá.* Yellow. In summer.
6. The *Champah.* Yellow. All the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries.
7. *Kétkí.* The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white. It blooms during the hot season.
8. *Kúzáh.* White. During the hot season.
9. The *Pádal.* Brownish lilac. In spring.
10. The *Júhí.* White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.
11. The *Niwárí.* Whitish. In spring.
12. The *Nargis.* White. In spring.
13. The *Kéwarah.* From Leo to Libra.
14. The *Chaltah.*
15. The *Gulál.* In spring.
16. The *Tasbíh i Gulál.* White. In winter.
17. The *Singárhár.* It has small white petals. In the hot season.
18. The *Violet.* Violet. In the hot season.
19. The *Karnah.* White. In spring.
20. The *Kapúr bél.*
21. The *Gul i Za'farán.* Lilac. In autumn.

A List of Flowers notable for their beauty.

1. The *Gul i Aftáb.* Yellow.
2. The *Gul i Kanwal.* White, and also bluish. In the rains.

* The original text does not mention the prices.

3. The *Ja'farí*. A golden yellow, or orange coloured, or greenish. In spring.

4. The *Gudhal*. Of different colours, red, yellow, orange, white. In the rains.

5. The *Ratanmanjaní*. Bright red. It is smaller than jasmin. All the year.

6. The *Késú*. In the hot season.

7. The *Sénbal*. Dark red. In spring.

8. The *Ratanmálá*. Yellow. In spring.

9. The *Sónzard*. Yellow. In spring.

10. The *Gul i Máltí*.

11. The *Karn p'húl*. A golden red.

12. The *Karíl*. In spring.

13. The *Kanér*. Red and white.

14. The *Kadam*. Outside green; in the middle yellow threads; the inside leaves white. In spring.

15. The *Nágkésar*. In spring.

16. The *Surpan*. White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle. During the rains.

17. The *Sirí k'handí*. Inside yellowish white, outside reddish. In spring.

18. The *Jaít*. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.

19. The *Champalah*. White, like orange blossoms. In spring.

20. The *Láhí*. It blooms in Pisces.

21. The *Gul i Karaundah*. White. It is smaller than the Chambélí, and blooms during the rains.

22. The *D'hanantar* resembles the *Nílúfar*. During the rains.

23. The *Gul i Hinná*.

24. The *Dupahriyá*. Bright red, and white. All the year.

25. The *Bhún Champá*. Peach coloured.

26. The *Sudarsan*. Yellow; it resembles the *Nílúfar*, but is smaller.

27. The *Kangláí*. There are two kinds, red, and white.

28. The *Sirs*. Yellowish green. It is full of stamens. In spring.

29. The *San*. Yellow. During the rains.

On the Preparation of some Perfumes.

1. *'Ambar*. Some say that 'Ambar grows at the bottom of the sea, and that it is the food brought up again after eating, by various animals living in the sea. Others say that fishes eat it and die from it, and that it is taken from their intestines. According to some, it is the dung of the sea-cow, called *sárá;* or the foam of the sea. Others again say, it trickles from the

mountains of islands. Many look upon it as marine gum; others whose opinion I adopt, take it to be wax. It is said that on some mountains a great deal of honey is to be found, so much in fact that it runs into the sea; the wax rises to the surface, when the heat of the sun reduces it to a solid state. As the bees collect the honey from sweet smelling flowers, 'Ambar is, naturally, scented. Bees are also occasionally found in it. *Abú Síná* thinks that there is a fountain at the bottom of the sea, from which 'Ambar rills, when it is carried by waves to the shore. 'Ambar, when fresh, is moist; the heat of the sun causes it to dry up. It is of various colours: the white one is the best, and the black is the worst; the middling sort is pistachio-coloured and yellow. The best kind goes by the name of *ashhab*. It feels greasy, and consists of layers. If you break it, it looks yellowish white. The whiter, lighter, and more flexible it is, the better. Next in qualtity is the pistachio-coloured 'Ambar; and inferior to it the yellow kind, called *Khashkhásh*í. The black kind is bad; it is inflammable. Greedy bázár-dealers will mix it with wax, *Mandal*, and *Ládan*, &c.; but not every one has recourse to such practices. *Mandal* is a kind of 'Ambar taken from the intestines of dead fishes; it does not smell much.

2. *Ládan* is also often called *'Ambar*. It is taken from a tree which grows in the confines of *Qibrus* (Cyprus) and *Qísús* (Chios) or *Qistús*. It is a moisture that settles on the leaves of the tree. When goats in grazing pass near it, the hairs of their legs and the horn of their hoofs stick to it, and the whole then dries up. Such Ládan as is mixed with goat's-hair, is counted superior. It looks greenish, and has a good smell. But Ládan which is mixed with horn is looked upon as inferior. Sometimes people tie ropes round about the trees, and collect the Ládan which sticks to them. Afterwards they boil it in water, clean it, and make it into cakes.

3. The *Camphor tree* is a large tree growing in the ghauts of Hindustan and in China. A hundred horsemen and upwards may rest in the shade of a single tree. Camphor is collected from the trunk and the branches. Some say that during summer a large number of serpents wind themselves round about the tree, for the sake of its coolness; people then mark such trees by shooting an arrow into the trunks, and collect the camphor during the winter. Others say that camphor trees are much frequented by leopards, which like camphor so much as never to go away from the trees. The camphor within the tree looks like small bits of salt; that on the outside like resin. It often flows from the tree on the ground, and gets after some time solid: If there are earthquakes during a year, or any other cosmical disturbances, camphor is found in large quantities.

Of the various kinds of camphor, the best is called *Ribáhí*, or *Qaiçúrí*. Although different in name, they are the same; for it is said

that the first camphor was found by a king of the name of *Ribáh* near *Qaiçúr*, which is a place near the island of Ceylon. According to some books, it is white like snow: and this is true, for I have broken it myself from the tree. Ibn Baiṭár, however, said that it was originally red and shining, and only got white by artificial crystallization. Whatever the case may be, there is certainly a kind of camphor which is white in its natural state. And of all other kinds it is the best, the whitest, which has the thinnest layers, the cleanest, and the largest. Inferior to it is the kind called *Qurqúi*, which is blackish and dirty. Still inferior is the light brown kind called *Kaukab*. The worst camphor is mixed with pieces of wood; it goes under the name of *Bálús*. By artificial crystallization each kind will become clean and white. In some books camphor in its natural state is called *Júdánah* or *Bhímsíní*. If kept with a few barley grains, or pepper-corns,[1] or *surkh dánahs*, it will evaporate the less. The camphor which is made of *Zurumbád* by mixing it with other ingredients, is called *Chíní* or *Mayyit*-camphor. White Zurumbád is finely pounded, and mixed with sour cream, of cow or buffaloe's milk; on the fourth day they put fresh cream to it, and beat it with the hand till foam appears, which they take away. With this they mix some camphor, put it into a box, and keep it for some time in the husks of grains. Or, they reduce some white stone to fine powder, mix it at the rate of ten dirhams of it with two dirhams of wax, and half a dirham of oil of Violet, or oil of *Surkh Gul*. The wax is first melted, and then mixed with the powder, so as to form a paste. They then put it between two stones, and make it thin and flat. When it gets cold, it looks like camphor, bits of which are mixed with it. Unprincipled men profit in this manner by the loss of others.

4. *Zabád* (civet) is also called *Shákh*. It is a moist substance secreted during the rutting season by an animal which resembles a cat, having, however, a larger face and mouth. The zabád which is brought from the harbour-town of Sumatra, from the territory of Áchín, goes by the name of *Sumatra zabád*, and is by far the best. The moist substance itself is yellowish white. The animal has below its tail a bag, of the size of a small hazel nut, in which there are from five to six holes. The bag may be emptied every week or fortnight, and yields from half a tólah to eight máshahs. Some civet cats become so tame as to hold quiet when the bag is being emptied; but in the case of most animals, they have to catch hold of the tail, and draw it through the cage, when they take out the zabád with a shell, or by pressing gently against the bag. The price of a civet cat varies from 300 to 500 Rs. The zabád of the male is better than that of the female, because in the latter the vulva is just above the bag. When removed, the zabád is washed, and

[1] Bázár dealers here give a few pepper-corns along with every piece of camphor.

becomes afterwards one of the finest pefumes. The smell will remain a long time in the clothes, and even on the skin. There are several ways of washing it. If the quantity be small, they put it into a cup, or if greater, into a larger vessel, and wash it thirty times in cold water, and three times in warm water. The latter renders it thin and removes impurities. Then they wash it again in cold water till it gets solid, when they wash it three times in lime juice, which removes all unpleasant smell. After this, they wash it again three times in cold water, pass it through a piece of cloth, put it into a China cup, and wash it three times in rose water. They then smear the zabád on the inside of the cup, keep it at night inverted in extract of Chambélí, or Ráibél, or Surkh gul, or Gul i Karnah, and expose it at day-time to the rays of the sun, covered with a piece of white cloth till all moisture goes away. It may then be used, mixed with a little rose water.

5. *Gaurah* looks greyish white, but does not smell so well as the preceding. It is a moisture secreted during the rutting season by an animal like the civet cat, but somewhat larger. It is also brought from the confines of Áchín. The price of this animal varies from 100 to 200 Rs.

6. *Míd*[1] resembles the preceding, but is inferior to it. They mix it with other substances; hence they sell it in larger quantities. The animal which yields Míd, is found in various countries, and only sells from five to six dáms. Some say that Míd is the dried bag of the civet cat, pounded and boiled in water; the greasy substance which rises to the surface is the Míd.

7. *'Úd*, or wood of Aloes, called in Hind. *Agar*, is the root of a tree. They lop it off and bury it in the earth, when whatever is bad rots, and the remainder is pure aloes. Some say that they do so with the whole tree. The statement occasionally found in some old books that the habitat of the tree is Central India, is an absurdity of fanciful writers. There are several kinds: the best is called *Mandalí*, and the second in quantity, *Jabalí* or *Hindí*. The smell of the wood, especially that of the first kind, is a preventive against fleas; but some think both kinds equal in this respect. Of other good kinds I may mention the *Samandúrí;* the *Qumárí*, which is inferior to it; the *uli*, next in rank; the *Barri;* the *Qiṭ'í;* and the *Chinese*, also called *Qismúrí*, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the *Jalálí*, the *Máyatáqí*, the *Lawáqí*, the *Rítalí*.[2] But of all kinds the *Mandalí*, is the best *Samandúrí* is grey, fatty, thick, hard, juicy, without the slightest sign of whitishness, and burns long. The best of all is the black and heavy; in water it settles at the bottom, is not fibrous, and may be easily pounded. The wood which floats is looked upon as bad. Former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrát, and now-a-days it grows in Chánpánír. It is generally

[1] ميد with the kasrah, a kind of perfume. *Kashfullughát.*

[2] The last three names are doubtful.

brought from Áchín and Dahnásarí. Nothing is known of the *habitat* mentioned in old books. Aloewood is often used in compound perfumes; when eaten, it is exhilarating. It is generally employed in incense; the better qualities, in form of a powder, are often used for rubbing into the skin and clothes.

8. *Chúwah* is distilled wood of aloes; it is in general use. The preparation is as follows: They take fine clay, mix it with cotton or rice bran, and beat it well. When properly intermixed, they take a small bottle large enough to put a finger into it, smear it all over with the clay, and let it dry. After this, they put very small pieces of wood of aloes into it, so as nearly to fill the bottle. The wood must have been kept wet for a week before. Another vessel, with a hole in the middle, is now placed on a three-legged stand. Into this vessel, they pass the neck of the little bottle inverted, placing a cup full of water at the bottom of the vessel, in such a manner that the mouth of the bottle reaches the surface of the water. On the top of the vessel they then put wild cow's dung, and light a gentle fire. Should flames break out, they extinguish them with water. The wood of aloes will then secrete a moisture which trickles on the surface of the water, where it remains. This is collected, and washed several times with water and rose water, to take off all smell of smoke. The oftener it is washed, and the older it gets, the better will be the scent. It looks black, although experienced people make it white. One sér of wood of aloes will yield from two to fifteen tólahs of Chúwah. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, trying thereby to cheat people.

9. *Sandalwood* is called in Hind. *Chandan*. The tree grows in China. During the present reign, it has been successfully planted in India. There are three kinds, the white, the yellow, the red. Some take the red to be more refreshing than the white; others prefer the white. The latter is certainly more cooling than the red, and the red more so than the yellow. The best is that which is yellow and oily; it goes by the name of *Maqáçarí*. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

10. *Siláras* (storax) is called in Arabic *Mí'ah*. It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear, is called *Míah i sáilah* (liquid); the other kinds, *Mí'ah i yábisah* (dry). The best kind is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk; it is yellowish.

11. *Kalanbak* (calembic) is the wood of a tree brought from Zírbád (?);[1] it is heavy and full of veins. Some believe it to be raw wood of aloes. When pounded, it looks grey. They use it for compound perfumes; and they also make rosaries of it.

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[1] *Zirbád* (Zírábád), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. *Ghiásullughát.*

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12. The *Malágír* is a tree resembling the former, only that the wood is lighter and not veined. When pounded, it looks reddish white.

13. *Lubán* (frankincense) is the odorous gum of a tree which is found in Java. Some take it to be the same as *Mí'ah i yábisah.* When exposed to fire, it evaporates like camphor. The Lubán which the Persians call *Kundur i daryái* (mastix), is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. *Azfár uṭṭíb*, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind. *Nak'h*, and in Persian *Nákhun i bóyá.* It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell, of two parts. They have a good smell, as the animal feeds on sumbula, and are found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Baçrah, and Bahrain, the latter being considered the best. They are also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer them to the other kinds. They warm them in butter; others expose them afterwards to the fire, pound them, and mix them with other perfumes.

15. *Sugandh gúgalá* (bdellium) is a plant very common in Hindustan; it is used in perfumes.

As I have said something on perfumes, I shall make a few remarks on several beautiful flowers.

1. The *Séwti* resembles the Gul i Surkh, but is smaller. It has in the middle golden stamens, and from four to six petals. *Habitat,* Gujrát and the Dek'han.

2. Of the *Chambélí* there are two kinds. The *Rái Chambélí* has from five to six petals, outside red. The *Chambélí proper* is smaller, and has on the top a red stripe. Its stem is one and a half or two yards high, and hangs over the ground. It has many long and broad branches. It flowers from the first year.

3. The *Rái bél* resembles the jasmin. There are various kinds; some are simple, double, &c. A quintuple is very common, so that each petal might be separated as a distinct flower. Its stem grows a yard high. The leaves of the tree resemble those of the orange tree; but they are somewhat smaller and softer.

4. The *Mungrá* resembles the *Rái bél.* It is larger, but inferior in smell. It has more than a hundred petals; the plant grows to a large tree.

5. The *Champah flower* has a conical shape, of the size of a finger,[1] and consists of ten petals and more, lying in folds one above the other. It has several stamens. The tree looks graceful, and resembles in leaf and trunk the nut tree. It flowers after seven years.

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[1] Orientals, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.

6. The *Kétki* has the form of spindle, of the size of a quarter of a yard, with twelve or more petals. Its smell is delicate and fragrant. It bears flowers in six or seven years.

7. The *Kéwrah* resembles the preceding, but is more than twice as big. The petals have thorns. As they grow on different places, they are not all equal. In the midst of the flower, there is a small branch with honey-coloured threads, not without smell. The flower smells even after it is withered. Hence people put it into clothes, when the smell remains for a long time. The stem of the tree is above four yards high; the leaves are like those of the maize, only longer, and triangular, with three thorns in each corner. It flowers from the fourth year. Every year they put new earth round about the roots. The plant is chiefly found in the Dek'han, Gujrát, Málwah, and Bahár.

8. The *Chaltah* resembles a large tulip. It consists of eighteen petals, six green ones above; six others, some red, some green, some greyish yellow; and six white. In the midst of the flower, as in the flower called *Hamíshah Bahár*, there are nearly two hundred little yellow leaves, with a red globule in the centre. The flower will remain quite fresh for five or six days after having been plucked. It smells like the violet. When withered, the flower is cooked and eaten. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree; and its leaves look like those of the orange tree. It blooms in seven years.

9. The *Tasbíhgulál* has a fine smell. The petals have the form of a dagger. The stem of the plant is two yards high. It flowers after four years. They make rosaries of the flowers, which keep fresh for a week.

10. The *Bholsarí* is smaller than the jasmin; its petals are indented. When dry the flower smells better. The tree resembles the walnut tree, and flowers in the tenth year.

11. The *Singárhár* is shaped like a clove, and has an orange-coloured stalk. The stamens look like poppy seeds. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree, and the leaves are like the leaves of a peach tree. It flowers in five years.

12. The *Kúzah* looks like a *Gul i surkh;* but the plant and the leaves are larger. It has five or a hundred petals, and golden coloured stamens in the middle. They make *'Abírmáyah* and an extract from it.

13. The *Pádal* has five or six long petals. It gives water an agreeable flavour and smell. It is on this account that people preserve the flowers, mixed with clay, for such times when the flower is out of season. The leaves and the stem are like those of a nut tree. It flowers in the twelfth year.

14. The *Júhí* has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The *Niwárí* looks like a simple *Rái bél,* but has larger petals.

The flowers are often so numerous, as to conceal the leaves and branches of the plant. It flowers in the first year.

16. The *Kapúr bél* has five petals, and resembles the saffron flower. This flower was brought during the present reign from Europe.

17. The *Za'farán* (saffron).[1] In the beginning of the month of Urdíbihisht, the saffron seeds are put into the ground which has been carefully prepared and rendered soft. After this, the field is irrigated with rain water. The seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic. The flower appears in the middle of the month of Ábán; the plant is about a quarter of a yard long; but, according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are sometimes two-thirds of it above, and sometimes below the ground. The flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour: they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two *pals* receiving two *pals* of salt. At the time of Ghází Khán,[2] the son of (Kháji) Chak, another custom became general: they gave the workmen eleven *tarks* of saffron flowers, of which one *tark* was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarsháhí sérs of clean, dry saffron, *i. e.*, for two Akbarsháhí *mans*[3] of saffron flowers they had to give two sérs of cleaned saffron. This custom, however, was abolished by his Majesty, on his third visit to Kashmír, to the great relief of the people.

When the bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers for six years, provided the soil be annually softened. For the first two years, the flowers will grow sparingly; but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection. After six years the bulbs must be taken out; else they get rotten. They plant them again on some other place; and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years.

Saffron comes chiefly from the place Panpúr, which belongs to the district of Maruráj[4] (?). The fields there extend over nearly twelve *kós*.

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[1] Vide a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Súbah Kábul).

[2] He was the contemporary of Shér Khán; *vide* Abulfazl's list of Kashmír Rulers in the third book. A good biography of *Ghází Khán* may be found in the beginning of the *Maásir i Rahímí*, Persian MS. No. 45, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[3] One Kashmírí *Tark* = 8 *sérs* (of Akbar) = 4 Kashm. *mans*; 1 Kash. *man* = 4 Kash. *sérs*; 1 Kash. *sér* = 7½ *pals*.

[4] These places lie to the south of Srínagar, the capital of Kashmír; for *Maruráj* the test has مرراج. *Vide* Súbah Kábul, third book.

Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspúr, near Indrakál; not far from Kamráj, where the fields extend about a *kós*.

18. The *Aftábí* (sun-flower) is round, broad, and large, has a large number of petals, and turns continually to the sun. Its stem reaches a height of three yards.

19. The *Kanwal*. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the *shaqáiq*-lily; but its red is paler. Its petals which are never less than six in number enclose yellow stamens, in the midst of which there is an excrescence of the form of a cone with the base upwards, which is the fruit, and contains the seeds. The other kind has four white petals, opens at night, and turns itself according to the moon, but does not close.

20. The *Ja'farí* is a pretty round flower, and grows larger than the *çadbarg*. One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter remains fresh for two months and upwards. The plant is of the size of a man, and the leaves resemble those of the willow, but are indented. It flowers in two months.

21. The *Guḍhal* resembles the *jogháśú-tulip*, and has a great number of petals. Its stem reaches a height of two yards and upwards; the leaves look like Mulberry leaves. It flowers in two years.

22. The *Ratanmanjaní* has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmin. The trée and the leaves resemble the Ráibél. It flowers in two years.

23. The *Késú* has five petals resembling a tiger's claw. In their midst is a yellow stamen of the shape of a tongue. The plant is very large, and is found on every meadow; when it flowers, it is as if a beautiful fire surrounded the scenery.

24. The *Kanér* remains a long time in bloom. It looks well, but it is poisonous. Whoever puts it on his head, is sure to fall in battle. It has mostly five petals. The branches are full of the flowers; the plant itself grows to a height of two yards. It flowers in the first year.

25. The *Kadam* resembles a *tumághah* (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of the nut tree, which the whole tree resembles.

26. The *Nág késar*, like the *Gul i surkh*, has five petals and is full of fine stamens. It resembles the nut tree in the leaves and the stem, and flowers in seven years.

27. The *Surpan* resembles the Sesame flower, and has yellow stamens in the middle. The stem resembles the *Hinná* plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The *Srík'handí* is like the *Chambélí*, but smaller. It flowers in two years.

29. The *Hinna* has four petals, and resembles the flower called *Náfarmán.* Different plants have often flowers of a different colour.

30. The *Dupahriyá* is round and small, and looks like the flower called *Hamésháh bahár.* It opens at noon. The stem is about two yards high.

31. The *Bhún champá* resembles the *Nilúfar* flowers, and has five petals. The stem is about a span long. It grows on such places as are periodically under water. Occasionally a plant is found above the water.

32. The *Sudarsan* resembles the *Ráibél,* and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the *Sósan* flower.

33. *Sénbal* has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad.

34. The *Ratanmálá* is round and small. Its juice is cooked out, and when mixed with vitriol and *Muaçfar,* furnishes a fast red dye for stuffs. Butter, sesame oil, are also boiled together with the root of the plant, when the mixture becomes a purple dye.

35. The *Súnzárd* resembles the jasmin, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals. The stem is like that of the *Chambéli.* It flowers in two years.

36. The *Málti* is like the *Chamhéli,* but smaller. In the middle there are little stamens looking like poppyseed. It flowers in two years more or less.

37. The *Karíl* has three small petals. It flowers luxuriantly, and looks very well. The flower is also boiled and eaten; they make also pickles of it.

38. The *Jait* plant grows to a large tree; its leaves look like Tamarind leaves.

39. The *Chanpalah* is like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant are like nut leaves. It flowers in two years. The bark of the plant, when boiled in water, makes the water red. It grows chiefly in the hills; its wood burns bright like a candle.

40. The *Láhí* has a stem one and a half yards high. The branches, before the flowers appear, are made into a dish which is eaten with bread. When camels feed on this plant, they get fat and unruly.

41. The *Karaundah* resembles the *Júhí* flower.

42. The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nilúfar,* and looks very well. It is a creeper.

43. The *Sirs* flower consists of silk-like threads, and resembles a *tumághah.* It sends its fragrance to a great distance. It is the king of the trees, although the Hindus rather worship the *Pipal* and *Baṛ* trees. The tree grows very large; its wood is used in building. Within the stem the wood is black, and resists the stroke of the axe.

44. The *Kangláí* has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

45. The *San* flower (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the *Chanár*. Of the bark of the plant strong ropes are made. One kind of this plant bears a flower like the cotton tree, and is called *Patsan*. It makes a very soft rope.

It is really too difficult for me, ignorant as I am, to give a description of the flowers of this country: I have mentioned a few for those who wish to know something about them. There are also found many flowers of Írán and Túrán, as the *Gul i Surkh, the Nargis*, the violet, the *Yásaman i kabúd*, the *Sósan*, the *Raihán*, the *Ra'ná*, the *Zébá*, the *Shaqáiq*, the *Táj i khurús*, the *Qalghah*, the *Náfarmán*, the *Khatamí*, *&c.* Garden and flower beds are everywhere to be found. Formerly peeple used to plant their gardens without any order, but since the time of the arrival in India of the emperor Bábar, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained; and travellers now-a-days admire the beauty of the palaces and their murmuring fountains.

It would be impossible to give an account of those trees of the country, whose flowers, fruits, buds, leaves, roots, &c., are used as food, or medicine. If, according to the books of the Hindus, a man were to collect only one leaf from each tree, he would get eighteen *bárs*, or loads, (5 *surkhs* = 1 *máshah; 16 máshahs* = 1 *karga; 4 kargas* = 1 *pala; 100 palas* = 1 *tulá; 20 tulás* = 1 *bár*) *; i. e.*, according to the weights now in use, 96 *mans*. The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two *gharís* (twice 24 minutes), and not more than ten thousand years. The height of the trees is said not to exceed a little above a thousand *jújans*.[1] When a tree dies, its life is said to pass into one of the following ten things: fire, water, air, earth, plants, animals, animals of two senses, such as have three, or four, or five senses.

ÁÍN 31.

THE WARDROBE[2] AND THE STORES FOR MATTRESSES.

His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs; hence Írání, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country, to teach people an improved system of manufacture. The Imperial workshops, the towns of

[1] Regarding this measure, *vide* the fourth book.

[2] The text has a word كركراق which occurs about three times in this work. I have also found it in Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk i Jahángírí; but I cannot find it in any Persian or Chagatái Dictionary. The meaning *a wardrobe* is however clear.

Láhór, Ágrah, Fathpúr, Ahmadábád, Gujrát, turn out many master-pieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade; and on account of the care bestowed upon them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection; and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries. A taste for fine material has since become general, and the drapery used at feasts surpasses every description.

All articles which have been bought, or woven to order, or received as tribute or presents, are carefully preserved; and according to the order in which they were preserved, they are again taken out for inspection, or given out to be cut and to be made up, or given away as presents. Articles which arrive at the same time, are arranged according to their prices. Experienced people inquire continually into the prices of articles used both formerly and at present, as a knowledge of the exact prices is conducive to the increase of the stock. Even the prices became generally lower. Thus a piece woven by the famous Ghiás i Naqshband may now be obtained for fifty muhurs, whilst it had formerly been sold for twice that sum; and most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten.[1] His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate the demand.

I shall not say much on this subject, though a few particulars regarding the articles worn by his Majesty may be of interest.

1. The *Takauchiyah* is a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt, and to be tied on the right side.[2] It requires seven yards and seven *girihs*,[3] and five girihs for the binding. The price for making a plain one varies from one rupee to three rupees; but if the coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarters rupees. Besides a misqál of silk is required.

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[1] Or as we would, the prices have become less by 66⅔, and even 75 *per cent.*

[2] The coats used now-a-days both by Hindús and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing gowns (*Germ.* Schlafrock), but fitting tight where the lower ribs are. There the coat is tied; the Muhammadans make the tie on the *left*, and the Hindus on the *right* side. In the Eastern parts of Bengal, many Muhammadans adopt the old Hindu fashion of wearing a simple unsewn piece of muslin *(chádar)*.

[3] It is not stated in the Áín how many *girihs* the tailor's *gaz*, or yard, contains. It is probable that 16 *girihs* = 1 *gaz*, which is the usual division at present. For other yard measures, *vide* the 87th and 89th Áíns of this book. The Persian word *girih* is pronounced in India *girah*.

2. The *Péshwáz* (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

3. The *Dutáhi* (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four girihs for the outside, six yards lining, four girihs for the binding, nine girihs for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One misqál of silk is required.

4. The *Sháh-ájídah* (or the royal stitch coat) is also called *Shaṣtkhaṭ* (or sixty rows), as it has sixty ornamental stitches *per girih*. It has generally a double lining, and is sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making is two rupees *per yard*.

5. The *Sózani* requires a quarter of a sér of cotton and two dáms of silk. If sewed with *bakhyah*[1] stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with *ájídah* stitches costs four rupees.

6. The *Qalamí* requires ⅜ *s.* cotton, and one dám silk. Cost of making, two rupees.

7. The *Qabá*, which is at present generally called *jámah i pumbahdár*, is a wadded coat. It requires 1 *s.* of cotton, and 2 *m.* silk. Price, one rupee to a quarter rupee.

8. The *Gadar* is a coat wider and longer than the *qabá*, and contains more wadding. In Hindustan, it takes the place of a fur-coat. It requires seven yards of stuff, six yards of lining, four girihs binding, nine for bordering, 2½ *s.* cotton, 3 *m.* silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

9. The *Farjí* has no binding, and is open in front. Some put buttons to it. It is worn over the *jámah* (coat), and requires 5 *y.* 12 *g.* stuff; 5 *y.* 5 *g.* lining; 14 *g.* bordering; 1 *s.* cotton; 1 *m.* silk. Price, from a quarter to one rupee.

10. The *Fargul* resembles the *yápanjí*,[2] but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe;[3] but every one now-a-days wears it. They make it of various stuffs. It requires 9 *y.* 6¾ *g.* stuff, the same

[1] *Bakhyah*, in Hind. *bak'hiyá*, corresponds to what ladies call *backstitching*. *Ájídah* is the button hole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which *bakhyah* and *ájídah* now have. *Sozaní*, a name which in the text is transferred to the coat, is a kind of embroidery, resembling our *satin-stitch*. It is used for working leaves and flowers, &c., on stuffs, the leaves lying pretty loosely on the cloth; hence we often find *sozaní* work in rugs, small carpets, &c. The rugs themselves are also called *sozaní*. A term which is sometimes used in Dictionaries as a synonym for *sozaní* is *chikin*; but this is what we call *white embroidery*.

[2] A coat used in rainy weather. *Calcutta Chaghatái Dictionary*.

[3] The etymology of the word *fargul* is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, now-a-days current in India, are Portuguese; as *sáya*, a petticoat; *fíta*, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustani, are *padrí*, clergyman; *girjá*, a church, *Port.* igréja; *kóbí*, cabbage, *Port.* cuóve; *chábí*, a key, *Port.* cháve. Abul Fazl's explanation (*vide* my text edition, p. 102, l. 16) corrects Vullers II. p. 663 *a*.

quantity of lining, 6 *m*. silk, 1 *s*. cotton. It is made both single and double. Price, from ½ to 2 *R*.

11. The *Chakman*[1] is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of *Dárái* wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6 *y*. stuff, 5 *g*. binding, and 2 *m*. silk. The price of making one of broadcloth is 2 *R*.; of wool, 1½ *R*.; of wax cloth, ½ *R*.

12. The *Shalwár* (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3 *y*. 11 *g*. cloth, 6 *g*. for the hem through which the string runs, 3 *y*. 5 *g*. lining, 1¼ *m*. silk, ½ *s*. cotton. Price, from ¼ to ½ *R*.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the *chírahs*, *fauṭahs*, and *dupattahs*,[2] or the costly dresses worn at feasts or presented to the grandees of the present time. Every season, there are made one thousand complete suits for the imperial wardrobe, and one hundred and twenty, made up in twelve bundles, are always kept in readiness. From his indifference to every thing that is worldly, His Majesty prefers and wears *woollen*[3] stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that His Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.

His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms.[4] Instead of *jámah* (coat), he says *sarbgátí*, *i. e.*, covering the whole body; for *izár* (drawers), he says *yárpíráhan* (the companion of the coat); for *nímtanah* (a jacket), *tanzéb*; for *fauṭah*, *patgat*; for *burqu'* (a veil), *chitragupita*; for *kuláh* (a cap), *sís sobhá*; for *múibáf* (a hair ribbon,) *késg'han*; for *patká* (a cloth for the loins), *katzéb*; for *shál* (shawl), *parmnarm*; for....[5], *parmgarm*; for *kapúrdhúr*, a Tibetan stuff, *kapúrnúr*; for *páiafzár* (shoes), *charndharn*; and similarly for other names.

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[1] As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Vullers' form *chaspán*.

[2] Stuffs of different shapes, used for making turbans.

[3] In allusion to the practice of *Çúfís*, who only wear garments made of wool (*çúf*). Abul Fazl often tries to represent Akbar as a *Çúfí* of so high a degree as to be able to work miracles, and he states below that it was his intention to write a book on Akbar's miracles. The charge of fulsomeness in praise has often been brought against Abul Fazl, though it would more appropriately lie against *Faizí* who—like the poets of imperial Rome—represents the emperor as God, as may be seen in the poetical extracts of the second book. But the praises of the two brothers throw a peculiar light on Akbar's character, who received the most immoderate encomiums with self-complacency.

[4] The following passage is remarkable, as it shews Akbar's predilection for *Hindí* terms.

[5] The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Banáras MS. has *pardak Firáng*, or European Pardak (?).

ÁÍN 32.

ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, &c.

His Majesty improved this department in *four* ways. The improvement is visible, *first*, in the *Ṭús* shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name; its natural colours are black, white, and red, but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is a pure white. This kind of shawl is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth, and softness. People generally wear it without altering its natural colour; his Majesty has had it dyed. It is curious that it will not take a red dye. *Secondly*, in the *Safid Alchahs*,[1] also called *Ṭarhdárs*, in their natural colours. The wool is either white or black. These stuffs may be had in three colours, white, black, or mixed. The first or white kind, was formerly dyed in three ways; his Majesty has given the order to dye it in various ways. *Thirdly*, in stuffs as *Zardózí*,[2] *Kalábatún*, *Kashídah*, *Qálghaí*, *Bándhnún*, *Chhínt*, *Alchah*, *Purzdár*, to which His Majesty pays much attention. *Fourthly*, an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs; His Majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress.

The garments stored in the Imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months, and years, of their entries, and according to their colour, price, and weight. Such an arrangement is now-a-days called *misl*, a set. The clerks fix accordingly the degree of every article of wear, which they write on a strip of cloth, and tack it to the end of the pieces. Whatever pieces of the same kind arrive for the Imperial wardrobe on the *Urmuzd* day (first day) of the month of *Farwardín*, provided they be of a good quality, have a higher rank assigned to them than pieces arriving on other days; and if pieces are equal in value, their precedence, or otherwise, is determined by the character[3] of the day of their entry; and if pieces are equal as far as the character of the day is concerned, they put the lighter stuff higher in rank; and if pieces have the same weight, they arrange them according to their colour. The following is the order of colours: *ṭús*, *safidalchah*, ruby coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, *mauve* like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac,

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[1] *Alchah*, or *Aláchah*, any kind of corded *(mukhaṭṭaṭ)* stuff. *Ṭarhdár* means *corded*.

[2] *Zardózí*, *Kalábatún*, (Forbes, *kalabattún*), *Kashídah*, *Qalghai*, are stuffs with gold and silk threads; *Bándhnún*, are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; *Chhínt* is our *chintz*, which is derived from *Chhínt*. *Purzdár* are all kinds of stuffs the outside of which is plush-like.

[3] Akbar, like all Parsees, believed in lucky and unlucky days. The arrangement of the stores of clothing must strike the reader as most unpractical. Similar arrangements, equally curious, will be found in the following Áíns. Perhaps they indicate a progress, as they shew that some order at least was kept.

coloured like the *Ratanmanjaní* flower, coloured like the *Kásní* flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, ...[1], *bhójpatra* coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the *qalghah* flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the *Fákhtah* pigeon.

In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmír. People folded them up in four folds, and wore them for a very long time. Now-a-days they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulder. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well.

His Majesty encourages, in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmír. In Láhór also there are more than a thousand work-shops. A kind of shawl, called *máyán*, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for *chírahs* (turbans), *fauṭahs* (loin bands), &c.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

A. Gold stuffs.

Brocaded velvet, from *Yazd*,[2] *per piece*, ...	15 to 150 *M.*
Do. from Europe, do.	10 to 70 *M.*
Do. from *Gujrát*, do........................	10 to 50 *M.*
Do. from *Káshán*, do.	10 to 40 *M.*
Do. from *Herát*, do.	*
Do. from *Láhór*, do.	10 to 40 *M.*
Do. from *Barsah*, (?) do.	3 to 70 *M.*
Muṭabbaq,[3] do.	2 to 70 *M.*
Mílak, do.	3 to 70 *M.*
Brocade, from Gujrát, do.....................	4 to 60 *M.*
Ṭás[4]-Brocade, from do. do.	1 to 35 *M.*

[1] The text contains two doubtful words. The next word *bhójpatra* is the bark of a tree used for making *hukka* tubes.

[2] *Yazd* is the principal city in the south of the Persian province of Khurásán. *Káshán* lies in *'Iráq i 'Ajamí*, north of Içfahán. "The asses of Káshán are wiser than the men of Içfahán," which latter town is for Persia what Bœotia is for Ancient Greece, or the Bretagne for France, or the kingdom of Fife for Scotland, or the town of Schilda for Germany, or Bahár for India,—the home of fools. During the time of Moguls, the Sayyids of Bárhah enjoyed a similar notoriety.

[3] *Muṭabbaq*, a kind of cloth, chiefly brought from *Khallukh*, and *Mílak* from *Naushád* in Turkestán. *Ghiásul-lughat*.

[4] *Ṭás* means *generally* brocade; *Dáráíbáf* is a kind of brocaded silk; *Muqayyash* is silk with stripes of silver—the *Ghiás* says that *Muqayyash* comes from the Hind. *késh*, hair, to which the silver-stripes are compared, and that it is an Arabicised form of the *Hindí* word, as *qaranful*, a clove, for the Hind. *karn-p'hul*; *itríful*, a kind of medicine, for *tri-p'hal*, as it consists of *three* fruits; &c. *Mushajjar* is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; *Débá* is coloured silk; *Khárá*, moirée antique; *Khazz* is *filoselle*-silk. For *tafçílah* (*vide* Freytag III. p. 353), we also find *tafsílah*.

Dárái báf, from Gujrát,	2 to 50 *M.*
Muqayyash, do.	1 to 20 *M.*
Shirwání Brocade, do.	6 to 17 *M.*
Mushajjar, from Europe, *per yard*,	1 to 4 *M.*
Débá silk, do. do.	1 to 4 *M.*
Do., from *Yazd*, do.	1 to 1½ *M.*
Khárá, do.	5 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Satin, from Chinese Tartary,	*
Nawár, from do.	*
Khazz silk,	*
Tafçílah, (a stuff from Mecca) from	15 to 20 *R.*
Kurtahwár, from Gujrát,	1 to 20 *M.*
Mindil,	1 to 14 *M.*
Chírah, (for turbans)	½ to 8 *M.*
Dupattah, do.	9 to 8 *R.*
Fauṭahs, (loin bands)	½ to 12 *M.*
Counterpanes,	1 to 20 *M.*

* *The Text does not give the prices.*

B. Silks, &c., plain.

Velvet, from Europe, *per yard*,	1 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Káshán, *per piece*,	2 to 7 *M.*
Do. from Yazd, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Mashhad, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Herát, do.	1½ to 3 *M.*
Do. Kháfí, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Láhór, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Gujrát, *per yard*,	1 to 2 *R.*
Qaṭífah i Púrabí,[1] do.	1 to 1½ *R.*
Tájah Báf, *per piece*,	2 to 30 *M.*
Dárái Báf, do.	2 to 30 *M.*
Muṭabbaq, do.	1 to 30 *M.*
Shirwání, do.	1½ to 10 *M.*
Mílak, do.	1 to 7 *M.*
Kamkháb, from Kábul and Persia, do.	1 to 5 *M.*
Tawár, (?) do.	2 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Khúrí (?) do.	4 to 10 *R.*
Mushajjar, from Europe, *per yard*,	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Do. from Yazd, *per piece*,	1 to 2 *M.*
Satin, from Europe, *per yard*,	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*

[1] A kind of velvet.

Satin, from Herát, *per piece*,	5 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Khárá, *per yard*,	1 *R.* to 6 *R.*
Sihrang,[1] *per piece*,	1 to 3 *M.*
Quṭní,[2] do.	$1\frac{1}{3}$ *R.* to 2 *M.*
Katán,[3] from Europe, *per yard*,	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 *R.*
Táftah,[4] do.	$\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 *R.*
Anbarí, do.	4 *d.* to $\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*
Dárái, do.	$\frac{1}{5}$ *R.* to 2 *R.*
Sitípúrí, *per piece*,	6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Qabáband, do.	6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Tát bandpúrí, do.	2 *R.* to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*
Láh, *per yard*,	$\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{7}$ *R.*
Miçrí, *per piece*,	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 *M.*
Sár, *per yard*,	$\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ *R.*
Tassar,[5] *per piece*,	$\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 *R.*
Plain Kurtahwár Satin, *per yard*,	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 *R.*
Kapúrnúr, formerly called *Kapúrdhúr*, do.	$\frac{1}{8}$ to 1 *R.*
Alchah, do.	$\frac{1}{5}$ to 2 *R.*
Tafçílah, *per piece*,	7 to 12 *R.*

C. Cotton cloths.

Kháçah, *per piece*,	3 *R.* to 15 *M.*
Chautár, do.	2 *R.* to 9 *M.*
Malmal, do.	4 *R.*
Tansak'h, do.	4 *R.* to 5 *M.*
Sirí Çáf, do.	2 *R.* to 5 *M.*
Gangájal, do.	4 *R.* to 5 *M.*
Bhíraun, do.	4 *R.* to 4 *M.*
Sahan, do.	1 to 3 *M.*
Jhónah, do.	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Atán, do.	$2\frac{1}{2}$ *R.* to 1 *M.*
Asáwalí, do.	1 to 5 *M.*
Báftah, do.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ *R.* to 5 *M.*
Mahmúdí, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *M.*
Panchtóliyah, do.	1 to 3 *M.*
Jhólah, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*
Sálú, *per piece*,	3 *R.* to 2 *M.*

[1] Changing silk.
[2] A stuff made of silk and wool.
[3] Generally translated by *linen*. All Dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; it is *Muslin*.
[4] Properly, *woven*; hence *taffeta*.
[5] Now-a-days chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; *vulgo*, tessa.

Dóriyah, *per piece*,	6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Bahádur Sháhí, do.	6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Garbah Sútí, do.	1½ to 2 *M.*
Shélah, from the Dek'han, do.	½ to 2 *M.*
Mihrkul, do.	3 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Mindíl, do.	½ to 2 *M.*
Sarband, do.	½ to 2 *M.*
Dupattah, do.	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Katánchah, do.	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Fauṭah, do.	½ to 6 *R.*
Góshpéch, do.	1 to 2 *R.*
Chhínt, *per yard,*	2 *d.* to 1 *R.*
Gazínah, *per piece,*	½ to 1½ *R.*
Siláhatí, *per yard,*	2 to 4 *d.*

D. Woollen stuffs.

Scarlet Broadcloth, from Turkey, Europe[1], and Portugal, *per yard,*	2½ *R.* to 4 *M.*
Do., from Nágór and Láhór, *per piece,*	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Çúf i Murabba', do.	4 to 15 *M.*
Çúf i......[2], do.	3 *R.* to 1½ *M.*
Parmnarm, do.	2 *R.* to 20 *M.*
Chírah i Parmnarm, do.	2 *R.* to 25 *M.*
Fauṭah, do.	½ to 3 *M.*
Jámahwár i Parmnarm, do.	½ to 4 *M.*
Góshpéch, do.	1½ *R.* to 1½ *M.*
Sarpéch, do.	½ to 4 *M.*
Aghrí, do.	7 *R.* to 2½ *M.*
Parmgarm, do.	3 *R.* to 2½ *M.*
Katás, do.	2½ *R.* to 10 *M.*
P'húk, *per piece,*	2½ to 15 *R.*
Durmah, do.	2 *R.* to 4 *M.*
Patú, do.	1 to 10 *R.*

[1] The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broadcloth; musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (*vide* Badáoní II, p. 290, l. 2 from below; p. 338, l. 7.) and, since 1600, tobacco. Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abulfazl, several are no longer known, as native weavers cannot compete with the English Longcloth and the cheap European Muslins, Alpaccas, Chintzes, and Mohairs, which are now-a-days in common use with the natives all over the East. At the time of the Moguls, and before, the use of woollen stuffs and, for the poorer classes, blankets, was much more general than now. Even the light caps generally worn by Muhammadans in this country, called in Hind. *tópí,* and in Persian *takhfífah* (*vide* Bahár i 'Ajam) are mostly imported from England. I am not aware that the soldiers of the armies of the Moguls were uniformly dressed, though it appears that the commanders of the contingents at least looked to uniformity in the caps and turbans.

[2] The MSS. have an unintelligible word.

Rewkár, *per piece*,	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Miçri, do.	5 to 50 *R.*
Burd i Yamaní, do.	5 to 35 *R.*
Mánjí (?) namad, do.	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Kanpak(?) namad, do.	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Takyahnamad, from Kábul and Persia,	*
Do., country made, do.	1½ to 5 *R.*
Lóí, do.	14 *d.* to 4 *R.*
Blankets, do.	10 *d.* to 2 *R.*
Kashmírian Caps, do.	2 *d.* to 1 *R.*

ÁÍN 33.

ON THE NATURE OF COLOURS.

White and black are believed to be the origin of all colours. They are looked upon as extremes, and as the component parts of the other colours. Thus white when mixed in large proportions with an impure black, will yield *yellow;* and white and black, in equal proportions, will give *red.* White mixed with a large quantity of black, will give a *bluish green.* Other colours may be formed by compounding these. Besides, it must be borne in mind that cold makes a juicy body white, and a dry body black; and heat renders that which is fresh black, and white that which is dry. These two powers (heat and cold) produce, each in its place, a change in the colour of a body, because bodies are both *qábil, i. e.,* capable of being acted upon, and *muqtaza, i. e.,* subject to the influence of the heavenly bodies (chiefly the sun), the active origin of heat.

ÁÍN 34.

THE ARTS OF WRITING AND PAINTING.

What we call *form* leads us to recognize a body; the body itself leads us to what we call *a notion, an idea.* Thus on seeing the form of a letter, we recognize the letter, or a word, and this again will lead us to some idea. Similarly in the case of what people term *a picture.* But though it is true that painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions which the artist has of any of the mental

* The price is not given in the text.

states,[1] so much so, that people may mistake a picture for a reality: yet pictures are much inferior to the written letter, inasmuch as the letter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and become a means to intellectual progress.

I shall first say something about the art of writing, as it is the more important of the two arts. His Majesty pays much attention to both, and is an excellent judge of form and thought. And indeed, in the eyes of the friends of true beauty, a letter is the source from which the light confined within it beams forth; and in the opinion of the far-sighted, it is the world-reflecting cup[2] in the abstract. The letter, a magical power, is spiritual geometry emanating from the pen of invention; a heavenly writ from the hand of fate; it contains the secret of the word, and is the tongue of the hand. The spoken word goes to the hearts of such as are present to hear it; the letter gives wisdom to those that are near and far. If it was not for the letter, the spoken word would soon die, and no keepsake would be left us of those that are gone by. Superficial observers see in the letter a sooty figure; but the deepsighted, a lamp of wisdom. The written letter looks black, notwithstanding the thousand rays within it; or, it is a light with a mole on it that wards off the evil eye.[3] A letter is the portrait painter of wisdom; a rough sketch from the realm of ideas; a dark night ushering in day; a black cloud pregnant with knowledge; the wand for the treasures of insight; speaking, though dumb; stationary, and yet travelling; stretched on the sheet, and yet soaring upwards.

When a ray of God's knowledge falls on man's soul, it is carried by the mind to the realm of thought, which is the intermediate station between that which is conscious of individual existence (*mujarrad*) and that which is material (*máddí*). The result[4] is a concrete thing mixed with the absolute, or an absolute thing mixed with that which is concrete. This compound steps forward on man's tongue, and enters, with the assistance of the conveying air, into the windows of the ears of others. It then drops the burden of its concrete component, and returns as a single ray, to its old place, the realm of thought. But the heavenly traveller occasionally gives his course a different direction by means of man's fingers, and having passed along

[1] *Khilqí* (from *khilqat*) referring to states of the mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, &c. These, Abulfazl says, a painter may succeed in representing; but the power of writing is greater.

[2] The fabulous cup of king Jamshéd, which revealed the secrets of the seven heavens.

[3] Human beauty is imperfect unless accompanied by a mole. For the mole on the cheek of his sweetheart, Háfiz would make a present of Samarqand and Bukhárá. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.

[4] The spoken word, the idea expressed by a sound.

the continent of the pen and crossed the ocean of the ink, alights on the pleasant expanse of the page, and returns through the eye of the reader to its wonted habitation.

As the letter is a representation of an articulate sound, I think it necessary to give some information regarding the latter.

The sound of a letter is a mode of existence depending on the nature of the air. By *qara'* we mean the striking together of two hard substances; and by *qala'*, the separation of the same. In both cases the intermediate air, like a wave, is set in motion; and thus the state is produced which we call *sound*. Some philosophers take sound to be the secondary effect, and define it as the air set in motion; but others look upon it as the primary effect, *i. e.*, they define sound to be the very *qara'*, or the *qala'*, of any hard substances. Sound may be accompanied by modifying circumstances: it may be piano, deep, nasal, or guttural, as when the throat is affected by a cold. Again, from the nature of the organ with which man utters a sound, and the manner in which the particles of the air are divided, another modifying circumstance may arise, as when two piano, two deep, two nasal, or two guttural sounds separate from each other. Some, as Abú 'Alí Síná, call this modifying element (*'áriz*) the sound of the letter; others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (*ma'rúz*); but the far-sighted define an articulate sound as the union of the modifying element and the original state modified. This is evidently the correct view.

There are fifty-two articulate sounds in Hindí, so and so many[1] in Greek, and eighteen in Persian. In Arabic, there are twenty-eight letters represented by eighteen signs, or by only fifteen, when we count the joined letters, and if we take the *Hamzah* as one with the Alif. The reason for writing an *Alif* and a *Lám*, (لا) separately at the end of the single letters in the Arabic Alphabet, is merely to give an example of a *sákin* letter, which must necessarily be joined to another letter; and the reason why the letter *lám* is preferred[2]

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[1] Abul Fazl has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or rather signs, in Persian, because ج, خ, and چ, have the same fundamental sign.

[2] Or rather, the alif was preferred to the *wáw* or *yá*, because these two letters may be either *sákin* or *mutaharrik*. But the custom has become established to call the alif, when mutaharrik, *hamzah;* and to call the alif, when sákin, merely alif. *'Abdulwási'*, of *Hánsah*, in his excellent Persian Grammar, entitled *Risálah i 'Abdulwási'*, which is read all over India, says that the *lám-alif* has the meaning of *not*, *i. e.*, 'do *not* read this compound *lám-alif*, but pass over it, when you say the Alphabet: look upon it as a mere example of a sákin letter.'

The term *hamzah*, as used here in native schools, is carefully distinguished from the terms *Shakl i Hamzah* and *Markiz i Hamzah*. *Shakl i Hamzah* is the small sign consisting of a semicircle, one extremity of which stands upon a straight line slightly slanting. *Markiz i Hamzah* is either of the letters *alif*, *wáw*, or *yá*, but chiefly the latter, when accompanied by the *Shakl i Hamzah*. *Hamzah* is a general term for either of the three letters *alif*, *wáw*, *yá*, when accompanied by the *Shakl i Hamzah*. In European grammars, the chapter on the Hamzah is

as an example, is because the letter *lám* is the middle letter of the word *alif*, and the letter *alif* the middle letter of the word *lám*.

The vowel-signs did not exist in ancient times, instead of which letters were dotted with a different kind of ink; thus a red dot placed *over* a letter expressed that the letter was followed by an *a*; a red dot in front of the letter signified a *u*; and a red dot below a letter, an *i*. It was Khalíl ibn i Ahmad,[1] the famous inventor of the Metrical Art of the Arabians, who fixed the forms of the vowel-signs as they are now in use.

The beauty of a letter and its proportions depend much on personal taste; hence it is that nearly every people has a separate alphabet. Thus we find an Indian, Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, Ma'qalí, Kúfí, Kashmírí, Abyssinian, Raihání, Arabic, Persian, Himyaritic, Berbery, Andalusian, Rúhání, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Ádam i Hafthazárí;[2] but some mention *Idrís*[3] as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrís perfected the *Ma'qalí* character. According to several statements, the Kúfic character was derived by the Khalífah 'Alí from the *Ma'qalí*.

The difference in the form of a letter in the several systems, lies in the proportion of straight and round strokes: thus the Kúfic character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; the *Ma'qalí* has no curved lines at all; hence the inscriptions which are found on ancient buildings are mostly in this character.

In writing we have to remember that black and white look well, as these colours best prevent ambiguities in reading.

In Írán and Túrán, India, and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical systems[4] current, of which each one is liked by some people. Six of them were derived, in A. H. 310, by *Ibn i Muqlah* from the Ma'qalí and the Kúfic characters, *viz.*, the *Suls*, *Tauqí'*, *Muhaqqaq*, *Naskh*, *Raihán*, *Riqá'*. Some add the *Ghubár*, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The *Naskh* character is ascribed by many to *Yáqút*, a slave of the

badly treated, because all explain the word *Hamzah* as the name of a *sign*.

Another peculiarity of European grammars is this, that in arranging the letters of the alphabet, the *wáw* is placed *after* the *hé*; here, in the East, the *hé* is invariably put before the *yá*.

[1] He is said to have been born A. H. 100, and died at Baçrah A. H. 175 or 190. He wrote several works on the science which he had established, as also several books on the rhyme, lexiciographical compilations, &c.

[2] 'Adam is called *Haft-hazárí*, because the number of inhabitants on earth, at his death, had reached the number *seven thousand*. A better explanation is given by Badáoní (II. p. 337, l. 10), who puts the creation of Ádam *seven thousand* years before his time. *Vide* the first Áín of the Third Book.

[3] *Idrís*, or Enoch.

[4] It is remarkable that, in the whole chapter, there is not the slightest allusion to the art of printing. Nor do Abulfazl's letters, where nearly the whole of this Áín is repeated, contain a reference to *printed* books. "The first book printed in India was the *Doctrina Christiana* of Giovanni Gonsalvez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I

Khalífah Musta'çam Billáh.[1] The *Suls* and the *Naskh* consist each of one-third[2] curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the *suls*) is *jalí*,[3] whilst the latter (the *naskh*) is *khafí*. *The Tauqí'* and *Riqá'* consist of three-fourths curved lines, and one-fourth straight lines; the former is *jalí*, the latter is *khafí*. *The Muhaqqaq* and *Raihán* contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is *jalí*, and the Raihán *khafí*.

Among famous copyists I must mention 'Alí ibn i Hilál, better known under the name of *Ibn i Bawwáb*;[4] he wrote well the six characters. Yáqút brought them to perfection. Six of Yáqút's pupils are noticeable; 1. Shaikh Ahmad, so well known under the name of Shaikhzádah i Suhrwardí; 2. Arghún of Kábul; 3. Mauláná Yúsuf Sháh of Mashhad; 4. Mauláná Mubárik Sháh, styled *Zarrín qalam* (the golden pen); 5. Haidar, called *Gandahnawís* (*i. e.*, the writer of the *jalí*); 6. Mír Yahya.

The following caligraphists are likewise well known: Çúfí Naçrullah, also called Çadr i 'Iráqí; Arqún 'Abdullah; Khájah 'Abdullah i Çairafí; Hájí Muhammad; Mauláná 'Abdullah i Áshpaz; Mauláná Muhí of Shíráz; Mu'ínuddín i Tanúrí; Shamsuddín i Khaṭáí; 'Abdurrahím i Khalúlí (?); Abdulhay; Mauláná Ja'far[5] of Tabríz; Mauláná Sháh of Mashhad; Mauláná Ma'rúf[6] of Baghdád; Mauláná Shamsuddín i Báyasanghur; Mu'ínuddín of

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know, first cast Tamulic characters in the year 1577. After this appeared, in 1578, a book entitled *Flos Sanctorum*, which was followed (?) by the Tamulic Dictionary of Father Antonio de Proenza, printed in 1679, at Ambalacate, on the coast of Malabar. From that period the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar have printed many works, a catalogue of which may be found in Alberti Fabricii *Salutaris lux Evangelii*." *Johnston's translation* of *Fra P. Da San Bartolomeo's Voyage to the East Indies*, *p.* 395. The Italian Original has the same years: 1577, 1578, 1679.

[1] He was the last caliph, and reigned from 1242 to 1258, when he was put to death by Hulágú, grandson of Chingiz Khán.

[2] Hence the name *suls*, or *one-third*.

[3] *Jalí* (*i. e.*, clear) is a term used by copyists to express that letters are thick, and written with a pen full of ink. *Ghiás*.—*Khafí* (hidden) is the opposite.

[4] *Ibn Muqlah*, *Ibn Bawwáb*, and *Yáqút*, are the three oldest caligraphists mentioned in various histories. The following notes are chiefly extracted from Bakhtáwar Khán's *Mir-átul 'Álam*:—

Ibn Muqlah, or according to his full name, Abú 'Alí Muhammad ibn i 'Alí ibn i Hasan ibn i Muqlah, was the vizier of the Khalífahs Muqtadir billah, Alqáhir billah, and ArRází billah, who reigned from A. D. 907 to 940. The last cut off Ibn i Muqlah's right hand. He died in prison, A. H. 327, or A. D. 938-39.

Ibn i Bawwáb, or Abul Hasan 'Alí ibn i Hilál, lived under the twenty-fifth Khalífah, Alqádir billah (A. D. 992-1030), the contemporary of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and died A. H. 416, or A. D. 1025.

Yáqút, or Shaikh Jamáluddín, was born at Baghdád, and was the Librarian of Musta'çam billah, the thirty-seventh and last Khalífah, who imprisoned him some time on account of his Shí'ah tendencies. He survived the general slaughter (1258) of Hulágú Khán, and died, at the age of one hundred and twenty, A. H. 697, or A. D. 1297, during the reign of Gházán Khán, Hulágú's great grandson.

[5] He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of Mírzá Sháhrukh, (1404-1447).

[6] A contemporary and rival of the great poet Salmán of Sáwah (died 769). The name *Ma'rúf* appears to have been common in Baghdád since the times of the famous saint *Ma'rúf* of *Karkh* (a part of Baghdád).

Faráh; Abdulhaq of Sabzwár; Mauláná Ni'matullah i Bawwáb; Khájagí Múmin i Marwáríd, the inventor of variegated papers and sands for strewing on the paper; Sultán Ibráhím, son of Mírzá Sháhrukh; Mauláná Muhammad Hakím Háfiz; Mauláná Mahmúd Siyáúsh; Mauláná Jamáluddín Husain; Mauláná Pír Muhammad; Mauláná Fazlulhaq of Qazwín[1].

A *seventh* kind of writing is called *Ta'líq*, which has been derived from the *Riqá'* and the *Tauqí'*. It contains very few straight lines, and was brought to perfection by Khájah Táj i Salmání,[2] who also wrote well the other six characters. Some say that he was the inventor.

Of modern caligraphists I may mention: Mauláná 'Abdulhay, the Private Secretary[3] of Sultán Abú Sa'íd Mírzá, who wrote *Ta'líq* well; Mauláná Darwísh;[4] Amír Mançúr; Mauláná Ibráhím of Astarábád; Khájah Ikhtiyár;[5] Munshí Jamáluddín; Muhammad of Qazwín; Mauláná Idrís; Khájah Muhammad Husain Munshí; and Ashraf Khán,[6] the Private Secretary of His Majesty, who improved the *Ta'líq* very much.

The *eighth* character which I have to mention is the *Nasta'líq:* it consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mír 'Alí of Tabríz, a contemporary of Tímúr, derived it from the Naskh and the Ta'líq; but this can scarcely be correct, because there exist books in the Nasta'líq character, written before Tímúr's time. Of Mír 'Alí's pupils I may mention two:[7] Mauláná Ja'far of Tabríz, and Mauláná Azhar; and of other caligraphists in Ta'líq, Mauláná Muhammad of Aubah (near Herát), an excellent writer; Mauláná Bárí of Herát; and Mauláná Sultán 'Alí[8] of Mashhad, who surpasses

[1] The *Maktúbát* and the *Mir-át* also mention Mullá Abá Bakr, and Shaikh Mahmúd.

[2] According to the Maktúbát and several MSS., *Sulaimání*.

[3] In the original text, p. 114, l. 5, by mistake, Mauláná 'Abdulhay *and* the Munshí of Sultán Abú Sa'íd.

[4] Mauláná Darwísh Muhammad was a friend of the famous Amír 'Alí Shér, the vizier of Sultán Husain Mírzá, king of Khurásán (A. D. 1470 to 1505), and the patron of the poet Jámí. Mauláná Darwísh entered afterwards the service of Sháh Junaid i Cafawí, king of Persia, (A. D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the Mauláná may be found in the *Maásir i Rahímí*, p. 751.

[5] Khájah Ikhtiyár, the contemporary and successful rival of the preceding caligraphist. He was Private Secretary to Sultán Husain Mírzá.

[6] This is the title of Muhammad Açghar, a Sayyid from Mashhad—or according to the Tabaqát i Akbarí, from 'Arabsháhí. He served Humáyún as Mír Munshí, Mír 'Arzí and Mír Málí. He accompanied Tardí Bég on his flight from Dihlí, was imprisoned by Bairám, and had to go to Mecca. He rejoined Akbar, in A. H. 968, when Bairám had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the title of *Ashraf Khán*, and served under Mun'im Khán in Bengal. He died in the tenth year of Akbar's reign, A. H. 973. In Abulfazl's list of grandees, in the second book, Ashraf Khán is quoted as a commander of two thousand. Badáoní mentions him among the contemporaneous poets. Abul Muzaffar, Ashraf Khán's son was, A. D. 1596, a commander of five hundred.

[7] The *Mir-át* mentions a third immediate pupil of Mír Álí, *Mauláná Khájah Muhammad*, and relates that he put Mír Álí's name to his own writings, without giving offence to his master.

[8] He also was a friend of Amír 'Alí Shér, and died A. H. 910, during the reign of Sultán Husain Mírzá, mentioned in the fourth note.

them all. He imitated the writing of Mauláná Azhar, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: Sultán Muhammad i Khandán;[1] Sultán Muhammad Núr; Mauláná 'Aláuddín[2] of Herát; Mauláná Zainuddín (of Níshápúr); Mauláná 'Abdí of Níshápúr; Muhammad Qásim Shádí Sháh, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities.

Besides these, there are a great number of other good caligraphists, who are famous for their skill in Nasta'líq; as Mauláná Sultán 'Alí, of Qáyin;[3] Mauláná Sultán 'Alí of Mashhad;[4] Mauláná Hijrání;[5] and after them the illustrious Mauláná Mír 'Alí,[6] the pupil, as it appears, of Mauláná Zainuddín. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sultán 'Alí of Mashhad. The new method which he established, is a proof of his genius; he has left many master-pieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Mauláná. He said, "I have brought his writing to perfection; but yet, his method has a peculiar charm."

In conclusion I may mention:—Sháh Mahmúd[7] of Níshápúr; Mahmúd Is-háq; Shamsuddín of Kirmán; Mauláná Jamshéd, the riddle-writer; Sultan Husain of Khujand; Mauláná 'Aishí; Ghiásuddín, the gilder; Mauláná 'Abduççamad; Mauláná Malik; Mauláná 'Abdulkarím; Mauláná Abdurrahím of Khárizm; Mauláná Shaikh Muhammad; Mauláná Sháh Mahmúd i Zarrínqalam (or gold pen); Mauláná Muhammad Husain[8] of Tabríz; Mauláná Hasan 'Alí of Mashhad; Mír Mu'izz of Káshán; Mírzá Ibráhím of Içfahán; and several others who have devoted their lives to the improvement of the art.

His Majesty shews much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful caligraphists. Nasta'líq has especially received a new impetus. The artist who, in the shadow of the throne of His Majesty, has become a master of caligraphy, is Muhammad Husain[9] of Kashmír. He has been honoured

[1] He was called *Khandán*, as he was always *happy*. He was a friend of Amír 'Alí Shér, and died A. H. 915.

[2] In the *Maktúbát*, 'Aláuddín *Muhammad* of Herát.

[3] He was the instructor of Sultán Husain Mírzá's children, and died A. H. 914. *Qáyin* is a Persian town, S.E. of Khurásán, near the frontier of Afghánistán. It is spelt *Ghayan* on our maps.

[4] According to the *Maktúbát*, Mauláná Sultán 'Alí *shér* of Mashhad, which is evidently the correct reading.

[5] A poet and friend of Amír 'Alí Shér. He died A. H. 921.

[6] Mauláná Mír 'Alí, a Sayyid of Herát, died A. H. 924. As a poet he is often mentioned together with Mír Ahmad, son of Mír Khusrau of Dihlí, and Bairám Khán, Akbar's Khánkhánán, as a master of *Dakhl* poetry. *Dakhl*, or *entering*, is the *skilful* use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.

[7] According to the *Maktúbát* and the *Mir-át*, Sháh *Muhammad* of Níshápúr. Both mention another caligraphist, *Mír Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad.*

[8] He was the teacher of the celebrated caligraphist *'Imád*, whose biography will be found in the *Mir-át*. *Vide* also the preface of Dr. Sprenger's *Gulistán*.

[9] He died A. H. 1020, six years after Akbar's death.

with the title of *Zarrínqalam*, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mauláná 'Abdul-'Azíz; his *maddát* and *dawáir*[1] shew everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullá Mír 'Alí. Of other renowned caligraphists of the present age, I must mention Mauláná Báqir, the son of the illustrious Mullá Mír 'Alí; Muhammad Amín of Mashhad; Mír Husain i Kulankí; Mauláná 'Abdulhay; Mauláná Daurí[2]; Mauláná 'Abdurrahím; Mír 'Abdullah; Nizámí of Qazwín; 'Alí Chaman of Kashmír; Núrullah Qásim Arsalán.

His Majesty's library is divided into several parts: some of the books are kept within, and some without the Harem. Each part of the Library is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindí, Persian, Greek, Kashmírian, Arabic,[3] are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign, according to the number of the pages; and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy, with which His Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest. The Akhláq i Náçirí, the Kímiyá i Sa'ádat, the Qábúsnámah, the works of Sharaf of Munair (*vide* p. 48), the Gulistán, the Hadíqah of Hakím Sanáí, the Masnawí of Ma'nawí, the Jám i Jam, the Bustán, the Sháhnámah, the

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[1] By *Maddát*, (extensions) caligraphists mean letters like ب, ف; by *dawáir* (curvatures), letters like ن, ح.

Draw four horizontal lines at equal intervals; call the spaces between them *a*, *b*, *c*, of which *a* is the highest. Every letter which fills the space *b*, is called a *shóshah*; as ذ, ڍ, د, ڈ. The diacritical points are immaterial. Every line above *b*, is called a *markiz*; every line below *b*, *i. e.* in *c*, a *dáman*. Thus ک consists of a shóshah and a markiz; س of a shóshah and a dáman. The knob of a ع, ف, or ق, is called *kallah*, head. Thus ف is a *Maddah*, consisting of a kallah, and a dáman; so also ک، ج، ع. The ک consists of a markiz and a dáman.

In *Grammar* the word *markiz* means the same as *shóshah* in caligraphy; thus ڈ, ذ, consist of a *markiz*, and a *shakl i hamzah*.

By *içláh* caligraphists mean any additional ornamental strokes, or refilling a written letter with ink (Hind. *siyáhí bharná*), or erasing (Hind. *chhílna*).

[2] His name is Sultán Báyazíd; he was born at Herát. *Daurí* is his poetical name. *Vide* Badáoní's list of poets (Vol. III of the Bibl. Indica). Akbar bestowed on him the title of *Kátib ul mulk*, the writer of the empire. His pupil was Khájah Muhammad Husain, an Ahadí, (*vide* Badáoní, II, p. 394, where for *Ibráhím*, in the Táríkh, read *Baráhím*).

[3] Observe that the Arabic books are placed last.

collected Masnawís of Shaikh Nizámí, the works of Khusrau and Mauláná Jámí, the Díwáns of Kháqání, Anwarí, and several works on History, are continually read out to His Majesty. Philologists are constantly engaged in translating Hindí, Greek, Arabic, and Persian books, into other languages. Thus a part of the Zích i Jadíd i Mírzáí (*vide* IIIrd book, Áín 1) was translated under the superintendence of Amír Fathullah of Shíráz (*vide* p. 33), and also the Kishnjóshí, the Gangádhar, the Mohesh Mahánand, from Hindí (Sanscrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahábhárat which belongs to the ancient books of Hindústán has likewise been translated, from Hindí into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqíb Khán[1], Mauláná 'Abdul Qádir of Badáon,[2] and Shaikh Sultán of T'hanésar.[3] The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses: His Majesty calls this ancient history *Razmnámah*, the book of Wars. The same

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[1] Regarding this renowned man, *vide* Abulfazl's list of Grandees, IInd book, No. 161.

[2] Mullá 'Abdul Qádir, poetically styled *Qádirí*, was born A. H. 947 [or 949] at Badáon, a town near Dihlí. He was thus two years older than Akbar. His father, whom he lost in 969, was called Shaikh Mulúk Sháh, and was a pupil of the Saint Béchú of Sambhal. Abdul Qádir, or *Badáoni*, as we generally call him, studied various sciences under the most renowned and pious men of his age, most of whom he enumerates in the beginning of the third volume of his *Muntakhab*. He excelled in Music, History, and Astronomy, and was on account of his beautiful voice appointed Court *Imám* for Wednesdays. He had early been introduced to Akbar by Jalál Khán Qúrchí (*vide* List of Grandees, IInd book, No. 213). For forty years Badáoní lived in company with Shaikh Mubárik, and Faizí and Abulfazl, the Shaikh's sons; but there was no sincere friendship between them, as Badáoní looked upon them as heretics. At the command of Akbar, he translated the *Ramáyan* (*Badáoni* II, pp. 336, 366,) from the Sanscrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand *slóks* 150 Ashrafís and 10,000 Tangahs; and parts of the Mahábhárat; extracts from the History of Rashíd; and the Bahr ul asmár, a work on the *Hadís*. A copy of another of his works, entitled *Najáturrashíd* may be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal. His historical work, entitled *Muntakhab-ut Tawáríkh*, is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Akbarnámah*, or the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, or the *Maásiri Rahímí*. It is especially of value for the religious views of the emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time. The History ends with the beginning of A. H. 1004, or eleven years before Akbar's death, and we may conclude that Badáoní died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mir-átul'álam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahángír, who shewed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badáoní's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tuzuk i Jahángírí unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badáoní's work was certainly not known in A. H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahángír's reign, in which the *Maásir i Rahímí* was written, whose author complains of the want of a history beside the Tabaqát, and the Akbarnámah.

In point of style, Badáoní is much inferior to Bakhtáwar Khán (*Mir-átul 'Alam*) and Muhammad Kázim (the 'Álamgírnámah), but somewhat superior to his friend Mírzá Nizámuddín Ahmad of Herát, author of the *Tabaqát*, and to 'Abdul Hamíd of Láhór, author of the *Pádishâhnámah*.

'Abdul Qádir of Badáon must not be confounded with Mauláná Qádirí, another learned man contemporaneous with Akbar.

[3] *Vide* Badáoní III, p. 118; and for Hájí Ibráhím, III, p. 139.

learned men translated also into Persian the Ramáyan, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rám Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Hájí Ibráhím of Sarhind translated into Persian the *At'harban*[1] which, according to the Hindús, is one of the four divine books. The Lílawatí, which is one of the most excellent works written by Indian Mathematicians on Arithmetic, lost its Hindú veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdul Faiz i Faizí.[2] At the command of His Majesty, Mukammal Khán of Gujrát translated into Persian the Tájak, a well known work on Astronomy. The Memoirs[3] of Bábar, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a Code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mírzá

[1] "In this year (A. H. 983, or A. D. 1575) a learned Brahmin, Shaikh Bháwan, had come from the Dek'han and turned Muhammadan, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *At'harban.* Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of the Islám. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaikh Bháwan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizí, and then Hájí Ibráhím, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the At'harban, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter *l*, and resembles very much our *Lá illah illallah.* Besides, I found that a Hindú, under certain conditions, may eat cow flesh; and another, that Hindús *bury* their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaikh used to defeat other Brahmins in argument; and they had in fact led him to embrace Islám. Let us praise God for his conversion!" *Badáoní* II. p. 212.

The translation of the Mahábhárat was not quite a failure. "For two nights, His Majesty himself translated some passages of the Mahábhárat, and told Naqíb Khán to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqíb Khán; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless absurdities—enough to confound the eighteen worlds—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me a *Harámkhur* and a *turnip-eater*, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqíb Khán and Mullá Shérí, and another part by Sultán Hájí of T'hanésar; then Shaikh Faizí was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Hájí wrote two other parts, adding a *verbal* translation of the parts that had been left out. He thus got a hundred *juz* together, closely written, so exactly rendered, that even the accidental dirt of flies on the original was not left out; but he was soon after driven from Court, and is now in Bhakkar. Other translators and interpreters, however, continue now-a-days the fight between Pandús and the Kurús. May God Almighty protect those that are not engaged in this work, and accept their repentance, and hear the prayer of pardon of every one who does not hide his disgust, and whose heart rests in the Islám; for 'He allows men to return to Him in repentance!' This Razmnámah was illuminated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and Abdul Fazl wrote an introduction to it of about two *juz*, &c." *Badáoní* II. p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen *fans* (فن) s among the MSS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1329. One *juz* (جزو) = sixteen pages *quarto*, or two sheets.

[2] This work has been printed. Abulfazl's words *Hindú veil* are an allusion to Lílawatí's sex.

[3] *Vide* Tuzuk i Jahángírí, p. 417. The Wáqiát i Timur were translated into Persian, during the reign of Sháhjahán, by Mír Abú Tálib i Turbatí. *Padsháhnámah* II, p. 288, edit. Bibl. Indica. "Conqueror of the world," *gétí sitání*, is Báber's title. Regarding the titles of the Mogul Emperors from Bábar to Bahádur Sháh, *vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, Part I. p. 39.

'Abdurrahím Khán, the present Khán Khánán (Commander-in-Chief). The History of Kashmír, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmírian into Persian[1] by Mauláná Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád. The *Mu'jam ul Buldán*, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'hah,[2] Qásim Bég, Shaikh Munawwar, and others. The *Haribans*, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mauláná Sherí (*Vide* the poetical extracts of the second book). By order of His Majesty, the author of this volume composed a new version of the Kalílah Damnah, and published it under the title of *'Ayár Dánish.*[3] The original is a master-piece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Naçrullah i Mustaufí and Mauláná Husain i Wá'iz had translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words. The Hindí story of the Love of Nal and Daman, which melts the heart of feeling readers, has been metrically translated by my brother Shaikh Faizí i Fayyází, in the masnawí metre of the Laílí Majnún, and is now everywhere known under the title of *Nal Daman.*[4]

As His Majesty has become acquainted with the treasure of history, he ordered several well informed writers to compose a work containing the events which have taken place in the seven zones for the last one thousand years. Naqíb Khán, and several others, commenced this history. A very large portion was subsequently added by Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'hah, and the whole concluded by Ja'far Bég i Açaf Khán. The introduction is composed by me. The work has the title of *Taríkh i Alfí,*[5] the History of a thousand years.

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[1] "During this year (A. H. 999, or A. D. 1590-91,) I received the order from His Majesty, to re-write, in an easy style, the History of Kashmír, which Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád, a very learned man, had translated into Persian. I finished this undertaking in two months, when my work was put into the Imperial Library, to be read out to His Majesty in its turn." *Badáoní*, II. p. 374.

[2] Regarding the tragic end of this "heretic," *vide* Badáoní II. p. 364. Notices regarding the other two men will be found in the third volume of Badáoní.

[3] For *'Iyár i Dánish*. Such abbreviations are common in *titles*.

[4] "Faizí's *Naldaman* (for *Nal o Daman* contains about 4200 verses, and was composed, A. H. 1003, in the short space of five months. It was presented to Akbar with a few *ashrafís* as *nazar*. It was put among the set of books read at Court, and Naqíb Khán was appointed to read it out to His Majesty. It is, indeed, a masnawí, the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Mír Khusrau of Dihlí, has composed." Badáoní, II. p. 396.

[5] In A. H. 1000, A. D. 1591-92, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadans that the Islám and the world were approaching their end. Various men arose, pretending to be *Imám Mahdí*, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Badáoní's belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar's disciples saw in the common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the *Dín i Iláhí*. The *Táríkh i Alfí* was likewise to give prominence to this idea.

The copy of the *Táríkh i Alfí* in

The Art of Painting.

Drawing the likeness of anything is called *taçwír*. His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shewn a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Dároghahs and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and master-pieces, worthy of a *Bihzád*,[1] may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, &c., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus:[2] their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.

Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention:

1. Mír Sayyid 'Alí of Tabríz.[3] He learned the art from his father. From the time of his introduction at Court, the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art, and has met with much success.

2. Khájah Abduççamad, styled *Shírínqalam*, or *sweet pen*. He comes from Shíráz. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee[4] of the Court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. From the instruction they received, the Khájah's pupils became masters.

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the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal (No. 19,) contains no preface, commences with the events subsequent to the death of the Prophet (8th June, 632), and ends abruptly with the reign of 'Umar ibn i 'Abdul Malik (A. H. 99, or A. D. 717-18). The years are reckoned from the death of the Prophet, not from the Hijrah. For further particulars regarding this book, *vide* Badáoní, II. p. 317.

[1] "*Bihzad* was a famous painter, who lived at the Court of Sháh Isma'íl i Çafawí of Persia." *Sirájullughát.*

[2] Compare with Abulfazl's opinion, *Elphinstone's* History of India, second edition, p. 174.

[3] Better known as a poet under the name of *Juddí*. *Vide* the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the *Story of Amír Hamzah*, mentioned on the next page.

[4] He was a *Chahárçadí*. *Vide* the list of grandees, in the second book, No. 266.

3. Daswant'h. He is the son of a palkee-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love to his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed over to the Khájah. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide. He has left many master-pieces.

4. Basáwan. In back grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent, so much so, that many critics prefer him to Daswant'h.

The following painters have likewise attained fame: Késú, Lál, Mukund, Mushkín, Farrukh the Qalmáq (Calmuck), Mádhú,[1] Jagan, Mohesh, K'hémkaran, Tárá, Sánwlah, Haribans, Rám. It would take me too long to describe the excellencies of each. My intention is "to pluck a flower from every meadow, an ear from every sheaf."

I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth. One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked: "There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."

The number of master-pieces of painting increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The *Story of Hamzah* was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiznámah, the Zafarnámah,[2] this book, the Razmnámah, the Ramáyan, the Nal Daman, the Kalílah Damnah, the 'Ayár Dánish, &c., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses

[1] Mentioned in the *Maásir i Rahímí* (p. 753) as in the service of Abdurrahím Khán Khánán, Akbar's Commander-in-Chief.

[2] A History of the House of Tímúr, by Sharafuddín of Yazd (died 1446). *Vide* Morley's Catalogue of Historical MSS., p. 94.

taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those that have passed away, have received a new life, and those who are still alive, have immortality promised them.

In the same manner, as painters are encouraged, employment is held out to ornamental artists, gilders, line-drawers, and pagers.

Many Mansabdars, Ahadís, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1200 to 600 *dáms*.

ÁÍN 35.

THE ARSENAL.

The order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes. Thus a plated armour was brought before His Majesty, and set up as a target; but no bullet was so powerful as to make an impression on it. A sufficient number of such armours has been made so as to supply whole armies. His Majesty also looks into the prices of such as are sold in the bázárs.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords, (*kháçah* swords) one of which is daily sent to His Majesty's sleeping apartments. The old one is returned, and handed over to the servants outside the Harem, who keep it till its turn comes again. Forty other swords are kept in readiness: they are called *kotal* swords. When the number of *kháçah* swords (in consequence of presents, &c.) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the *kotal* swords. There are also twelve *Yakbandí (?)*[1], the turn of every one of which recurs after one *week*. Of *Jámdhars* and *K'hapwahs*, there are forty of each. Their turn recurs every week; and each has thirty *kotals*, from which deficiencies are supplied as before. Besides, eight knives, twenty spears and *barchhas* are required monthly. Of eighty-six *Mashhadí* bows, *Bhadáyan* bows, and twenty-four others, are returned monthly....[2] In the same manner a rank is assigned to each.

Whenever His Majesty rides out, or at the time of the *Bár i 'Ám*, or Levee, the sons of the Amírs, and other Mansabdárs and Ahadís, carry the *Qur* in their hands and on their shoulders, *i. e.*, every four of them carry four

[1] I doubt the correctness of the translation. The word *yakbandí* is not in the Dictionaries.

[2] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

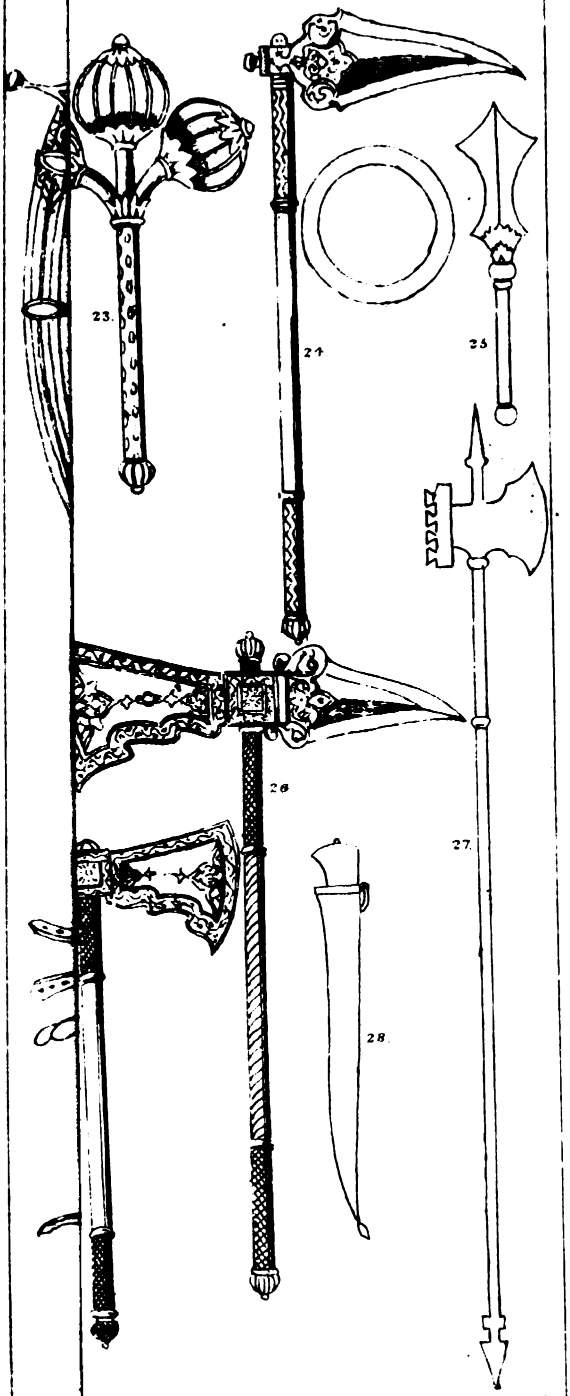
quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *piyázi* war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged. Several *qiṭárs*[1] of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness; and on travels, they use Bactrian camels, &c., for that purpose. At Court receptions the Amírs and other people stand opposite the *Qur*, ready for any service; and on the march, they follow behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty. Elephants in full trappings, camels, carriages, naqqárahs, flags, the kaukabahs, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the *Qur*, while eager macebearers superintend the march, assisted by the Mír-bakhshís. In hunting expeditions several swift runners are in attendance, and a few others are in charge of harnesses.

In order to shorten the trouble of making references, I shall enumerate the weapons now in use in form of a table, and give pictures of some of them.

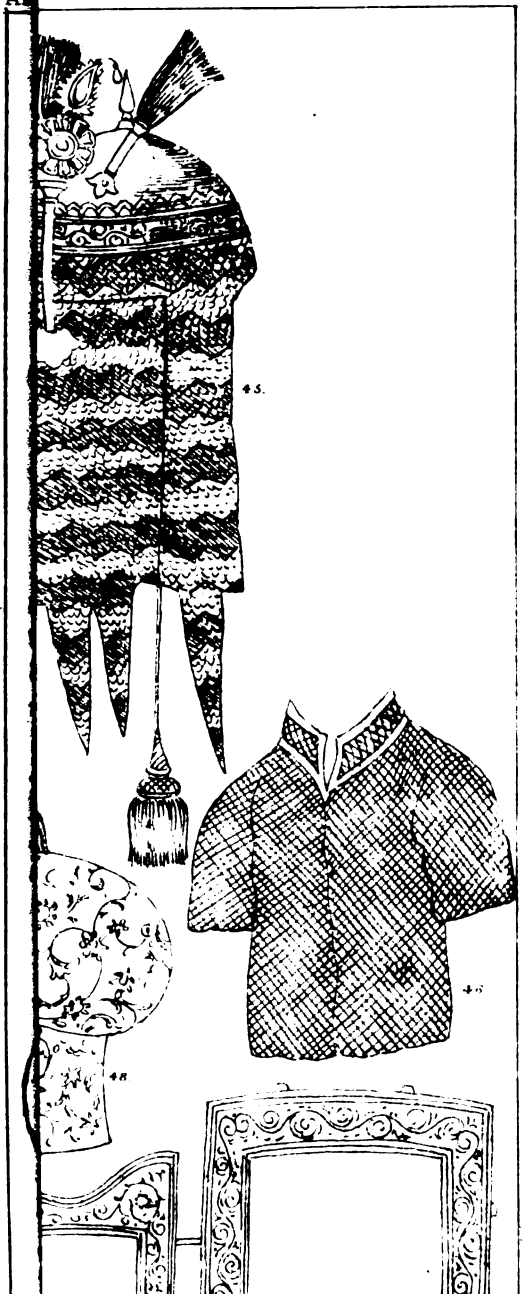
1.	Swords (slightly bent), ...	½ *R.* to 15 *Muhurs.*
2.	K'háṉdah (straight swords),..........	1 to 10 *R.*
3.	Guptí 'Açá (a sword in a walking stick),	2 to 20 *R.*
4.	Jamd'har (a broad dagger), ...	¼ *R.* to 2½ *M.*
5.	Khanjar, ...	½ to 5 *R.*
6.	K'hapwah, ...	½ *R.* to 1½ *M.*
7.	Jam K'hák, ...	½ *R.* to 1½ *M.*
8.	Báṉk, ...	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
9.	Jhanbwah, ...	½ *R.* to 1 M.
10.	Katárah, ...	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
11.	Narsink Mot'h, ...	½ *R.* to 2 *M.*
12.	Kamán (bows)	¼ *R.* to 3 *M.*
13.	Takhsh Kamán, ...	1 to 4 *R.*
14.	Náwak, ...	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
15.	Arrows, *per bundle*, ...	½ to 30 *R.*
16.	Quivers, ...	¼ *R.* to 2 *M.*
17.	Ḍaḍí, ...	¼ to 5 *R.*
18.	Tírbardár (Arrow drawers),[2]	½ to 2½ *d.*
19.	Paikánkash (Do.), ...	¼ to 3 *R.*
20.	Naizah (a lance), ...	1¾ *R.* to 6 *M.*
21.	Barchhah, ...	¾ *R.* to 2 *M.*
22.	Sáṉk, ...	¼ to 1½ *R.*

[1] Five camels are called a *qiṭár*, in Hind. *qaṭár*. A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the next behind it, and so on. Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers.

[2] If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 19); but it may be *tír i pardar*, an arrow with a *feather* at the bottom of the shaft, a barbed arrow.


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Pl. XIII.



23.	Saiṉt'hí,	¼ to 1 *R.*
24.	Sélarah,	10 *d.* to ¾ *R.*
25.	Gurz (a war club,)	½ to 5 *R.*
26.	Shashpar (do.),	½ *R.* to 3 *M.*
27.	Késtan (?)[1]	1 to 3 *R.*
28.	Tabar (a war axe),	½ *R.* to 2 *M.*
29.	Piyází (a club),	½ to 5 *R.*
30.	Zághnól (a pointed axe)	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
31.	Chakar-Basólah,	1 to 6 *R.*
32.	Tabar zághnól,	1 to 4 *R.*
33.	Tarangálah,	¼ to 2 *R.*
34.	Kárd (a knife)	2 *d.* to 1 *M.*
35.	Guptí kárd,	3 *R.* to 1½ *M.*
36.	Qamchí kárd,	1 to 3½ *R.*
37.	Cháqú (a clasp knife)	2 *d.* to ½ *R.*
38.	Kamán i Guróhah (bullet bow)	2 *d.* to 1 *R.*
39.	Kamt'hah,	5 *d.* to 3 *R.*
40.	Tufak i dahán (a tube; *Germ.* Blaserohr)	10 *d.* to ½ *R.*
41.	Pushtkhár,[2]	2 *d.* to 2 *R.*
42.	Shaçtáwéz,[3]	2 *d.* to 1 *R.*
43.	Girihkushá,	1 *d.* to ½ *R.*
44.	Khár i Máhí,	1 to 5 *R.*
45.	Góbhan (a sling)	1½ *d.* to ½ *R.*
46.	Gajbág,	1 to 5 *R.*
47.	Sipar (a shield),	1 to 50 *R.*
48.	Dhál,	½ *R.* to 4 *M.*
49.	K'hérah,	1 *R.* to 4 *M.*
50.	Pahrí,	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
51.	Uḍánah,	½ to 5 *R.*
52.	Dubulghah,	½ *R.* to 3½ *M.*
53.	K'hóg'hí,	1 to 4 *R.*
54.	Zirih Kuláh,	1 to 5 *R.*
55.	G'húg'huwah,	1 *R.* to 2 *M.*
56.	Jaibah,[4]	20 *R.* 30 *M.*

[1] This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. *Vide* my Text edition, p. 121, l. 1. The Dictionaries give no information.

[2] Vide Journal As. Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 61.

[3] A weapon resembling the following. The word *Shaçtáwéz*, or more correctly *shastáwéz*, means *a thing by which you can hook anything*. In Vullers' Persian Dicty. II. p. 426, b, read *bíz* for *panír* (!).

[4] This word is used in a general sense, *an armour*. It is either *Turkish*, or a corruption of the Arab. *jubbah*. The form *jaibá* is occasionally met with; but *jabah*, as given by Vullers I, p. 508 a., is wrong, and against the metre of his quotation.

57.	Zirih,	1¾ *R.* to 100 *M.*
58.	Bagtar,	4 *R.* to 12 *M.*
59.	Jóshan,	4 *R.* to 9 *M.*
50.	Chár Áinah,	2 *R.* to 7 *M.*
61.	Koṭ'hí,	5 *R* to 8 *M.*
62.	Çádiqí,	3 *R.* to 8 *M.*
63.	Angirk'hah,	1½ *R.* to 5 *M.*
64.	Bhanjú,	3 *R.* to 2 *M.*
65.	Chihrahzirih i Áhaní,	1½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
66.	Salhqabá,	5 *R.* to 8 *M.*
67.	Chihilqad,	5 to 25 *R.*
68.	Dastwánah,	1½ *R.* to 2 *M.*
69.	Rák,[1]	1 *R.* to 10 *M.*
70.	Kant'hah sobhá,[2]	1 to 10 *R.*
71.	Mózah i Áhaní.	½ to 10 *R.*
72.	Kajém,	50 to 300 *R.*
73.	Artak (the quilt) i Kajém,	4 *R.* to 7 *M.*
74.	Qashqah,	1 *R.* to 2½ *M.*
75.	Gardaní,[3]	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
76.	Matchlocks,	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
77.	Bán (rockets),	2½ to 4 *R.*

ÁÍN 36.

ON GUNS.

Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the state; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the government than this. There are now-a-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans;* several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a king, and therefore devotes to it much of his time. Dároghahs and clever clerks are appointed, to keep the whole in proper working order.

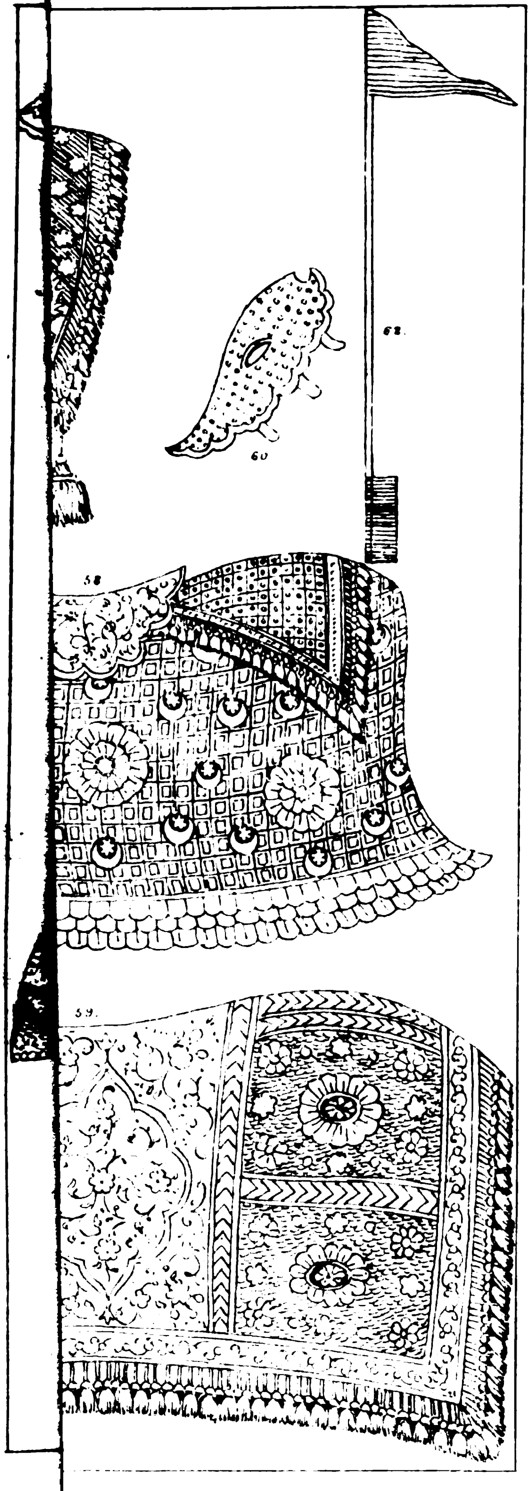
His Majesty has made several inventions, which have astonished the whole world. He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to

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[1] According to some MSS. *rág.*

[2] The figure represents a long spear; but the etymology, as also its position in the list of weapons, shews that it must be a part of the armour, *a neck-piece.*

[3] A round shield-like plate of iron attached to the *neck* of the horse and hanging down so as to protect the chest of the animal.


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pieces, and properly put again together when required. By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match. Again, he made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant; such guns have the name of *Gajnáls*. Guns which a single man may carry, are called *Narnáls*.

The imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each Súbah has that kind which is fit for it. For the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements, His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches. It is impossible to count every gun; besides clever workmen make continually new ones, especially *Gajnáls* and *Narnáls*.

Amírs and Ahadís are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *d*.

ÁÍN 37.

ON MATCHLOCKS, &c.

These are in particular favour with His Majesty, who stands unrivalled in their manufacture, and as a markman. Matchlocks are now made so strong, that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one edge open; but numerous accidents were the result, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction. They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; then they join the folds, not edge to edge, but so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four of such pieces make one gun; or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long, and go by the name of *Damának*. The gunstocks are differently made. From the practical knowledge of His Majesty, guns are now made in such a manner that they can be fired off, without a match, by a slight movement of the cock. Bullets are also made, so as to cut like a sword. Through the assistance of the inventive genius of His Majesty, there are now many masters to be found among gunmakers; *e. g.*, Ustád Kabír, and Husain.

Iron, when heated, loses about one-half of its volume.

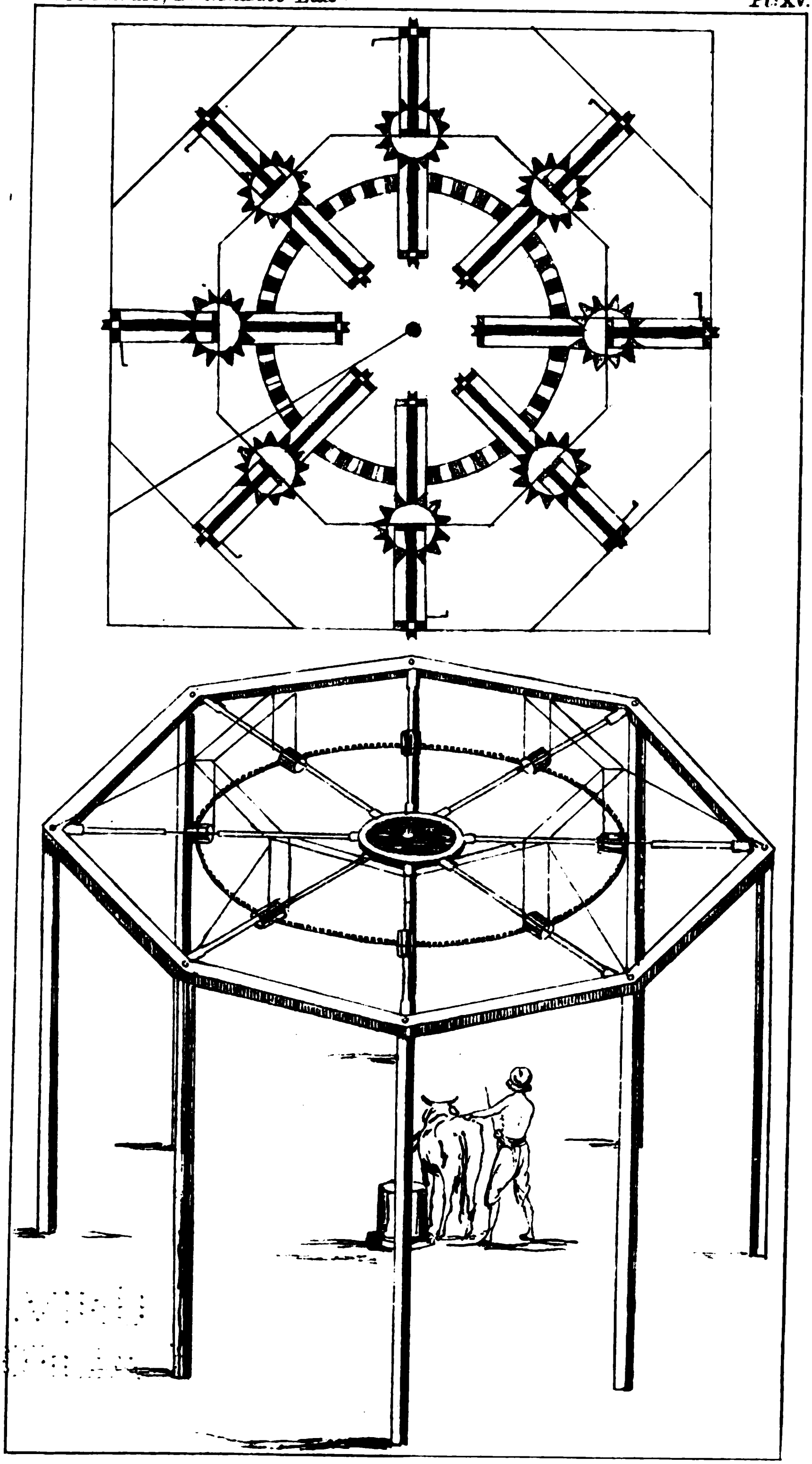
When a barrel is completed lengthways, before the transverse bottom piece is fixed to it, they engrave on it the quantity of its iron and the length, b oth being expressed in numerals. A barrel thus far finished, is called *Daul*. In this imperfect state they are sent to His Majesty, and delivered, in proper order, at the Harem, to which place they are also brought for.....[1] At the same time, the weight of the ball is fixed, and the order is given for the transverse section of the matchlock. For long guns the weight of a ball does not exceed twenty-five *tánks*, and for smaller ones, fifteen. But balls of the former weight no one but His Majesty[2] would dare to fire. When the barrels are polished, they are again sent to the Harem, and preserved in proper order. They are afterwards taken out, and closed by the order of His Majesty with a transverse bottom piece. Having been put to an old stock, they are filled to one-third of the barrel with powder, and fired off. If no *taráwish*[3] takes place, and the trial is satisfactory, they take the barrels again to His Majesty, who gives the order to finish the mouth piece of the barrel. After this the gun is again placed on the stock, and subjected to a trial. If the ball issues in a crooked line, the barrel is heated, and straightened by means of a rod introduced into it, and, in the presence of His Majesty, handed over to a filer. He adorns the outside of the barrel in various ways, according to orders, when it is taken to the Harem. The wood and the shape of the stock are then determined on. Several things are marked on every matchlock, *viz*., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, the former marks being now removed; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number. Sometimes without reference to a proper order, one of the unfinished barrels is selected, and completed at His Majesty's command. It is then entered in another place; the transverse bottom piece is fixed; and the order is given to make the cock, the ramrod, the *pargaz*,[4] *&c*. As soon as all these things have been completed, a new trial is ordered; and when it succeeds, they send in the gun, and deliver it a third time at the Harem. In this state the gun is called *sádah* (plain). Five bullets are sent along with it. His Majesty, after trying it in the manner above described, returns it with the fifth bullet. The order for the colour of the barrel and the stock is now given; one of the nine kinds of colour is selected for the stock. Guns also differ in the quantity of inlaid gold

[1] The text has an unintelligible word; the *variantes lectiones* are marked on p. 125 of my text edition, Note (13). The Banáras MS. has قرقان. The word appears to be a foreign term.

[2] Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. *Vide* Tuzuk i Jahángírí, p. 16.

[3] *Taráwish* means *a trickling;* the particular meaning which it here has, is unclear and not given in the Dictionaries.

[4] *Pargaz*, or *Purgaz*, may mean the groove into which the ramrod is put, or the ramrod itself. The word is not in the Dicts., and appears to be unknown at the present day.



and enamel; the colour of the barrel is uniform. A gun thus far completed is called *rangín* (coloured). It is now, as before, handed over together with five bullets; His Majesty makes four trials, and returns it with the last ball. When ten of such guns are ready, His Majesty orders to inlay the mouth of the barrel and the butt end with gold. They are then again sent for trial into the Harem, and whenever ten are quite complete, they are handed over to the slaves.

ÁÍN 38.

THE MANNER OF CLEANING GUNS.

Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments, in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow. The plate will best shew what sort of a machine it is.

ÁÍN 39.

THE RANKS OF THE GUNS.

The Imperial Arsenal contains *manufactured*, *purchased*, and *presented*, guns. Each of them is either *long*, or *short*; and these are again subdivided into *sádah* (plain), *rangín*, (coloured), and *koftkár* (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as *kháçah*, *i. e.*, for his special use. *First*, twelve in honour of the twelve months; each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months. *Secondly*, thirty for every week; after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought. *Thirdly*, thirty-two for the solar days; one for every day. *Fourthly*, thirty-one *kotals*. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, *kotals* are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows: the guns for the month; the week; days; kotals; plain; coloured; koftkár, not handed over to the slaves; koftkár, handed over to the slaves; long ones, selected from *péshkash* presents, or from such as were bought; *Damánaks*, selected from péshkash, or from bought ones; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five *kháçah* guns are divided into seven parts; every fifteen form a *kishk*, or guard, and are always kept ready by the slaves. On Sundays, two are taken from the first; four from the second; five from the third; four from the fourth. This order is also followed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. On Thursdays, two are again taken from the first, and four from the second; four from the third; five from

the fourth. On Fridays, one is taken from the first; five from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. So also for Saturdays. In order to supply the places of such *khâçah* guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on: half kotals, fourteen; quarter kotals, seven; one-eighth kotals, four; one-sixteenth kotals, two; one-thirty second kotals, one. When kotal guns are given away, they bring half *kotals;* similarly, the place of a gun, when given away, is taken by the next; and the place of the last is supplied by one selected from such as have been bought.

One hundred and one guns are continually kept in the Harem. Their order is as follows. On the first day of every solar month eleven guns are handed over to the servants of the Harem, one of each of the guns for the months, the weeks, the days, the kotals, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the *koftkár* not in charge of the slaves, the koftkár in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected *Damánaks*, the chosen ones of the selected ones. On the second day only the guns of the months (*i. e.*, ten) are handed over in the same order. For ten days an equal number is sent to the Harem.

His Majesty practises often. When he has tried each gun, he commences from the beginning; and when each gun has been used four times, it is sent away and replaced by a new one of each kind. If guns have been left unused at the beginning of a new month, they are placed last, and the guns for the current month are put first.

An order has also been given to the writers to write down the game killed by His Majesty with the particulars of the guns used. Thus it was found that with the gun, which has the name of *Sangrám*, one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty's private guns, and is used during the *Farwardín* month of the present era.

ÁIN 40.

ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.

The pay of a *Mírdahah*[1] is of four grades, 300 dáms, 280 *d.*, 270 *d.*, 260 *d.* The pay of the others is of five grades. Each grade is again subdivided into three classes. *First grade*, 250 *d.*, 240 *d.*, 230 *d.* *Second grade*, 220 *d.*, 210 *d.*, 200 *d.* *Third grade*, 190 *d.*, 180., *d.*, 170 *d.* *Fourth grade*, 160 *d.*, 150 *d.*, 140 *d.* *Fifth grade*, 130 *d.*, 120 *d.*, 110 *d.*

[1] *A man placed over ten.* The rank of the *Mírdahah* appears to have been the only *non-commissioned* rank in the Mogul Armies. The lowest *commissioned* rank was that of a *Dahbáshí*, which word, though of the same *etymological* meaning, differs in usage, and signifies a man in *command* of ten. The rank of a Dahbáshí was the lowest Mansabdár rank (*vide* the second book). *Mírdahah* is also used in the sense *of a servant who looks after ten horses.*

AIN 41.

THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANT STABLES.

This wonderful animal is in bulk and strength like a mountain; and in courage and ferocity like a lion. It adds materially to the pomp of a king and to the success of a conqueror; and is of the greatest use for the army. Experienced men of Hindustan put the value of a good elephant equal to five hundred horse; and they believe, that when guided by a few bold men armed with matchlocks, such an elephant alone is worth double that number. In vehemence on one side, and submissiveness to the reins on the other, the elephant is like an Arab, whilst in point of obedience and attentiveness to even the slightest signs, it resembles an intelligent human being. In restiveness when full-blooded, and in vindictiveness, it surpasses man. An elephant never hurts the female, though she be the cause of his captivity; he never will fight with young elephants, nor does he think it proper to punish them. From a sense of gratitude, he does his keepers no harm, nor will he throw dust over his body, when he is mounted, though he often does so at other times. Once an elephant, during the rutting season, was fighting with another. When he was in the height of excitement, a small elephant came in his way: he kindly lifted up the small one with his trunk, set him aside, and then renewed the combat. If a male elephant breaks loose during the rutting season, in order to have his own way, few people have the courage to approach him; and some bold and experienced man will have to get on a female elephant, and try to get near him and tie a rope round his foot. Female elephants, when mourning the loss of a young one, will often abstain from food and drink; they sometimes even die from grief.

The elephant can be taught various feats. He learns to remember such melodies as can only be remembered by people acquainted with music; he will move his limbs, to keep time, and exhibit his skill in various ways. He will shoot off an arrow from a bow, discharge a matchlock, and will learn to pick up things that have been dropped, and hand them over to the keeper. Sometimes they get grain to eat wrapped up in hay; this they hide in the side of their mouth, and give it back to the keeper, when they are alone with him.

The teats of a female elephant, and the womb, resemble those of woman. The tongue is round like that of a parrot. The testicles are not visible. Elephants frequently with their trunks take water out of their stomachs, and sprinkle themselves with it. Such water has no offensive smell. They also take out of their stomach grass on the second day, without its having undergone any change.

The price of an elephant varies from a lak[1] to one hundred rupees; elephants worth five thousand, and ten thousand rupees, are pretty common.

There are four kinds of elephants. 1. *Bhaddar.* It is well proportioned, has an erect head, a broad chest, large ears, a long tail, and is bold, and can bear fatigue. They take out of his forehead an excrescence resembling a large pearl, which they call in Hindí *Gaj manik.*[2] Many properties are ascribed to it. 2. *Mand.* It is black, has yellow eyes, a uniformly sized belly, a long penis, and is wild and ungovernable. 3. *Mirg.* It has a whitish skin, with black spots; the colour of its eyes is a mixture of red, yellow, black, and white. 4. *Mir.* It has a small head, and obeys readily. It gets frightened, when it thunders.

From a mixture of these four kinds are formed others of different names and properties. The colour of the skin of elephants is threefold: white, black, grey. Again, according to the threefold division of the dispositions assigned by the Hindus to the mind, namely, *sat* benevolence, *raj* love of sensual enjoyment, and *tam* irascibility, which shall be further explained below,[3] elephants are divided into three classes. *First,* such in which *sat* predominates. They are well proportioned, good looking, eat moderately, are very submissive, do not care for intercourse with the female, and live to a very old age. *Secondly,* such in whose disposition *raj* prevails. They are savage looking, and proud, bold, ungovernable, and voracious. *Lastly,* such as are full of *tam.* They are self-willed, destructive, and given to sleep and voraciousness.

The time of gestation of the female is generally eighteen[4] lunar months, For three months the *fluida germinalia* intermix in the womb of the female; when agitated, the mass looks like quicksilver. Towards, the fifth month the *fluida* settle, and get gelatinous. In the seventh month, they get more solid, and draw to perfection towards the ninth month. In the eleventh, the outline of a body is visible; and in the twelfth, the veins, bones, hoofs, and

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[1] During the reigns of Akbar's successor, the price of a well trained war elephant rose much higher. *Vide* Tuzuk i Jahángírí, p. 198. At the time of Sháhjahán, the first white elephant was brought from Pégú, *Pádisháhnamah,* I. p. 267.

[2] This excrescence is also called *Gajmotí,* or *elephants' pearl.* Forbes has, a so *Gajmanih,* and the *Dalíl i Sáti,* گجوتي gaj watí?).

[3] In the *fourth* book of this work.

[4] The time is differently given. The emperor Jahángír says in his Memoirs (p. 130):—During this month, a female elephant in my stables gave birth before my own eyes. I had often expressed the wish to have the time of gestation of the female elephant correctly determined. It is now certain that a female birth takes place after sixteen, and a male birth after nineteen months [the emperor means evidently *solar* months]; and the process is different from what it is with man, the fœtus being born with the feet foremost. After giving birth, the female at once covers the young one with earth and dust, and continually caresses it, whilst the young one sinks down every moment trying to reach the teats of the mother." *Vide* Lt. Johnstone's remarks on the same subject, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May, 1868.

hairs, make their appearance. In the thirteenth month, the *genitalia* become distinguishable, and in the fifteenth, the process of quickening commences. If the female, during gestation, gets stronger, the fœtus is sure to be a male; but if she gets weak, it is the sign of a female. During the sixteenth month, the formation becomes still more perfect, and the life of the fœtus becomes quite distinct. In the seventeenth month, there is every chance[1] of a premature birth, on account of the efforts made by the fœtus to move, till, in the eighteenth month, the young one is born.

According to others, the sperm gets solid in the first month; the eyes, ears, the nose, mouth, and tongue, are formed in the second; in the third month, the limbs make their appearance; in the fourth month, the fœtus grows and gets strong; in the fifth, it commences to quicken; in the sixth, it gets sense, which appears more marked during the seventh month; in the eighth, there is some chance of a miscarriage; during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months, the fœtus grows, and is born during the twelfth. It will be a male young one, if the greater part of the sperm came from the male; and it will be a female young one, if the reverse is the case. If the sperm of both the male and female is equal in quantity, the young one will be a hermaphrodite. The male fœtus lies towards the right side; the female towards the left; a hermaphrodite in the middle.

Female elephants have often for twelve days a red discharge, after which gestation commences. During that period, they look startled, sprinkle themselves with water and earth, keep ears and tail upwards, and go rarely away from the male. They will rub themselves against the male, bend their heads below his tusks, smell at his urine and dung, and cannot bear to see another female near him. Sometimes, however, a female shews aversion to intercourse with the male, and must be forced to copulate, when other female elephants, at hearing her noise, will come to her rescue.

In former times, people did not breed elephants, and thought it unlucky; by the command of His Majesty, they now breed a very superior class of elephants, which has removed the old prejudice in the minds of men. A female elephant has generally one young one, but sometimes two. For five years the young ones content themselves with the milk of the mother; after that period they commence to eat herbs. In this state they are called *bál*. When ten years old, they are named *pút;* when twenty years old, *bikka;* when thirty years old, *kalbah*. In fact the animal changes appearance every year, and then gets a new name. When sixty years old, the elephant is full grown. The skull then looks like two halves of a ball, whilst the ears look like winnowing

[1] The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean: In the seventeenth month, the effort of the fœtus to move causes the female to sink down.

fans.[1] White eyes mixed with yellow, black, and red, are looked upon as a sign of excellence. The forehead must be flat without swellings or wrinkles. The trunk is the nose of the animal, and is so long as to touch the ground. With it, it takes up the food and puts it into the mouth; similarly, it sucks up water with it, and then throws it into the stomach. It has eighteen teeth; sixteen of them are inside the mouth, eight above and eight below, and two are the tusks outside. The latter are one and more yards long, round, shining, very strong, white, or sometimes reddish, and straight, the end slightly bent upwards. Some elephants have four tusks. With a view to usefulness as also to ornament, they cut off the top of the tusks, which grow again. With some elephants they have to cut the tusks annually; with others after two or three years; but they do not like to cut them when an elephant is ten and eighty years old. An elephant is perfect when it is eight *dast* high, nine *dast* long, and ten *dast* round the belly, and along the back. Again, nine limbs ought to touch the ground, namely, the fore feet, the hind feet, the trunk, the tusks, the penis, the tail. White spots on the forehead are considered lucky, whilst a thick neck is looked upon as a sign of beauty. Long hairs on and about the ears point to good origin.

Some elephants rut in winter, some in summer, some in the rains. They are then very fierce, they pull down houses, throw down stone walls, and will lift up with their trunks a horse and and its rider. But elephants differ very much in the amount of fierceness and boldness.

When they are hot, a blackish discharge exudes from the soft parts between the ears and the temples, which has a most offensive smell; it is sometimes whitish, mixed with red. They say that elephants have twelve holes in those soft parts, which likewise discharge the offensive fluid. The discharge is abundant in lively animals, but trickles drop by drop in slow ones. As soon as the discharge stops, the elephant gets fierce and looks grand; in this state he gets the name of *Tafti* or *Sarhari*. When the above discharge exudes from a place a little higher than the soft parts between the ears and the temples, the elephant is called *Singádhál;* and when the fluid trickles from all three places, *Taljór*. When hot, elephants get attached to particular living creatures, as men, or horses; but some elephants to any animal. So at least according to Hindu books.

The *Bhaddar* ruts in Libra and Scorpio; the *Mand* in spring; the *Mirg* in Capricorn and Sagittarius; the *Mir* in any season. Elephant drivers

[1] *Ghallah afshán*. This word, though common, is not in our dictionaries. It is a flat piece of wicker work, from one to two feet square. Three sides of the square are slightly bent upwards. They put grain on it, and seizing the instrument with both hands, they throw up the grain, till the husks, stones, and all other refuse, collect near the side which is not bent upwards, when the refuse is removed with the hand. We use *sieves* for such purposes.

have a drug which causes an artificial heat; but it often endangers the life of the beast. The noise of battle makes some superior elephants just as fierce as at the rutting season; even a sudden start may have such an effect. Thus His Majesty's elephant *Gajmuktah;* he gets brisk, as soon as he hears the sound of the Imperial drum, and gets the above mentioned discharge. This peculiar heat generally makes its first appearance, when elephants have reached the age of thirty; sometimes, however, earlier, at an age of twenty-five. Sometimes the heat lasts for years, and some of the Imperial elephants have continued for five years in an uninterrupted alacrity. But it is mostly male elephants that get hot. They then commence to throw up earth, and run after a female, or roll about in mud, and daub themselves all over with dirt. When hot, they are very irritable, and yawn a great deal, though they sleep but little. At last, they even discontinue eating, and dislike the foot-chain; they try to get loose, and behave noisily.

The elephant, like man, lives to an age of one hundred and twenty years.

The Hindí language has several words for an elephant, as *hastí*, *gaj*, *píl*, *hát'hí*, &c. Under the hands of an experienced keeper, it will much improve, so that its value, in a short time, may rise from one hundred to ten thousand rupees.

The Hindus believe that the eight points of the earth are each guarded by a heavenly being in the shape of an elephant; they have curious legends regarding them. Their names are as follows: 1. *Airáwata*, in the East; 2. *Pundaríka*, South-east; 3. *Báman*, South; 4. *Kumada*, South-west; 5. *Anjan*, West; 6. *Puhpadanta*, North-west; 7. *Sárbhabhúma*, North; 8. *Supratíka*, North-east. When occasions arise, people read incantations in their names, and address them in worship. They also think that every elephant in the world is the offspring of one of them. Thus, elephants of a white skin and white hairs are related to the first; elephants with a large head, and long hairs, of a fierce and bold temper, and eyelids far apart, belong to the second; such as are ....[1], good looking, black, and high in the back, are the offspring of the third; if tall, ungovernable, quick in understanding, short-haired, and with red and black eyes, they come from the fourth; if bright black, with one tusk longer than the other, with a white breast and belly, and long and thick fore-feet, from the fifth; if fearful, with prominent veins, with a short hump and ears, and a long trunk, from the sixth; if thin-bellied, red-eyed, and with a long trunk, from the seventh; and if of a combination of the preceding seven qualities, from the eighth.

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[1] The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps *khushsanj*, graceful, is the correct reading.

The Hindus also make the following division into *eight* classes. 1. Elephants whose skin is not wrinkled, who are never sick, who are grand looking, do not run away from the battle-field, dislike meat, and prefer clean food at proper times, are said to be *Déw mizáj* (of a divine temper). 2. Such as possess all the good qualities of elephants, and are quick in learning, moving about the head, ears, trunk, forelegs, hind legs, and the tail, and do no one harm, except they be ordered to do so, are *Gandharba mizáj* (angelic). 3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are *Barhaman mizáj* (of a brahminical temper). 4. Such as are very strong, in good condition, fond of fighting, ungovernable, are said to have the temper of a *Khetrí*, or warrior. 5. Those which are of a low stature, and forgetful, self-willed in their own work, and neglectful in that of their master, fond of unclean food, and spiteful towards other elephants, are *Súdra mizáj*. 6. Elephants which remain hot for a long time, and are fond of playing tricks, or destructive, and lose the way, have the temper of a serpent. 7. Such as squint, and are slow to learn, or feign to be hot, have the temper of a *Pishácha* (spectre). 8. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a *Ráchhas* (demon).

The Hindus have written many books in explanation of these various tempers, as also many treatises on the diseases of the elephants, their causes and proper remedies.

Elephants are chiefly found in the Súbah of Ágrah, in the forests of Bayáwán and Narwar[1], as far as Barár; in the Súbah of Iláhábás (Allahabad), in the confines of Pattah (?), and G'horág'hát, and Ratanpúr, Nandanpúr, Sargachh, and Bustar; and in the Súbah of Málwah, near Handiyah, Uchhod, Chandérí, Santwás, Bijágarh, Ráisín, Hoshangábád, Gaḍh, Haryágaḍh; in the Súbah of Bahár, in the neighbourhood of Rahtás and Chár K'hand; and in the Súbah of Bengal, in Orissá, and Sátgáṇw (Húglí). The elephants of Pattah (?) are the best.

A herd of elephants is called in Hindí *sahn*. They vary in number; sometimes a herd amounts to a thousand elephants. Wild elephants are very cautious. In winter and summer, they select a proper place, and break down

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[1] Narwar, where Abul Fazl was subsequently murdered at the instigation of Prince Salím (Jahángír), Long. 77° 58, Lat. 25° 39′; *G'horág'hát*, near Dinagepore, Long. 89° 17′, Lat. 25° 12′; *Ratanpúr* (Abul Fazl evidently means the one south-east of Sargachh) Long. 82°, Lat. 22° 14′; *Sargachh*, Long. 83° 8′, Lat. 23° 8′; *Bustar*, Long. 81° 58′, Lat. 19° 13′. The towns from Handiyah to Haryágadh lie all between Long. 75° and 79°, and Lat. 21° and 24° (Gwáliár). For *Uchhod* (اچهود) the third book has *Uṇchhod* (اونچهود). The Fort of Rahtás, the scene of Sher Sháh's first exploit, lies Long. 84°, Lat. 24° 38′. The name *Pattah* (پته) is doubtful, each MS. having a different reading.

Wild elephants have now-a-days disappeared in nearly all the places mentioned by Abulfazl.

a whole forest near their sleeping place. For the sake of pleasure, or for food and drink, they often travel over great distances. On the journey one runs far in front of the others, like a sentinel; a young female is generally selected for this purpose. When they go to sleep, they send out to the four sides of the sleeping place pickets of four female elephants, which relieve each other.

Elephants will lift up their young ones, for three or four days after their birth, with their trunks, and put them on their backs, or lay them over their tusks. They also prepare medicines for the females when they are sick or in labour pains, and crowd round about them. When some of them get caught, the female elephants break through the nets, and pull down the elephant-drivers. And when a young elephant falls into a snare, they hide themselves in an ambush, go at night to the place where the young one is, set it at liberty, and trample the hunters to death. Sometimes its mother slowly approaches alone, and frees it in some clever way. I have heard the following story from His Majesty.—"Once a wild young one had fallen into a pit. As night had approached, we did not care to pull it out immediately, and left it; but when we came next morning near the place, we saw that some wild elephants had filled the pit with broken logs and grass, and thus pulled out the young one." Again, "Once a female elephant played us a trick. She feigned to be dead. We passed her, and went onwards; but when at night we returned, we saw no trace left of her."

There was once an elephant in the Imperial stables, named *Ayáz*. For some reason, it had got offended with the driver, and was for ever watching for an opportunity. Once at night, it found him asleep. It got hold of a long piece of wood, managed to pull off with it the man's turban, seized him by his hair, and tore him asunder.

Many examples are on record of the extraordinary cleverness of elephants; in some cases it is difficult to believe them.

Kings have always shewn a great predilection for this animal, and done every thing in their power to collect a large number. Elephant-keepers are much esteemed, and a proper rank is assigned to such as have a special knowledge of the animal. Wicked, low men see in an elephant a means of lawlessness; and unprincipled evildoers, with the help of this animal, carry on their nefarious trade. Hence kings of former times never succeeded in suppressing the rebellious, and were thus disappointed in their best intentions. But His Majesty, though overwhelmed with other important matters, has been able, through God's assistance and his numerous elephants, to check those low but haughty men; he teaches them to desire submission, and bestows upon them, by wise laws, the blessings of peace.

His Majesty divided the Imperial elephants into sections, which he

put in charge of honest Dároghahs. Certain elephants were also declared *kháçah*, *i. e.*, appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.

Áín 42.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty made a seven-fold division, based upon experience; 1. *Mast* (full blood); 2. *Shergír* (tiger-seizing); 3. *Sádah* (plain); 4. *Manjholah* (middlemost); 5. *Karha;* 6. *P'handurkiya;* 7. *Mokal.* The first class comprises young elephants, possessed of the peculiar heat which renders the animal so strong. The second class contains likewise young ones, which once or twice have given signs of perfection, and exhibit an uninterrupted alacrity. The third class comprehends useful elephants, which are nearly as good as the preceding. The fourth class contains elephants of a somewhat inferior value. Those of the fifth class are younger than those of the fourth. The elephants of the sixth class are smaller than those of the fifth. The last class contains all young ones still unfit for use.

Each class is divided into three subdivisions, viz., *large sized, middle, young* ones; the last class contains ten kinds. A certain quantity of food has been fixed for each class.

Áín 43.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO THE ELEPHANTS.

Formerly the classification of the elephants was never attended to; hence in feeding them a large quantity of the stores was wasted. But when His Majesty, soon after lifting the veil,[1] commenced to care for the happiness of his subjects, this matter was properly inquired to, and wise regulations were issued for guidance. 1. *Mast elephants.* Large ones get daily 2 *mans* 24 *sers;* middle-sized, 2 *m.* 19 *s.*; small ones, 2 *m.* 14 *s.* 2. *Shergírs.* Large ones, 2 *m.* 9 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 2 *m.* 4 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 39 *s.* 3. *Sádahs.* Large ones, 1 *m.* 34 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 1 *m.* 29 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 24 *s.* 4. *Manjholahs.* Large ones, 1 *m.* 22 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 1 *m.* 20 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 18 *s.* 5. *Karhas.* Large ones, 1 *m.* 14 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 1 *m.* 9 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 4 *s.* 6. *P'handurkiyas.* Large ones, 1 *m.*; middle-sized ones, 36 *s.*; small ones, 32 *s.* 7. *Mokals.* Large ones, 26 *s.*; middle-sized ones, 24 *s;* third class, 22 *s.*; fourth class, 20 *s.*; fifth class,

[1] The same phrase as on p. 13, l. 12. It refers to the year 1560, when Bairám fell in disgrace, and Akbar assumed the reins of the government.

18 *s.*; sixth class, 16 *s.*; seventh class, 14 *s.*; eighth class, 12 *s.*; ninth class, 10 *s.*; tenth class, 8 *s.*

Female elephants have been divided into four classes, *viz.*, large ones, middle-sized ones, small ones, Mokals. The first two classes are divided into three; the third, into four; the fourth, into nine subdivisions. 1. *Large ones.* Big, 1 *m.* 22 *s.*; middling, 1 *m.* 18 *s.*; small ones, 1 *m.* 14 *s.* 2. *Middle-sized ones.* Big, 1 *m.* 10 *s.*; middling, 1*m.* 6*s.*; small, 1*m.* 2*s.* 3. *Small ones.* Big, 37 *s.*; middling, 32 *s.*; small, 27 *s.*; still smaller, 22 *s.* 4. *Mokals.* First class, 22 *s.*; second, 20 *s.*; third, 18 *s.*; fourth, 16 *s.*; fifth, 14 *s.*; sixth, 12 *s.*; seventh, 10 *s.*; eighth, 8 *s.*; ninth, 6 *s.*

ÁÍN 44.

THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES.

1. *Mast* elephants. There are five and a half[1] servants for each, *viz.*, *first*, a *Mahâwat*, who sits on the neck of the animal and directs its movements. He must be acquainted with its good and bad properties, and thus contribute to its usefulness. He gets 200 *dáms* per month; but if the elephant be *k'huṭahar*, *i. e.*, wicked and addicted to pulling down the driver, he gets 220 *d.* *Secondly*, a *Bhoí*, who sits behind, upon the rump of the elephant, and assists in battle and in quickening the speed of the animal; but he often performs the duties of the *Mahâwat.* His monthly pay is 110 *d.* *Thirdly*, the *Met'hs*, of whom there are three and one-half, or only three in case of small elephants. A met'h fetches fodder, and assists in caparisoning the elephant. Met'hs of all classes get on the march four dáms daily, and at other times, three and a half.

2. For every *Shergir*, there are five servants, *viz.*, a Mahâwat, at 180 *d.*; a Bhoí, at 103 *d.*; and three Met'hs as before.

3. For every *Sádah*, there are four and a half servants, *viz.*, a Mahâwat, at 160 *d.*, a Bhoí at 90 *d.*; and two and a half Met'hs.

4. For every *Manjholah*, there are four servants; *viz.*, a Mahâwat, at 140 *d.*; a Bhoí, at 80 *d.*; and two Met'hs.

6. For every *Karha*, there are three and a half servants; *viz.*, a Mahâwat at 120 *d.*, a Bhoí at 70 *d.*; and one and a half Met'hs.

6. For every *P'handurkiya*, there are two servants; *viz.*, a Mahâwat, at 100 *d.*, and a Met'h.

7. For every *Mokal*, there are likewise two servants; *viz.*, a Mahâwat, at 50 *d.*, and a Met'h.

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[1] *I. e.*, either eleven servants for two elephants, or the last was a boy.

Female Elephants. 1. Large ones have four servants, *viz.*, a Mahâwat at 100 *d.*; a Bhoí, at 60 *d.*, two Met'hs. 2. Middle sized ones have three and a half servants; *viz.*, a Mahâwat, at 80 *d.*; a Bhoí, at 50 *d.*; and one and a half Met'hs. 3. Small ones have two; *viz.*, a Mahâwat, at 60 *d.*; and a Met'h. 4. Mokals have likewise two; *viz.* a Mahâwat, at 60 *d.*, and a Met'h.

The Faujdár.

His Majesty has appointed a Superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty, elephants. Such a troop is called a *halqah;* the superintendent is called *Faujdár.* His business is to look after the condition and the training of the elephants; he teaches them to be bold, and to stand firm at the sight of fire, and at the noise of artillery; and he is responsible for their behaviour in these respects. When a Faujdár is raised to the dignity of a *Çadí* (a commander of one hundred), or higher, he has twenty-five elephants assigned to himself, the other Faujdárs, as *Bistís* (commanders of twenty) and *Dahbáshís* (commanders of ten) being under his orders. The same order is followed from the *Dahbáshís* up to the *Hazárís* (commanders of one thousand). The pay of officers above the Çadí is different. Some Faujdárs have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court. A Çadí marks two horses. A *Bistí* of the first grade has 30 Rupees *per mensem;* second grade, 25 *R;* third grade, 20 *R.* A Dahbáshí of the first grade has twenty *R.;* second grade, 16 *R.;* third grade, 12 *R.* Bístís and Dahbáshís mark one horse, and belong to the *Ahadís.* Such Faujdars as have thirty or twenty-five elephants assigned to themselves, have to pay the wages of the Mahâwat and of one Bhoí of that elephant, which they select for their own use; but such as have twenty or ten, only pay for a Mahâwat.

The above arrangement regarding the servants was not thought sufficient by His Majesty, who has much experience in this matter. He therefore put several *halqahs* in charge of every grandee, and required him to look after them. The fodder also is now supplied by the government. A trustworthy clerk has, besides, been appointed, who is in charge of the correspondence of this branch; he looks after the receipts and expenditure, and sees that the orders of His Majesty are carried out. He also parades the elephants in the order described below (Áín 78).

ÁÍN 45.

THE HARNESS OF ELEPHANTS.

1. The *Dharnah* is a large chain, made of iron, gold, or silver. It is made of sixty oval links, each weighing three sers; but the chain differs in length and thickness according to the strength of the elephant. One end of

the chain is fixed in the ground, or fastened to a pillar; the other end is tied to the left hind leg of the elephant. Formerly, they fastened this chain to the forefoot; but as this is injurious for the chest of the elephant, His Majesty ordered to discontinue the usage.

2. The *Ándú* is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied. As it annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued.

3. The *Berí* is a chain for fastening both hindfeet.

4. The *Baland* is a fetter for the hindfeet, an invention of His Majesty. It allows the elephant to walk, but prevents him from running.

5. The *Gaddh berí* resembles the Ándú, and is an additional chain for the hindlegs of unruly and swift elephants.

6. The *Loh langar* is a long chain, suitable for an elephant. One end is tied to the right fore foot, and the other end to a thick log, a yard in length. This the driver keeps near him, and drops it, when the elephant runs too swiftly, or gets so unruly as no longer to obey. The chain twists round his leg, and the log will annoy the animal to such an extent that it necessarily stops. This useful invention, which has saved many lives, and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty.

7. The *Charkhí* is a piece of hollowed bamboo, half a yard and two ṭassújes long, and has a hole in the middle. It is covered with sinews and filled with gunpowder, an earthen partition dividing the powder into two halves. A fuzee wrapt in paper, is put into each end. Fixed into the hole of the bamboo at right angles is a stick, which serves as a handle. Upon fire being put to both ends, it turns round, and makes a frightful noise. When elephants fight with each other, or are otherwise unruly, a bold man on foot takes the burning bamboo into his hand, and holds it before the animals, when they will get quiet. Formerly, in order to separate two elephants that were fighting, they used to light a fire; but people had much trouble, as it seldom had the desired effect. His Majesty invented the present method, which was hailed by all.

8. *Andhiyárí, i. e.*, darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into *Ujyálí, i. e.*, light, is a piece of canvass above one and a half yards square. It is made of brocade, velvet, &c., and tied with two ends to the *Kiláwah* (*vide* next). When the elephant is unruly, it is let fall, so that he cannot see. This has been the saving of many. As it often gives way, especially when the elephant is very wild, His Majesty had three heavy bells attached to the ends of the canvass, to keep it better down. This completed the arrangement.

9. The *Kiláwah*[1] consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half

[1] This should be *Kaláwah.* Abulfazl spells the word wrong; *vide* my Text edition, p. 136, l. 16. It looks as if Abulfazl had mistaken this *Persian* word

yards long. They are laid at the side of each other, without however being interwoven among themselves, the whole being about eight fingers broad. A ring is drawn through both ends of the ropes, aud fastened where the throat of the elephant is: the elephant driver rests his feet in it, and thus sits firmly. Sometimes it is made of silk or leather. Others fix small pointed iron-spikes to the kaláwah, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head.

10. The *Dult'hí* is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a stick. This they tie over the kaláwah, to strengthen it.

11. The *Kanár* is a small pointed spike, half a yard long. This they likewise attach to the kaláwah, and prick the elephant's ears with it, in order to make the animal wild, or to urge it on.

12. The *Ḍór* is a thick rope passing from the tail to the throat. When properly tied, it is an ornament. They also catch hold of it, when the elephant makes an awkward movement. They also attach many other trappings to it.

13. The *Gadelah*, is a cushion put on the back of the elephant, below the dult'hí. It prevents galling, and is a source of comfort.

14. The *Gudauṭí* is a chain of brass. They attach it near the tail, which it prevents from getting injured by the dult'hí. It is also ornamental.

15. The *Pichwah* is a belt made of ropes, and is fastened over the buttocks of the elephant. It is a support for the *Bhoi*, and of much use to him in firing.

16. The *Chaurási* consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of broadcloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. *Piṭkachh* is the name of two chains fastened over the elephant's sides. Attached to them, a bell hangs below the belly. It is of great beauty and grandeur.

18. *Large chains.* They attach six on both sides, and three to the kaláwah, the latter being added by His Majesty.

19. *Quṭás* (the tail of the Thibetan Yak). There are about sixty, more or less, attached to the tusk, the forehead, the throat, and the neck. They are either white, or black, or pied, and look very ornamental.

20. The *Ṭayyá* consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the Ṭayyá there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it, to the kaláwah, to which both are attached.

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for a *Hindí* term; else, why should he have any spelling at all. In Vullers' Persian Dictionary, II, p. 862 *b*, read *khait* for *khat*, and *ba tanid* for his emendation (?) *tabyín*.

Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the kaláwah; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The *Quṭás* are attached here. At their lower end, there are three other chains similarly arranged. Besides, four other chains are attached to the knob; two of them, like the first, end in a knob, whilst the remaining two are tied to the tusks. To this knob again three chains are attached, two of which are tied round about the trunk, the middle one hanging down. *Quṭás* and daggers are attached to the former knobs, but the latter lies over the forehead. All this is partly for ornament, partly to frighten other animals.

21. The *Pák'har* is like an armour, and is made of steel; there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk.

22. The *Gaj-jhamp* is a covering put as an ornament above the *pák'har*. It looks grand. It is made of three folds of canvass, put together and sewn, broad ribbons being attached to the outside.

23. The *Meg'h dambar* is an awning, to shade the elephant driver, an invention by His Majesty. It also looks ornamental.

24. The *Ranpiyala* is a fillet for the forehead, made of brocade or similar stuffs, from the hem of which nice ribbons and *quṭás* hang down.

25. The *Gateli* consists of four links joined together, with three above them, and two others over the latter. It is attached to the feet of the elephant. Its sound is very effective.

26. The *Pái ranjan* consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The *Ánkus* is a small crook. His Majesty calls it *Gajbág'h*.[1] It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

28. The *Gaḍ* is a spear which has two prongs, instead of an iron point. The Bhoí makes use of it, when the elephant is refractory.

29. The *Bangri* is a collection of rings made of iron or brass. The rings are put on the tusks, and serve to strengthen as well as to ornament them.

30. The *Jagáwaṭ* resembles the *Gaḍ* (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The Bhoí uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

31. The *Jhanḍá*, or flag, is hung round with *Quṭás*, like a *togh*.[2] It is fixed to the side of the elephant.

But it is impossible to describe all the ornamental trappings of elephants.

For each *Mast* and *Shergír* and *Sádah*, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of 8½ *dáms*. Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindí *kambal*, at 10 *d.* each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 *d.*

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[1] *I. e.*, an elephant-rein. His Majesty had reason to change the name *Ánkus*, "which sounds offensive to a Persian ear." *Rashídí.* Hence the Persians pronounce it *anguzh*.

[2] *Tógh* is the same as *tóq*. *Vide* Áín 19, p. 50.

For *Manjholah* and *Karha* elephants, four of the first; three of the second; and seven of the third, are allowed. For *P'handurkiyas*, and *Mokals*, and female elephants, three of the first; two of the second; four of the third. The saddle cloth is made of cloth, lining, and stuff for edging it round about; for sewing, half a ser of cotton thread is allowed. For every *man* of grain, the *halqah dár* is allowed ten *sers* of iron for chains, &c., at 2 *d. per ser;* and for every hide, one *ser* of sesame oil, at 60 *d. per man.* Also, 5 *s.* coarse cotton thread for the *kaláwah* of the elephant on which the *Faujdár* rides, at 8 *d. per ser;* but for other elephants, the men have to make one of leather, &c., at their own expense.

A sum of twelve dáms is annually subtracted from the servants; but they get the worn out articles.

ÁÍN 46.

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S USE (KHÁÇAH).

There are one hundred and one elephants selected for the use of His Majesty. Their allowance of food is the same in quantity as that of the other elephants, but differs in quality. Most of them also get 5 *s.* of sugar, 4 *s.* of g'hí, and half a *man* of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, &c.; and some have one and a half *man*[1] of milk in addition to their grain. In the sugar-cane season, each elephant gets daily, for two months, 300 sugar-canes, more or less. His Majesty takes the place of the *Mahával.*

Each elephant requires three *bhois* in the rutting season, and two, when cool. Their monthly wages vary from 120 to 400 *d.*, and are fixed by His Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four *Met'hs.* In the *Halqahs,* female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each *kháçah* elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed. First class big female elephants have two and one-half *met'hs;* second class do., two; third class do., one and one-half; for the other classes, the same as in the *Halqahs.*

As each *Halqah* is in charge of one of the Grandees, so is every *kháçah* elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten *kháçah* elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called *Dahdídár.* They draw twelve, ten, and eight rupees *per mensem.* Besides, an active and honest superintendent is appointed for every ten elephants. He is called *Naqíb* (watcher), and has to submit a daily report, when elephants eat little, or get a shortened allowance, or in cases of sickness, or when anything unusual happens. He marks a horse, and holds the rank of an *Ahadí.* His Majesty

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[1] Liquids are sold in India by the weight.

also weekly dispatches some of the servants near him, in the proportion of one for every ten elephants, who inspect them and send in a report.

ÁÍN 47.

THE MANNER OF RIDING KHÁÇAH-ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of auspiciousness, mounts on every kind of elephants, from the first to the last class, making them, notwithstanding their almost supernatural strength, obedient to his command. His Majesty will put his foot on the tusks, and mount them, even when they are in the rutting season, and astonishes experienced people.[1]

They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment. An elephant so caparisoned, is always ready at the palace.

Whenever His Majesty mounts an elephant, a month's wages are given as a donation to the Bhoís. And when he has ridden ten elephants, the following donations are bestowed, *viz.*, the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present; the former, 100 *R.*; the Daháí, 31 *R.*; the Naqíb, 15 *R.*; the Mushrif (writer), 7½ *R.* Besides, the regal rewards given to them at times when they display a particular zeal or attentiveness, go beyond the reach of speech.

Each elephant has his match appointed for fighting: some are always ready at the palace, and engage when the order is given. When a fight is over, if the combatants were *kháçah* elephants, the bhoís receive 250 *dáms* as a present; but if other elephants, the bhoís get 200 *d.*

The *Daháídár* of kháçah elephants receives one *dám* for every rupee paid as wages to the Bhoís and Met'hs; the Mushrif is entitled to ¾ *d.*, and the Naqíb to ¼ *d.* In the case of *Halqah* elephants, the *Çadíwál*, the *Dahbáshí*, and the *Bístí*, are entitled to 1 *d.* for every rupee; and the Mushrif and the Naqíb receive the allowance given for kháçah elephants.

ÁÍN 48.

ON FINES.

In order to prevent laziness, and to ensure attentiveness, His Majesty, as for all other departments, has fixed a list of fines. On the death of a male or a female *kháçah* elephant, the *Bhoís* are fined three months' wages. If any part of the harness is lost, the Bhoís and Met'hs are fined two-

[1] Jahángír, in his Memoirs, gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect; *vide* Tuzuk, p. 16.

thirds of the value of the article; but in the case of a saddle cloth, the full price. When a female elephant dies from starvation, or through want of care, the Bhoís have to pay the cost price of the animal.

If a driver mixes drugs with the food of an elephant, to make the animal hot, and it dies in consequence thereof, he is liable to capital punishment, or to have a hand cut off, or to be sold as a slave. If it was a kháçah elephant, the Bhoís lose three months' pay, and are further suspended for one year.

Two experienced men are monthly dispatched, to enquire into the fatness or leanness of *kháçah* elephants. If elephants are found by them out of flesh, to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by the *Págosht* Regulation (*vide* Áín 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the bhoís are likewise liable to lose a month's wages. In the case of *Halqah* elephants, Ahadís are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the *Mahâwat* and the *Bhoí* are fined three months' wages. If part of an elephant's tusk is broken, and the injury reaches as far as the *kalí*—this is a place at the root of the tusks, which on being injured is apt to fester, when the tusks get hollow and become useless—a fine amounting to one-eighth of the price of the elephant is exacted, the dárogah paying two-thirds, and the Faujdár one-third. Should the injury not reach as far as the *kalí*, the fine is only one-half of the former, but the proportions are the same. But, at present, a fine of one *per cent.* has become usual; in the case of *kháçah* elephants, however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct.

ÁÍN 49.

THE IMPERIAL HORSE STABLES.

His Majesty is very fond of horses, because he believes them to be of great importance in the three branches of the government, and for expeditions of conquest, and because he sees in them a means of avoiding much inconvenience.

Merchants bring to court good horses from 'Iráq i 'Arab and 'Iráq i 'Ajam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshán, Shirwán, Qirghiz, Thibet, Kashmír, and other countries. Droves after droves arrive from Túrán and Írán, and there are now-a-days twelve thousand in the stables of His Majesty. And in like manner, as they are continually coming in, so there are others daily going out as presents, or for other purposes.

Skilful, experienced men have paid much attention to the breeding of this sensible animal, many of whose habits resemble those of man; and after a short time Hindustan ranked higher in this respect than Arabia,

whilst many Indian horses cannot be distinguished from Arabs or from 'Iráqí breed. There are fine horses bred in every part of the country; but those of Cachh excel, being equal to Arabs. It is said that a long time ago an Arab ship was wrecked and driven to the shore of Cachh; and that it had seven choice horses, from which, according to the general belief, the breed of that country originated. In the Panjáb, horses are bred resembling 'Iráqís, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum): they go by the name of *Sanúji*;[1] so also in the district of Patí Haibatpúr,[2] Bajwárah, Tahárah, in the Súbah of Ágrah, Mewát, and in the Súbah of Ajmír, where the horses have the name of *pachwariyah*. In the northern mountainous district of Hindustan, a kind of small but strong horses is bred, which are called *gúṭ*; and in the confines of Bengal, near Kúch [- Bahár], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the *gúṭ* and Turkish horses, and are called *táng'han*: they are strong and powerful.

His Majesty, from the light of his insight and wisdom, makes himself acquainted with the minutest details, and with the classification and the condition of every kind of article; he looks to the requirements of the times, and designs proper regulations. Hence he also pays much attention to every thing that is connected with this animal, which is of so great an importance for the government, and an almost supernatural means for the attainment of personal greatness.

First, he has set apart a place for horse-dealers, where they may, without delay, find convenient quarters, and be secure from the hardships of the seasons. By this arrangement, the animals will not suffer[3] from that hardness and avariciousness so often observed in dealers of the present time; nor will they pass from the hands of well intentioned merchants into those of others. But dealers who are known for their uprightness and humanity, may keep their horses where they please, and bring them at an appointed time. *Secondly*, he appointed a circumspect man to the office of an *Amín i Kárwánsará*, who from his superior knowledge and experience, keeps the dealers from the path of disobedience, and ties the mischievous tongues of such as are wicked and evasive. *Thirdly*, he has appointed a clever writer, who keeps a roll of horses that arrive and have been mustered, and who sees that the orders of His Majesty do not fall into abeyance. *Fourthly*, he has appointed trustworthy men, acquainted with the prices of horses, to examine the animals, and to fix their prices, in the order in which they are imported. His Majesty, from his goodness, generally gives

[1] Several good MSS. read *Satúji*.

[2] Haibatpúr, Lat. 29° 51', Long. 76° 2'; Tahárah, Lat. 30' 57°, Long. 75° 25'.

[3] Akbar abhorred cruelty towards domestic animals. Towards the end of his life, as shall be mentioned below, he even gave up hunting and animal fights.

half as much again above the price fixed by them, and does not keep them waiting for their money.[1]

ÁÍN 50.

THE RANKS OF THE HORSES.

There are two classes of horses: 1. *Kháçah;* 2. Those that are not *kháçah*. The *kháçah* horses are the following—six stables, each containing forty choice horses of Arabia and Persia; the stables of the princes; the stables of Turkish courier horses; the stables of horses bred in the Imperial studs. They have each a name, but do not exceed the number thirty. His Majesty rides upon horses of the six stables.

The *Second class* horses are of three kinds, *viz.*, *si-aspi*, *bist-aspi*, *dah-aspi* *i. e.*, belonging to the stables of thirty, twenty, and ten. A horse whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a *Dah-muhri* stable; those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a *Bist-muhrí* stable, and so on.

Grandees and other *Mançabdárs*, and *Senior Ahadís* are in charge of the stables. Hay and crushed grain are found by the government for all horses, except for the horse which the *Yatáqdár* (guard) of every stable is allowed to ride, and which he maintains in grain and grass at his own expense.

ÁÍN 51.

THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

A *kháçah* horse was formerly allowed eight *sers* fodder *per diem*, when the *ser* weighed twenty-eight *dáms*. Now that the *ser* is fixed at thirty *dáms*, a kháçah horse gets seven and a half sers. In winter, they give boiled peas or vetch; in summer, grain. The daily allowance includes two sers of flour, and one and a half sers of sugar. In winter, before the horse gets fresh grass, they give it half a ser of *g'hí*. Two *dáms* are daily allowed for

[1] Abulfazl mentions this very often in the Áín. Contractors generally received cheques on a local treasury; but they might be sent from there to another local treasury, unless they bribed the collector, or made over their cheques, for a *consideration*, to Maháјans (bankers). It was the same in Persia. "The clerks whose habit it is to annoy people, gave him (Wazír Mírzá Çálih, brother of the great Persian historian *Sikandar Beg*) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (muhaççil), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mírzá Rahím, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mírzá Çálih out of his wretched plight, they ruined him, in a short time, to such an extent, that they had to provide in lieu a daily subsistence allowance. He died of a broken heart." *Ṭáhir Naçrábádí's Tadzkirah.*

hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass is available. About three *big'has* of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse. When, instead of sugar, the horses get molasses, they stop the *g'hí;* and when the season of fresh grass comes, they give no grain for the first three days, but allow afterwards six *sers* of grain and two sers of molasses *per diem.* In other *'Iráqí* and *Turkí* stables, they give seven and a half sers of grain. During the cool six months of the year, they give the grain boiled, an allowance of one dám being given for boiling one *man* of it. The horses also get once a week a quarter ser of salt. When *g'hí* and fresh grass are given, each horse, provided its price be above thirty-one muhurs, gets also one ser of sugar; whilst such as are worth from twenty-one to thirty muhurs, only get half a ser. Horses of less value get no sugar at all. Before green grass is given, horses of a value from twenty-one to upwards of one hundred muhurs, get one *man* and ten sers of g'hí; such as are worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, thirty sers; but horses up to ten muhurs get neither g'hí, brown sugar, nor green oats. Salt is given at the *daily* rate one-fiftieth of a dám, though it is mostly given in a lump. 'Iráqí and Turkí horses which belong to the court, are daily allowed two *d.* for grass; but such of them as are in the country, only one and a half. In winter, each horse gets a bíg'ha of fresh oats, the price of which, at court, is 240 *d.*, and in the country, 200 *d.* At the time of fresh oats, each horse gets two *mans* of molasses, the same quantity being subtracted from the allowance of grain.

Experienced officers, attached to the Imperial offices, calculate the amount required, and make out an estimate, which in due course is paid. When a horse is sick, every necessary expense is paid on the certificate of the horse doctor.

Every stallion to a stud of mares receives the allowance of a *kháçah* horse. The *gúṭ* horses get five and a half sers of grain, the usual quantity of salt, and grass at the rate of one and a half *d.* per diem, if at court, and at the rate of $1\frac{3}{25}$ *d.*, when in the country; but they do not get g'hí, molasses, or green oats. *Qisráqs, i. e.,* female horses, get, at court, four and a half sers of grain, the usual allowance of salt, and one *d.* for grass; and in the country, the same, with the exception of the grass, for which only three fourths of a dám are allowed. Stud mares get two and three fourths sers of grain; but the allowance for grass, salt, and fuel, is not fixed.

A foal sucks its dam for three months; after which, for nine months, it is allowed the milk of two cows; then, for six months, two and three-fourths sers of grain *per diem;* after which period, the allowance is every six months increased by a ser, till it completes the third year, when its food is determined by the above regulations.

AÍN 52.

ON HARNESS, &c.

It would be difficult and tedious to describe the various ornaments, jewels, and trappings, used for the *kháçah* horses on which His Majesty rides out.

For the whole outfit of a *kháçah* horse, the allowance is 277½ *d. per annum; viz.*, an *artak*, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 *d.*; a *yálposh* (a covering for the mane) 32 *d.;* a woollen towel, 2 *d.*—these three articles are renewed every six months; in lieu of the old *artak*, half the cost price is deducted, and one-sixth for the old *yálposh—;* a saddle cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being coarse wool, 42 *d.*; halters for the *nakhtah* (headstall) and the hind feet,[1] 40 *d.;* a *pusht-tang* (girth), 8 *d.;* a *magas-rán* (a horse tail to drive away flies), 3 *d.*; a *nakhtah* and *qaizah* (the bit), 14 *d.*; a curry-comb, 1½ *d.;* a grain bag, 6 *d.*; a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 1 *d.*[2] These articles are given *annually*, and fifteen dáms, ten *jetals*, subtracted in lieu of the old ones.

In the other stables, the allowance for horses whose value is not less than twenty-one muhurs, is 196½ *d. per annum*, the rate of the articles being the same. Twenty-five and a half dáms are subtracted in lieu of the old articles.

In stables of horses worth twenty to eleven muhurs, the annual allowance is 155¼ *d.; viz.*, for the *artak*, 39¾ *d.;* the *yálposh*, 27¼ *d.;* a coarse saddle cloth, 30 *d.;* the girth, 6 *d.;* the *nakhtah* and *qaizah*, 10 *d.*, and the *nakhtah* ropes and feet-ropes, 32 *d.*; the *magasrán*, 2 *d.*; a towel, 1½ *d.*; a curry-comb, 1¼ *d.*; a basket, 1 *d.*; a grain bag, 4½ *d.* Twenty dáms are subtracted for the old articles.

For horses worth up to ten muhurs, and *qisráqs*, and *gúṭ*, the allowance is 117¼ *d.*;[3] *viz.*, an *artak*, 37 *d.*; a *yálposh*, 24½ *d.*; a *jul*, 24 *d.*; a *nakhtah band* and a *páiband*, 8 *d.*; a *nakhtah* and *qaizah*, 8 *d.*; a *pusht-tang*, 5 *d.*; a *magasrán* and a towel, each 1½ *d.*; a curry-comb, 1¼ *d.*; a basket, 1 *d.*; a grain bag, 4½ *d.* The amount subtracted is the same as before.

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[1] In consequence of the climate, horses are kept, in the East, much more outside than in the stables. When being cleaned or fed, each of the hindlegs is fastened by means of a rope to a peg in the ground. In the case of wicked horses, a rope is attached to each side of the head stall, and fastened, like tent ropes, to pegs in the ground. Native grooms in feeding horses, generally squat on the ground, pushing the grain in the basket towards the mouth of the horse. The word *nakhtah*, which, like hundreds of other words, is not given in our dictionaries, is generally pronounced *nuqtah*. Similarly, *qaizah* is pronounced *qáizah; vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, I. p. 36 b. c.

[2] Altogether 196½ *d.*, and 81 *d.* on account of the first three articles renewed after *six months*. The deduction in lieu of old articles refers, of course, to the wages of the grooms.

[3] The items added only give 116¼ *d.*

ards the mouth of the horse. The [illegible]

1. The *Karáh* is an iron vessel for boiling grain sufficient for ten horses. The price of a *karáh* is at the rate of one hundred and forty dáms *per man* of iron; but this includes the wages of the maker. 2. The *Missín Satl*, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten *kháçah* horses. The price of making one is 140 *d.* For other horses, as in the stables of thirty, &c., there is only one. 3. The *Kamand* is a halter, attached to iron pegs, for fastening the horses. In stables of forty, there are three; in stables of thirty, two; in others, one. The weight of a halter is half a *man*; its cost price is 140 *d.*, and 16 *d.* the wages of the rope maker. 4. The *Khanin mekh*, or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five sers, and costs 15 *d.* 5. The *Tabartukhmáq*, or hammer, weighs five *sers*, and is used for fixing the iron pegs. There is one in every stable.

All broken and old utensils of brass and iron, in the *kháçah* stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dároghahs; and when they are past mending, their present value is deducted, and the difference paid in cash. In other stables, a deduction of one-half of their value is made every third year.

6. *Na'l*, or horseshoes, are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight dáms were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. *Kúndlán*. One is allowed for ten horses.[1] The price of it is 80¾ *R.*

ÁÍN 53.

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The *Átbegí* is in charge of all horses belonging to the government. He directs all officers charged with the management of the horses. This office is one of the highest of the State, and is only held by grandees of high rank: at present it is filled by the *Khán Khánán*[2] (Commander-in-Chief). 2. The *Dároghah*. There is one appointed for each stable. This post may be held by officers of the rank of commanders of five thousand down to Senior Ahadís. 3. The *Mushrif*, or accountant. He keeps the roll of the horses, manages all payments and fines, sees that His Majesty's orders are

[1] This appears to be the same as the *Hind.* کوندلا, which our meagre dictionaries describe as "a kind of tent."

[2] Or *Mírzá Khán Khánán, i. e.*, 'Abdurrahím, son of Bairám Khán; *vide* List of Grandees, IInd book, No. 29.

carried out, and prepares the estimate of the stores required for this department. He is chosen from among the grandees. 4. The *Dídahwar*, or inspector. Their duty is occasionally to inspect the horses, before they are mustered by His Majesty; they also determine the rank and the condition of the horses. Their reports are taken down by the Mushrif. This office may be held by Mansabdárs or Ahadís. 5. The *Akhtachis* look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadís. 6. The *Chábuksuwár* rides the horses, and compares their speed with the road, which is likewise taken down by the Mushrif. He receives the pay of an Ahadí. 7. The *Hádá.* This name is given to a class of Rájpúts, who teach horses the elementary steps. Some of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadís. 8. The *Mírdahah* is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an Ahadí: but in other *kháçah* stables, he only gets 170 *d.*; in the country-bred stables, 160 *d.*; in the other *Síaspi* stables, 140 *d.*; in the *Bístaspí* stables, 100 *d.*; and in the *Dah-aspí* stables, 30 *d.* Besides he has to look after two horses. 9. The *Baiṭár*, or horse-doctor, gets the pay of an Ahadí. 10. The *Naqíb*, or watcher. Some active, intelligent men are retained for supervision. They report the condition of each stable to the Dároghahs and the Mushrif, and it is their duty to have the cattle in readiness. The two head Naqíbs are Ahadís, and they have thirty people under them, who receive from 100 to 120 *d.* 11. The *Sáis*, or groom. There is one groom for every two horses. In the *Chihilaspi* stables, each groom gets 170 *d.*; in the stables of the eldest prince, 138 *d.*; in the stables of the other princes, and in the courier horse stables, 136 *d.*; in the country bred stables, 126 *d.*; in the other *Síaspí* stables, 106 *d.*; in the *Bístaspí* stables, 103 *d.*; and in the *Dahaspí* stables, 100 *d.* 12. The *Jílaudár* (*vide Ẃín* 60) and the *Paik* (a runner). Their monthly pay varies from 1200 to 120 *d.*, according to their speed and manner of service. Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred *kroh* (kos) *p. day.* 13. The *Na'lband*, or farrier. Some of them are Ahadís, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 *d.* 14. The *Zíndár*, or *saddle holder*, has the same rank and pay as the preceding. In the Kháçah stable of forty horses, one saddle is allowed for every two horses, in the following manner: for the first and twenty-first; for the second and twenty-second, and so on. If the first horse is sent out of the stable, the saddle remains at its place, and what was the second horse becomes first, and the second saddle falls to the third horse, and so on to the end. If a horse out of the middle leaves, its saddle is given to the preceding horse. 15. The *Ábkash*, or water-carrier. Three are allowed in the stables of forty; two in stables of thirty, and only one in other stables. The monthly pay is 100 *d.* 16. The *Farrásh* (who dusts the furniture). There is one in every *kháçah* stable. His pay is 130 *d.*

17. A *Sipandsoz*[1] is only allowed in the stables of forty horses; his pay is 100 *d*.

18. The *Khákrúb*, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan *Halálkhur*;[2] His Majesty brought this name *en vogue*. In stables of forty, there are two; in those of thirty and twenty, one. Their monthly pay is 65 *d*.

During a march, if the *dároghahs* are in receipt of a fixed allowance for coolies, they entertain some people to lead the horses. In the stables of thirty horses, fifteen are allowed. And in the same proportion does the government appoint coolies, when a dároghah has not received the extra allowance. Each cooly gets two dáms *per diem*.

ÁÍN 54.

THE BÁRGÍR.

His Majesty, from the regard which he pays to difference in rank, believes many fit for cavalry service, though he would not trust them with the keeping of a horse. For these he has told off separate stables, with particular Dároghahs and Mushrifs. When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the *Bitikchi* (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted is called a *Bárgírsuwár*.

ÁÍN 55.

REGULATIONS FOR BRANDING HORSES.

In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for sometime marked with the word نظر (*nazar* sight), sometimes with the word داغ (*dágh*, mark), and sometimes with the

[1] The seeds of *sipand* (in *Hind.* sarson, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (*nazar i bad, chashm rasídan*), which is even dangerous for Akbar's choice horses. The seeds burn away slowly, and emit a crackling sound. The man who burns them, is called *Sipandsóz*. *Vide* the poetical extracts of the IInd book, under *Shikebí*. Instead of Sipand, grooms sometimes keep a monkey over the entrance of the stable. The influence of the evil eye passes from the horses to the ugly monkey.

Another remedy consists in nailing old horse shoes to the gates of the stables. Hundreds of such shoes may still be seen on the gates in Fathpúr Síkrí.

[2] Akbar was very fond of changing names which he thought offensive, or of giving new names to things which he liked; *vide* p. 46, l. 28; p. 55, l. 18; p. 65, l. 16; p. 90, l. 22; also Forbes' Dictionary under *rangtará*. *Halálkhur*, *i. e.*, one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for *harámkhur*, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, &c. The word *halálkhur* is still in use among educated Muhammadans; but it is doubtful whether it was Akbar's invention. The word in common use for a sweeper is *mihtar*, a prince, which like the proud title of *khalífah*, now-a-days applied to cooks, tailors, &c., is an example of the irony of fate.

numeral v (seven).[1] Every horse that was received by government had the mark burnt on the right cheek; and those that were returned, on the left side. Sometimes, in the case of *'Iráqí* and *Mujannas*[2] horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek; and in the case of Turkí and Arab horses, on the left. Now-a-days the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals. Thus, a horse of ten muhurs, is marked with the numeral ten; those of twenty muhurs, have a twenty, and so on. When horses, at the time of the musters, are put into a higher or a lower grade, the old brand is removed.

ÁÍN 56.

REGULATIONS FOR KEEPING UP THE FULL COMPLEMENT OF HORSES.

Formerly, whenever there had been taken away either ten horses from the stables of forty, or from the stud-bred horses, or five from the courier horses, they were replaced in the following manner. The deficiency in the stables of forty was made up from horses chosen from the stables of the princes; the stud-bred horses were replaced by other stud bred ones, and the courier horses from other stables. Again, if there were wanting fifteen horses in the stables of the eldest prince (Salím), they were replaced by good horses of his brothers; and if twenty were wanting in the stables of the second prince (Murád), the deficiency was made up by horses taken from the stables of the youngest prince and from other stables; and if twenty-five were wanting in the stables of the youngest prince (Dányál), the deficiency was made up from other good stables.

But in the thirty-seventh year of the Divine Era (A. D. 1593), the order was given that, in future, one horse should annually be added to each stable. Thus, when, in the present year, the deficiency in the *kháçah* stables had come up to eleven, they commenced to make up the complement, the deficiency of the other stables being made up at the time of the muster parades.

ÁÍN 57.

ON FINES.

When a *kháçah* horse dies, the Dároghah has to pay one rupee, and the Mírdahah ten *d.*, upon every muhur of the cost price; and the

[1] Vide Áíns 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in A. H. 981, A. D. 1573, when Shahbáz had been appointed *Mír Bakhshí*. He followed the regulations of 'Aláuddín Khiljí and Sher Sháh; *vide* Badáoní, pp. 173, 190.

[2] *Mujannas, i. e.*, put nearly equal (to an *Iráqí* horse); *vide* IInd book, Áín 2.

grooms lose one-fourth of their monthly wages. When a horse is stolen, or injured, His Majesty determines the fine, as it cannot be uniform in each case.

In the other stables, they exacted from the Dároghah for a single horse that dies, one rupee upon every muhur; for two horses, two rupees upon every muhur; and from the Mírdahah and the grooms the above proportions. But now, they take one rupee upon every muhur for one to three horses that die; and two upon every muhur, for four horses; and three upon every muhur, for five.

If the mouth of a horse gets injured, the Mírdahah is fined ten dáms upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms.

ÁÍN 58.

ON HORSES KEPT IN READINESS.

There are always kept in readiness two *kháçah* horses; but of courier-horses, three, and one of each stable from the seventy muhurs down to the ten muhur stables and the *Gúṭs*. They are formed into four divisions, and each division is called a *misl*.

First misl, one from the *chihilaspí* stables; one from the stable of the eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of *kháçah* courier horses. *Second misl*, one from the stable of the youngest prince; one from the studbred; one from the chihilaspí stables; one courier horse. *Third misl*, one horse from the stables of the three princes; one stud bred. *Fourth misl*, one horse from each of the stables of horses of forty, thirty, twenty, and ten muhurs.

His Majesty rides very rarely on horses of the fourth misl. But when prince Sháh Murád joined his appointment,[1] His Majesty also rode the best horses of the stables of forty muhurs. The arrangement was then as follows. *First misl*, one horse from the stables of forty; one horse from the stables of the eldest and the youngest prince, and a courier horse. *Second misl*, stud bred horses from the stables of horses above seventy muhurs; *kháçah* horses of forty muhurs, and courier horses. *Third misl*,

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[1] "Prince Murád, in the beginning of the fortieth year (1596) of Akbar's reign, was put in command of the army of Gujrát, and ordered to take Ahmadnagar. But when, some time after, Akbar heard that Murad's army was in a wretched condition, chiefly through the carelessness and drunken habits of the prince, the emperor resolved to go himself (43rd year), and dispatched Abulfazl, to bring the prince back to court. Abulfazl came just in time, to see the prince die, who from the preceding year had been suffering from epileptic fits (*çar'*, delirium tremens ?) brought on by habitual drunkenness." *Mir-át.*

one horse from the stables of each of the two princes, the stud bred, and the seventy muhur horses. *Fourth misl,* horses from the stables of sixty, forty, and thirty muhurs.

Horses are also kept in readiness from the stables of twenty and ten muhurs and the *Gúṭs.*

Áín 59.

ON DONATIONS.

Whenever His Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six *kháçah* stables, he gives something, according to a fixed rule, with the view of increasing the zeal and desire for improvement among the servants. For some time it was a rule that, whenever he rode out on a *kháçah* horse, a rupee should be given, *viz.*, one dám to the Átbegí, two to the Jilaudár; eighteen and one-half to the grooms, the rest being shared by the Mushrif, the Naqíb, the Akhtachí, and the Zíndár. In the case of horses belonging to the stables of the eldest prince, thirty dáms were given, each of the former recipients getting a quarter of a dam less. For horses belonging to stables of the second prince, twenty dáms were given, the donations decreasing by the same fraction; and for horses belonging to the stables of the youngest prince, as also for courier horses, and stud-breds, ten dáms, according to the same manner of distribution.

Now, the following donations are given:—For a horse of a stable of forty, one rupee as before; for a horse belonging to a stable of the eldest prince, twenty dáms; for a horse belonging to the youngest prince, ten dáms; for courier horses, five; for stud breds, four; for horses of the other stables, two.

Áín 60.

REGULATIONS FOR THE JILAWÁNAH.[1]

Whenever a horse is given away as a present, the price of the horse is calculated fifty *per cent.* higher, and the recipient has to pay ten dáms upon every muhur of the value of the horse. These ten dáms *per muhur* are

[1] *Jilau* is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called *janíbah.* The adjective *jilawánah,* which is not in the dictionaries, means *referring to a led horse.* We have to write *jilawánah,* not *jilaudnah,* according to the law of the Persian language, to break up a final diphthong in derivatives; as *na-ín, jawín,* from *nai, jau,* not *nai-ín,* or *jau-ín.* The *jilaudár,* or *janíbahdar,* or *janíbahkash,* is the servant who leads the horse. The *jilaubegí* is the superintendent of horses selected for presents. The *tahçíldár* collects the fee.

divided as follows :—The Átbegí gets five dáms ; the Jilaubegí, two and a half ; the Mushrif, one and a quarter ; the Naqíbs, nine jetals ; the grooms, a quarter dám ; the Tahçíldár, fifteen jetals ; the remainder is equally divided among the Zíndár and Akhtachí.

In this country, horses commonly live to the age of thirty years. Their price varies from 500 muhurs to 2 Rupees.

ÁÍN 61.

THE CAMEL STABLES.

From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shewn a great liking for this curiously shaped animal ; and as it is of great use for the three branches of the government, and well known to the emperor for its patience under burdens, and for its contentment with little food, it has received every care at the hands of His Majesty. The quality of the country breed improved very much, and Indian camels soon surpassed those of Írán and Túrán.

From a regard to the dignity of his court, and the diversion of others, His Majesty orders camel-fights, for which purpose several choice animals are always kept in readiness. The best of these *kháçah* camels, which is named *Sháhpasand* (approved of by the Sháh), is a country bred twelve years old : it overcomes all its antagonists, and exhibits in the manner in which it stoops down and draws itself up, every finesse of the art of wrestling.

Camels are numerous near Ajmír, Jodhpúr, Nágór, Bíkánir, Jaisalmír, Batinḍá, and Bhaṭnír ; the best are bred in the Súbah of Gujrát, near Cachh. But in Sind is the greatest abundance : many inhabitants own ten thousand camels and upwards. The swiftest camels are those of Ajmír ; the best for burden are bred in T'hat'hah.

The success[1] of this department depends on the *Arwánahs*, *i. e.*, female camels. In every country, they get hot in winter, and couple. The male of two humps goes by the name of *Bughur*. The young ones of camels are called *nar* (male), and *máyah* (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the *nar* the name of *Bughdí*, and to the female that of *Jammázah*. The *bughdí* is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting ; the *jammázah* excels in swiftness. The Indian camel called *Lok*, and its female, come close to them in swiftness, and even surpass them. The offspring of a *bughur* and a *jammázah* goes by the name of *g'hurd ;* the female is called *máyah*

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[1] In the text *máyah*, which also means *a female camel*—a very harmless pun. *Vide* Dr. Sprenger's Gulistán, preface, p. 6. Regarding the word *bughur* vide Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 59.

g'hurd. If a *bughdí*, or a *lok*, couples with a *jammázah*, the young one is called *bughdí* or *lok* respectively. But if a *bughdí* or a *lok* couples with an *arwánah*, the young male is named after its sire, and the young female after its dam. The *lok* is considered superior to the *g'hurd*, and the *máyah g'hurd.*

When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into *qaṭárs* (strings), each *qaṭár* consisting of five camels. The first camel of each *qaṭár* is called *peshang*;[1] the second, *peshdarah*; the third, *miyánah qaṭár*; the fourth, *dumdast*; the last camel, *dumdár*.

ÁÍN 62.

THE FOOD OF CAMELS.

The following is the allowance of such *bughdís* as are to carry burdens. At the age of two and a half, or three years, when they are taken from the herd of the stud dams, a *bughdí* gets 2 *s.* of grain; when three and a half to four years old, 5 *s.*; up to seven years, 9 *s.*; at eight years, 10 *s.* The same rule applies to *bughurs*. Similarly in the case of jammázahs, g'hurds, máyah g'hurds, and loks, up to four years of age; but from the fourth to the seventh year, they get 7 *s.*; and at the age of eight years, 7½ *s.*, at the rate of 28 *dáms* p. ser. As the ser has now 30 *dáms*, a corresponding deduction is made in the allowance. When *bughdís* are in heat, they eat less. Hence also concession is made, if they get lean, to the extent of 10 *s.*, according to the provisions of the *Págosht* rule (Áín 83); and when the rutting season is over, the Dároghahs give out a corresponding extra allowance of grain, to make up for the former deficiency. If they have made a definite entry into their day-book, and give out more food, they are held indemnified according the *Págosht* rule; and similarly in all other cases, note is taken of the deductions according to that rule.

At Court, camels are found in grass by the government for eight months. Camels on duty inside the town, are daily allowed grass at the rate of 2 *d.* per head; and those outside the town, 1½ *d.* During the four rainy months, and on the march, no allowance is given, the drivers taking the camels to meadows to graze.

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[1] So according to the best MSS. The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of *pesh-áhang*, the leader of a troop. *Peshdarah* means 'in front of the *belly*, or middle, of the *qaṭár*.'

A'ÍN 63.

THE HARNESS OF CAMELS.

The following articles are allowed for *kháçah* camels:—an *Afsár* (head stall); a *Dum-afsár*, (crupper); a *Mahár kát'hi* (furniture resembling a horse-saddle, but rather longer,—an invention of His Majesty); a *kúchí* (which serves as a saddle-cloth); a *Qaṭárchi;* a *Sarbchi;*[1] a *Tang* (a girth); a *Sartang* a (head-strap); a *Shebband* (a loin-strap); a *Jaláïl* (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a *Gardanband* (a neckstrap); three *Chádars* (or coverings) made of broadcloth, or variegated canvass, or waxcloth. The value of the jewels, inlaid work, trimmings, and silk, used for adorning the above articles, goes beyond description.

Five *qaṭárs* of camels, properly caparisoned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a *Mihaffah*, which is a sort of wooden turret, very comfortable, with two poles, by which it is suspended, at the time of travelling, between two camels.

A camel's furniture is either coloured or plain. For every ten *qaṭárs*, they allow three *qaṭárs* coloured articles.

For *Bughdís*, the cost of the [coloured] furniture is 225¾ *d.*, *viz.*, a head-stall studded with shells, 20½ *d.*; a brass ring, 1½ *d.*; an iron chain, 4½ *d.*; a *kallagí* (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 *d.*; a *pushtpozi* (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 *d.*; a *dum-afsár* (a crupper), 1½ *d.*; for a *takaltú* (saddle quilt) and a *sarbchí*, both of which require 5 sers of cotton, 20 *d.*; a *jul* (saddle-cloth), 68 *d.*; a *jaház i gajkárí*,[2] which serves as a *mahárkát'hí* (*vide* above), 40 *d.*: a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulúband* (throat-strap), 24 *d.*; a *ṭanáb* (long rope) for securing the burden—camel-drivers call this rope *ṭáqah ṭanáb*, or *kharwár*—38 *d.*; a *bálápush*, or covering, 15 *d.*[3]

For *Jammázahs*, two additional articles are allowed, *viz.*, a *gardanband*, 2 *d.*; and a *sínah band* (chest-strap), 16 *d.*

The cost of a set of plain furniture for *Bughdís* and *Jammázahs* amounts to 168½ *d.*, *viz.*, an *afsár*, studded with shells, 10 *d.*; a *dum-afsár*, ½ *d.*; a *jaház*,

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[1] The meaning is doubtful. The Arab. *sarb*, like *qiṭár*, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that *sarbchí* is a sort of quilt.

[2] *Gajkárí* appears to be the correct reading. The Arab. *jaház* means *whatever is upon a camel*, especially *the saddle and its appurtenances*, generally made of coarse canvass, steeped in lime (*gaj*). Hence *gajkarí*, white-washed.

[3] These items added up give 246 *d.*, not 225¾, as stated by Abulfazl. When discrepancies are slight, they will be found to result from a rejection of the fractional parts of the cost of articles. The difference of 20¼ *d.* in this case can only have resulted from an omission on the part of the author, because all MSS. agree in the several items. Perhaps some of the articles were not exchanged *triennially*, but had to last a longer time.

16½ *d.*; a *jul*, 52½ *d.*; a *tang*, a *shebband*, and *gulúband*, 24 *d.*; a *ṭáqah ṭanáb*, 37½ *d.*; a *báláposh*, 28 *d.*[1]

For *Loks*, the allowance for furniture is 143 *d.*, *viz.*, an *afsár*, *jaház*, *kharwár*, according to the former rates; a *jul*, 37½ *d.*; a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulúband*, 14½ *d.*; a *báláposh*, 28 *d.*[2]

The coloured and plain furniture is renewed once in three years, but not so the iron bands and the wood work. In consideration of the old coloured furniture of every *qaṭár*, sixteen *dáms*, and of plain furniture, fourteen *dáms*, are deducted by the Government. At the end of every three years, they draw out an estimate, from which one-fourth is deducted; then after taking away one-tenth of the remainder, an assignment is given for the rest.[3]

'Alafí camels (used for foraging) have their furniture renewed annually, at the cost of 52½ *d.* for countrybred camels and *loks*, *viz.*, [for countrybred camels] an *afsár*, 5 *d.*; a *jul*, 36½ *d*; a *sardoz*, ½ *d.*; a *tang*, and a *shebband*, 10¾ *d.*;[4] and [for *loks*], an *afsár*, a *tang*, and a *shebband*, as before; a *jul*, 45¾ *d.*; a *sardoz*, ¾ *d.*

From the annual estimate one-fourth is deducted, and an assignment is given for the remainder.

Shalítah ṭáṭs, or canvass sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every *qaṭár*, at a price of 30¾ *d.* for *bughdís* and *jammázahs*, and 24½ *d.* for *loks*.

Hitherto the cost of these articles had been uniformly computed and fixed by contract with the camel-drivers. But when in the forty-second year of the divine era [1598 A. D.], it was brought to the notice of His Majesty that these people were, to a certain extent, losers, this regulation was abolished, and the current market price allowed for all articles. The price is therefore no longer fixed.

On every New Year's day, the head camel-drivers receive permission for shearing the camels, anointing them with oil, injecting oil into the noses of the animals, and indenting for the furniture allowed to *'Alafí* camels.

Á'ÍN 64.

REGULATIONS FOR OILING CAMELS, AND INJECTING OIL INTO THEIR NOSTRILS.

The scientific terms for these operations are *taṭliyah* and *tajrí'*, though we might expect *taṭliyah* and *tanshíq*, because *tanshíq* means *injecting into the nose.*

[1] These items added up give 169 *d.*, instead of Abulfazl's 168½ *d.*

[2] The items added up give 144 *d.*, instead of Abulfazl's 143 *d.*

[3] Hence the Government paid, as a rule, $\frac{9}{10} \times \frac{3}{4} = \frac{27}{40}$ of the estimates presented.

[4] The addition gives 52¾ *d.* instead of 52½. The following items, for *loks*, give added up 62¼.

For each *Bughdí* and *Jammázah* 3¾ sers of sesame oil are annually allowed, *viz.*, three sers for anointing, and ¾ ser for injection into the nose. So also ¾ *s.* of brimstone, and 6¼ *s.* of butter-milk. For other kinds of camels the allowance is ⅝ *s.* of brimstone, 6¼ *s.* of butter-milk, and ¾ *s.* of grease for injecting into the nose-holes.

Formerly these operations were repeated three times, but now only once a year.

ÁÍN 65.

THE RANKS OF THE CAMELS, AND THEIR SERVANTS.

His Majesty has formed the camels into *qaṭárs*, and given each *qaṭár* in charge of a *sárbán*, or driver. Their wages are four-fold. The first class get 400 *d.*; the second, 340 *d.*; the third, 280 *d.*; the fourth, 220 *d.*, *per mensem.*

The *qaṭárs* are of three kinds—1. Every five *qaṭárs* are in charge of an experienced man, called *bistopanjí*, or commander of twenty-five. His salary is 720 *d.* He marks a *Yábú* horse, and has four drivers under him. 2. Double the preceding, or ten *qaṭárs*, are committed to the care of a *Panjáhí*, or commander of fifty. He is allowed a horse, draws 960 *d.*, and has nine drivers under him. 3. Every hundred *qaṭárs* are in charge of a *Panjçadí*, or commander of five hundred. Ten *qaṭárs* are under his personal superintendence. With the exception of one *qaṭár*, Government finds drivers for the others. The *Panjáhís*, and *Bistopanjís* are under his orders. Their salary varies: now-a-days many Yúzbáshís[1] are appointed to this post. One camel is told off for the *farráshes*. A writer also has been appointed. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each *Pançadí* under a grandee of the court. Several active foot-soldiers have been selected, to enquire from time to time into the condition of the camels, so that there may be no neglect. Besides, twice a year some people adorned with the jewel of insight, inspect the camels as to their leanness or fatness, at the beginning of the rains, and at the time of the annual muster.

Should a camel get lost, the *Sárbán* is fined the full value; so also the *Panjáhí* and the *Pançadí*. If a camel get lame or blind, they are fined the fourth part of the price.

Raíbárí.

Raíbárí is the name given to a class of Hindus who are acquainted with the habits of the camel. They teach the country bred *lok* camel so to step as to pass over great distances in a short time. Although from the capital

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[1] Corresponding to our Captains of the Army, commanders of 100 soldiers.

to the frontiers of the empire, into every direction, relay horses are stationed, and swift runners have been posted at the distance of every five *kos*, a few of these camel riders are kept at the palace in readiness. Each *Raibári* is also put in charge of fifty stud arwánahs, to which for the purpose of breeding, one *bughur* and two *loks* are attached. The latter (the males) get the usual allowance of grain, but nothing for grass. The fifty *arwánahs* get no allowance for grain or grass. For every *bughur*, *bughdi*, and *jammázah*, in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils, is 4 *s.* of sesame oil, ¾ *s.* of brimstone, 6½ *s.* of butter milk. The first includes ¾ *s.* of oil for injection. *Loks*, *arwánahs*, *g'hurds*, and *máyah g'hurds*, only get 3⅝ *s.* of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection,—6½ *s.* of butter milk, and ⅝ *s.* of brimstone.

Botahs and *Dumbálahs*—these names are given to young camels; the former is used for light burdens—are allowed 2½ *s.* of oil, inclusive of ½ *s.* for injection into the nostrils, ½ *s.* of brimstone, and 4½ *s.* of butter-milk.

Full grown stud camels get weekly ½ *s.* of saltpetre and common salt; *botahs* get ¼ *s.*

The wages of a herdsman is 200 *d. per mensem.* For grazing every fifty stud camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 *d. per diem.* A herdsman of two herds of fifty is obliged to present His Majesty three *arwánahs* every year; on failure, their price is deducted from his salary.

Formerly the state used to exact a fourth part of the wool sheared from every *bughdi* and *jammázah*, each camel being assessed to yield four sers of wool. This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with *dum-afsárs*, wooden pegs, &c.

The following are the prices of camels:—a *bughdi*, from 5 to 12 Muhurs; a *jammázah*, from 3 to 10 *M.*; a *bughur*, from 3 to 7 *M.*; a mongrel *lok*, from 8 to 9 *M.*; a country-bred, or a Balúchí *lok*, from 3 to 8 *M.*; an *arwánah*, from 2 to 4 *M.*

His Majesty has regulated the burdens to be carried by camels. A first class *bughdi*, not more than 10 *mans*; a second class do., 8 *m.*; superior *jammázahs*, *loks*, &c., 8 *m.*; second class do, 6 *m.*

In this country, camels do not live above twenty-four years.

ÁÍN 66.

THE GÁOKHÁNAH OR COW-STABLES.

Throughout the happy regions of Hindustan, the cow is considered auspicious, and held in great veneration; for by means of this animal, tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life is rendered possible, and the table of

the inhabitant is filled with milk, butter-milk, and butter. It is capable of carrying burdens and drawing wheeled carriages, and thus becomes an excellent assistant for the three branches of the government.

Though every part of the empire produces cattle of various kinds, those of Gujrát are the best. Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhurs. They will travel 80 kos [120 miles] in 24 hours, and surpass even swift horses. Nor do they dung whilst running. The usual price is 20 and 10 muhurs. Good cattle are also found in Bengal and the Dakh'in. They kneel down at the time of being loaded. The cows give upwards of half a *man* of milk. In the province of Dihlí again, cows are not more worth than 10 Rupees. His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of *dáms* [5000 Rupees].

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmír, the *Qaṭás*, or Thibetan Yak, occurs, an animal of extraordinary appearance.

A cow will live to the age of twenty-five.

From his knowledge of the wonderful properties of the cow, His Majesty, who notices every thing which is of value, pays much attention to the improvement of cattle. He divided them into classes, and committed each to the charge of a merciful keeper. One hundred choice cattle were selected as *kháçah*, and called *kotal*. They are kept in readiness for any service, and forty of them are taken unladen on hunting expeditions, as shall be mentioned below (Book II, Áín 27.). Fifty-one others nearly as good are called half-*kotal*, and fifty-one more, quarter-*kotal*. Any deficiency in the first class is made up from the second, and that of the middle from the third. But these three form the cow-stables for His Majesty's use.

Besides, sections of cattle have been formed, each varying in number from 50 to 100, and committed to the charge of honest keepers. The rank of each animal is fixed at the time of the public muster, when each gets its proper place among sections of equal rank. A similar proceeding is adopted for each section, when selected for drawing waggons and travelling carriages, or for fetching water (*vide* Áín 22).

There is also a species of oxen, called *gainí*, small like *gúṭ* horses, but very beautiful.

Milk-cows and buffaloes have also been divided into sections, and handed over to intelligent servants.

ÁÍN 67.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.

Every head of the first *kháçah* class is allowed daily 6½ *s.* of grain, and 1½ *d.* of grass. The whole stable gets daily 1 *man*, 19 *s.* of molasses, which

is distributed by the Dárogah, who must be a man suitable for such a duty and office. Cattle of the remaining *kháçah* classes get daily 6 *s.* of grain, and grass as before, but no molasses are given.

In other cow-stables, the daily allowance is as follows. First kind, 6 *s.* of grain, 1½ *d.* of grass at court, and otherwise only 1 *d.* The second kind get 5 *s.* of grain, and grass as usual. The oxen used for travelling carriages get 6 *s.* of grain, and grass as usual. First class *gainis* get 3 *s.* of grain, and 1 *d.* of grass at court, otherwise only ¾ *d.*. Second class do., 2½ *s.* of grain, and ¾ *d.* of grass at court, otherwise only ½ *d.*

A male buffalo (called *Arnah*) gets 8 *s.* of wheat flour boiled, 2 *s.* of g'hí, ½ *s.* of molasses, 1½ *s.* of grain, and 2 *d.* of grass. This animal, when young, fights astonishingly, and will tear a lion to pieces. When this peculiar strength is gone, it reaches the second stage, and is used for carrying water. It then gets 8 *s.* of grains, and 2 *d.* for grass. Female buffaloes used for carrying water get 6 *s.* of grain, and 2 *d.* for grass. First class oxen for leopard-waggons[1] get 6¼ *s.* of grain; and other classes, 5 *s.* of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 *s.* of grain, and 1½ *d.* for grass; but now they get a quarter ser less, and grass as before.

The milk-cows and buffaloes, when at court, have grain given them in proportion to the quantity of milk they give. A herd of cows and buffaloes is called *ṭ'háṭ*. A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 *s.* of milk; a buffalo from 2 to 30 *s.* The buffaloes of the Panjáb are the best in this respect. As soon as the quantity of milk given by each cow has been ascertained, there are demanded two dáms weight of g'hí for every ser of milk.

ÁI'N 68.

THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW-STABLES.

In the *kháçah* stables, one man is appointed to look after four head of cattle. Eighteen such keepers in the first stable get 5 *d. per diem*, and the remaining keepers, 4 *d.* In other stables, the salary of the keepers is the same, but each has to look after six cows. Of the carriage drivers, some get their salaries on the list of the Ahadís; others get 360 *d.*, others 256 *d.* down to 112 *d.* *Bahals*, or carriages, are of two kinds:—1. *Chatrídár* or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the *chatr*, or umbrella); 2. without a covering. Carriages suited for horses are called *g'hurbahals*. For every ten waggons, 20 drivers and 1 carpenter are allowed.

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[1] Carriages for the transport of trained hunting leopards. *Vide* Book II, Áín 27.

The head driver, or *Mírdahah*, and the carpenter, get each 5 *d. per diem;* the others, 4 *d*. For some time 15 drivers had been appointed, and the carpenter was disallowed: the drivers themselves undertook the repairs, and received on this account an annual allowance of 2200 *dáms* [55 Rupees.]

If a horn of an ox was broken, or the animal got blind, the Dároghah was fined one-fourth of the price, or even more, according to the extent of the injury.

Formerly the Dároghahs paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a dám *úng* money—*úng* is hemp smeared with g'hí, and twisted round about the axle-tree which, like a pivot, fits into the central hole of the wheel, and thus prevents it from wearing away or getting broken. When afterwards the Dárogahship was transferred to the drivers, they had to provide for this expense. At first, it was only customary for the carts to carry on marches a part of the baggage belonging to the different workshops; but when the drivers performed the duties of the Dároghahs, they had also to provide for the carriage of the fuel required at court, and for the transport of building materials. But subsequently, 200 waggons were set aside for the transport of building materials, whilst 600 others have to bring, in the space of ten months, 1,50,000 *mans* of fuel to the Imperial kitchen. And if officers of the government on any day use the Imperial waggons for other purposes, that day is to be separately accounted for, as also each service rendered to the court. The drivers are not subject to the *Págosht* regulation (*vide Áín* 83). If, however, an ox dies, they have to buy another.

But when it came to the ears of His Majesty that the above mode of contract was productive of much cruelty towards these serviceable, but mute animals, he abolished this system, and gave them again in charge of faithful servants. The allowance of grain for every cart-bullock was fixed at 4 *s*., and 1½ *d*. were given for grass. For other bullocks, the allowance in one-half of the preceding. But during the four rainy months no money is allowed for grass. There were also appointed for every eighteen carts twelve drivers, one of whom must understand carpenter's work. Now, if a bullock dies, government supplies another in his stead, and likewise pays for the *úng*, and is at the expense of repairs.

The cattle that are worked are mustered once a year by experienced men who estimate their fatness or leanness; cattle that are unemployed are inspected every six months. Instead of the above mentioned transport of firewood, &c., the carters have now to perform any service which may be required by the government.

ÁÍN 69.

THE MULE STABLES.

The mule possesses the strength of a horse, and the patience of an ass; and though it has not the intelligence of the former, it has not the stupidity of the latter. It never forgets the road which it has once travelled. Hence it is liked by His Majesty, whose practical wisdom extends to every thing, and the breeding is encouraged. It is the best animal for carrying burdens, and travelling over uneven ground, and has a very soft step. People generally believe that the male ass couples with a mare, but the opposite connexion also is known to take place, as mentioned in the books of antiquity. The mule resembles its dam. His Majesty had a young ass coupled with a mare, and they produced a very fine mule.

In many countries just princes prefer travelling about on a mule; and people can therefore easily lay their grievances before them,[1] without inconveniencing the traveller.

Mules are only bred in Hindustan in Pak'halí,[2] and its neighbourhood. The simple inhabitants of this country used to look upon mules as asses, and thought it derogatory to ride upon them; but in consequence of the interest which His Majesty takes in this animal, so great a dislike is now nowhere to be found.

Mules are chiefly imported from 'Iráq i 'Arab and 'Iráq i 'Ajam. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

Like camels, they are formed into *qaṭárs* of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each *qaṭár*, which is called *bardast*, [instead of *peshdarah*, *vide* Áín 61, end].

Mules reach the age of fifty.

ÁÍN 70.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD FOR MULES.

Such mules as are not country-bred, get at court, 6 *s.* of grain, and 2 *d.* for grass; otherwise, only 1½ *d.* Country-bred mules get 4 *s.* of grain, and 1½ *d.* of grass, when at court; otherwise, 1 *d.* for grass. Each mule is allowed every week 3½ *jetals* for salt; but they give the salt in a lump.

[1] Which the subjects could not so easily do, if the princes, on their tours of administration of justice, were to ride on elephants, because the plaintiff would stand too far from the king.

[2] The Sarkár of Pak'halí lies between Aṭak (Attock) and Kashmír, a little north of Rawul Pindee. *Vide* towards the end of Book III.

ÁÍN 71.

THE FURNITURE OF MULES.

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20¼ *d.*; an iron chain weighing 2 *s.*, 10 *d.*; a *ranakí* (crupper) of leather, 4 *d.*; a *pálán* (pack-saddle), 102 *d.*; a *sháltang* (shawl strap), and a *palás-tang* (blanket strap), 36½ *d.*; a *táqah tanáb* (a rope for fasteniug the burden,) 63 *d.*; a *qatir shaláq* (a short whip), 6 *d.*; a bell, one for every *qaṭár*, 10 *d.*; a horse hair saddle, 40 *d.*; a *kaláwah* (*vide* Áín 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 *d.*; a set of ropes, 9 *d.*; a saddle cloth, 4½ *d.*; a *sardoz* (a common head stall) 4 *d.*; a *khurjín* (wallet), 15 *d.*; a fodder-bag, 4 *d.*; a *magas-rán* (to drive away flies) of leather, 1 *d.*; a curry-comb and a hair-glove (for washing), 4 *d.* Total, 345¾ *d.*

For country-bred mules the allowance is 151¼ *d.*, *viz.*, a head stall of leather, 4 *d.*; pack-saddle, 51 *d.* 18¾ *j.*; the two straps, 16½ *d.*; a *táqah tanáb* and *sardoz*, 40 *d.*; a bell, 5 *d.*; a fodder-bag, 3 *d.*; a crupper, 3 *d.*; a saddle, 24 *d.*; a curry-comb and a hair-glove, 4 *d.*

The furniture is renewed every third year; but for áll iron and wood work, half the price is deducted. The annual allowance for the repair of the furniture is 40 *d.*; but on the march, the time of renewal depends on the wear. Mules are shod every six months at a cost of 8 *d.* per head.

Each *qaṭár* is in charge of a keeper. Túránís, Íránís, and Indians, are appointed to this office: the first two get from 400 to 1920 *d.*; and the third class, from 240 to 256 *d. per mensem.* Such keepers as have monthly salaries of 10 R. [400 *d.*] and upwards, have to find the *peshang* (first mule of their *qaṭár*) in grain and grass. Experienced people inspect the mules twice a year as to leanness or fatness. Once a year they are paraded before His Majesty.

If a mule gets blind or lame, the muleteer is fined one-fourth of the cost price; and one-half, if it is lost.

Asses also are employed for carrying burdens and fetching water. They get 3 *s.* of grain, and 1 *d.* for grass. The furniture for asses is the same as that for country-bred mules, but no saddle is given. The annual allowance for repairs is 23 *d.* The keepers do not get above 120 *d. per mensem.*

ÁÍN 72.

THE MANNER IN WHICH HIS MAJESTY SPENDS HIS TIME.

The success of the three branches of the government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great or small, depend upon the

manner in which a king spends his time. The care with which His Majesty guards over his motives, and watches over his emotions, bears on its face the sign of the Infinite, and the stamp of immortality; and though thousands of important matters occupy, at one and the same time, his attention, they do not stir up the rubbish of confusion in the temple of his mind, nor do they allow the dust of dismay to settle on the vigour of his mental powers, or the habitual earnestness with which His Majesty contemplates the charms of God's world. His anxiety to do the will of the Creator is ever increasing; and thus his insight and wisdom are ever deepening. From his practical knowledge, and capacity for every thing excellent, he can sound men of experience, though rarely casting a glance on his own ever extending excellence. He listens to great and small, expecting that a good thought, or the relation of a noble deed, may kindle in his mind a new lamp of wisdom, though ages have past without his having found a really great man. Impartial statesmen, on seeing the sagacity of His Majesty, blotted out the book of their own wisdom, and commenced a new leaf. But with the magnanimity which distinguishes him, and with his wonted zeal, he continues his search for superior men, and finds a reward in the care with which he selects such as are fit for his society.

Although surrounded by every external pomp and display, and by every inducement to lead a life of luxury and ease, he does not allow his desires, or his wrath, to renounce allegiance to Wisdom, his sovereign—how much less would he permit them to lead him to a bad deed! Even the telling of stories, which ordinary people use as as a means of lulling themselves into sleep, serves to keep His Majesty awake.

Ardently feeling after God, and searching for truth, His Majesty exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities, though he occasionally joins public worship, in order to hush the slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age. But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the hearts of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians.

Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes his time, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in the light of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty's devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illuminating sun embraces the universe, and thus becomes a source of joy for all men; in the evening, when that

fountain of light withdraws from the eyes of mortal man, to the bewildering grief of all who are friends of light; and lastly at midnight, when that great cause of life turns again to ascend, and to bring the news of renewed cheerfulness to all who, in the melancholy of the night, are stricken with sorrow. All these grand mysteries are in honor of God, and in adoration of the Creator of the world; and if dark-minded, ignorant men cannot comprehend their signification, who is to be blamed, and whose loss is it? Indeed, every man acknowledges that we owe gratitude and reverence to our benefactors; and hence it is incumbent on us, though our strength may fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is essentially the duty of kings, upon whom, according to the opinion of the wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light.[1] And this is the very motive which actuates His Majesty to venerate fire and reverence lamps.

But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weakminded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun, and the introduction of fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile.

The compassionate heart of His Majesty finds no pleasure in cruelties, or in causing sorrow to others; he is ever sparing of the lives of his subjects, wishing to bestow happiness upon all.

His Majesty abstains much from flesh, so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food, which, though prized by most, is nothing thought of by the sage. His august nature cares but little for the pleasures of the world. In the course of twenty-four hours, he never makes more than one meal. He takes a delight in spending his time in performing whatever is necessary and proper. He takes a little repose in the evening, and again for a short time in the morning; but his sleep looks more like waking.

His Majesty is accustomed to spend the hours of the night profitably; to the private audience hall are then admitted eloquent philosophers, and virtuous Çúfís, who are seated according to their rank, and entertain His Majesty with wise discourses. On such occasions His Majesty fathoms them, and tries them on the touch-stone of knowledge. Or the object of an ancient institution is disclosed, or new thoughts are hailed with delight. Here young men of talent learn to revere and adore His Majesty, and experience the happiness of having their wishes fulfilled, whilst old men of impartial

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[1] Vide Abulfazl's Preface, p. iii., and p. 49.

judgment see themselves on the expanse of sorrow, finding that they have to pass through a new course of instruction.

There are also present in these assemblies, unprejudiced historians, who do not mutilate history by adding or suppressing facts, and relate the impressive events of ancient times. His Majesty often makes remarks wonderfully shrewd, or starts a fitting subject for conversation. On other occasions matters referring to the empire and the revenue, are brought up, when His Majesty gives orders for whatever is to be done in each case.

About a watch before day-break, musicians of all nations are introduced, who recreate the assembly with music and songs, and religious strains; and when four *g'haṛís* are left till morning, His Majesty retires to his private apartments, brings his external appearance in harmony with the simplicity of his heart, and launches forth into the ocean of contemplation. In the meantime, at the close of night, soldiers, merchants, peasants, tradespeople, and other professions, gather round the palace, patiently waiting to catch a glimpse of His Majesty. Soon after day-break, they are allowed to make the *kornish* (*vide* Áín 74). After this, His Majesty allows the attendants of the Harem to pay their compliments. During this time various matters of worldly and religious import are brought to the notice of His Majesty. As soon as they are settled, he returns to his private apartments, and reposes a little.

The good habits of His Majesty are so numerous, that I cannot adequately describe them. If I were to compile dictionaries on this subject, they would not be exhaustive.

ÁÍN 73.

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO COURT.

Admittance to Court is a distinction conferred on the nation at large; it is a pledge that the three branches of the government are properly looked after, and enables subjects personally to apply for redress of their grievances. Admittance to the ruler of the land is for the success of his government, what irrigation is for a flower-bed; it is the field, on which the hopes of the nation ripen into fruit.

His Majesty generally receives twice in the course of twenty-four hours, when people of all classes can satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance. *First*, after performing his morning devotions, he is visible, from outside the awning, to people of all ranks, whether they be given to worldly pursuits, or to a life of solitary contemplation, without any molestation from the mace-bearers. This mode of shewing himself is

called, in the language of the country, *darsan* (view); and it frequently happens that business is transacted at this time. The *second* time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he generally goes after the first watch of the day. But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of day, or at night. He also frequently appears at a window which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business; or he dispenses there justice calmly and serenely, or examines into the dispensation of justice, or the merit of officers, without being influenced in his judgment by any predilections, or any thing impure and contrary to the will of God. Every officer of government then presents various reports, or explains his several wants, and is instructed by His Majesty how to proceed. From his knowledge of the character of the times, though in opposition to the practice of kings of past ages, His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline; he does not reject that which superficial observers call unimportant, and counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, never suffers his equanimity to be disturbed.

Whenever His Majesty holds court, they beat a large drum, the sounds of which are accompanied by Divine praise. In this manner, people of all classes receive notice. His Majesty's sons and grandchildren, the grandees of the Court, and all other men who have admittance, attend to make the *kornish*, and remain standing in their proper places. Learned men of renown and skilful mechanics pay their respects; the Dároghahs and Bitikchís (writers) set forth their several wants; and the officers of justice give in their reports. His Majesty, with his usual insight, gives orders, and settles everything in a satisfactory manner. During the whole time, skilful gladiators and wrestlers from all countries hold themselves in readiness, and singers, male and female, are in waiting. Clever jugglers, and funny tumblers also are anxious to exhibit their dexterity and agility.

His Majesty, on such occasions, addresses himself to many of those who have been presented, impressing all with the correctness of his intentions, the unbiasedness of his mind, the humility of his disposition, the magnanimity of his heart, the excellence of his nature, the cheerfulness of his countenance, and the frankness of his manners; his intelligence pervades the whole assembly, and multifarious matters are easily and satisfactorily settled by his truly divine power.

This vale of sorrows is changed to a place of rest: the army and the nation are content. May the empire flourish, and these blessings endure!

ÁÍN 74.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE KORNISH AND THE TASLÍM.

Superficial observers, correctly enough, look upon a king as the origin of the peace and comfort of the subjects. But men of deeper insight are of opinion that even spiritual progress among a people would be impossible, unless emanating from the king, in whom the light of God dwells; for near the throne, men wipe off the stain of conceit, and build up the arch of true humility.[1]

With the view, then, of promoting this true humility, kings in their wisdom have made regulations for the manner in which people are to shew their obedience. Some kings have adopted the bending down of the head. His Majesty has commanded the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead, and the head to be bent downwards. This mode of salutation, in the language of the present age, is called *kornish*, and signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility, giving it to the royal assembly as a present, and has made himself in obedience ready for any service that may be required of him.

The salutation, called *taslím*, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering.

His Majesty relates as follows: "One day my royal father bestowed upon me one of his own caps, which I put on. Because the cap of the king was rather large, I had to hold it with my [right] hand, whilst bending my head downwards, and thus performed the manner of salutation (kornish) above described. The king was pleased with this new method, and from his feeling of propriety ordered this to be the mode of the *kornish* and *taslím*.

Upon taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a *mansab*, a *jágír*, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule is to make three *taslíms*; but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made.

Such a degree of obedience is also shewn by servants to their masters, and looked upon by them as a source of blessings. Hence for the disciples of

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[1] Hence the presence of the king promotes humility, which is the foundation of all spiritual life. So especially in the case of Akbar, towards whom, as the head of the New Church, the subjects occupy the position of disciples. *Vide* Áín 77, and the Note after it.

His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, *viz.*, prostration[1] (*sijdah*); and they look upon a prostration before His Majesty as a prostration performed before God; for royalty is an emblem of the power of God, and a light-shedding ray from this Sun of the Absolute.

Viewed in this light, the prostration has become acceptable to many, and proved to them a source of blessings upon blessings.

But as some perverse and dark-minded men look upon prostration as blasphemous man-worship, His Majesty, from his practical wisdom, has ordered it to be discontinued by the ignorant, and remitted it to all ranks, forbidding even his private attendants from using it in the *Darbár i 'Ám* (general court-days). However, in the private assembly, when any of those are in waiting, upon whom the star of good fortune shines, and they receive the order of seating themselves, they certainly perform the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their foreheads to the earth, and thus participate in the halo of good fortune.

In this manner, by forbidding the people at large to prostrate, but allowing the Elect to do so, His Majesty fulfills the wishes of both, and shows the world a fitting example of practical wisdom.

ÁÍN 75.

Just as spiritual leadership requires a regulated mind, capable of controlling covetousness and wrath, so does political leadership depend on an external order of things, on the regulation of the difference among men in rank, and the power of liberality. If a king possess a cultivated mind, his position as the spiritual leader of the nation will be in harmony with his temporal office; and the performance of each of his political duties will be equivalent to an adoration of God. Should any one search for an example, I would point to the practice of His Majesty, which will be found to exhibit that happy harmony of motives, the contemplation of which rewards the

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[1] The prostration, or *sijdah*, is one of the positions at prayer, and is therefore looked upon by all Muhammadans as the exclusive right of God. When Akbar, as the head of his new faith, was treated by his flattering friends, perhaps against his calmer judgment, as the representative of God on earth, he had to allow prostration in the assemblies of the Elect. The people at large would never have submitted. The practice evidently pleased the emperor, because he looked with fondness upon every custom of the ancient Persian kings, at whose courts the προσκυνεῖν had been the usual salutation. "It was *Nizám* of Badakhshán who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fathpúr [before 1586]. The success of the innovation made Mullá A'lam of Kábul exclaim, "O that I had been the inventor of this little business!" *Bad.* III, p. 153. Regarding Nizám, or Ghází Khán, *vide* Abulfazl's list of Grandees, IInd book, No. 144. The *sijdah* as an article of Akbar's Divine Religion, will be again referred to in the note to Áín 77.

searcher with an increase of personal knowledge, and leads him to worship this ideal of a king.[1]

When His Majesty seats himself on the throne, all that are present perform the *kornish*, and then remain standing at their places, according to their rank, with their arms crossed,[2] partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service.

The eldest prince places himself, when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at a distance from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and one-half to six yards from the throne, and in sitting from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince, and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But His Majesty generally places the younger princes affectionately nearer.

Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty. After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards, and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne.

All others stand in the *Yasal.*[3] One or two attendants[4] stand nearer than all.

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[1] The words of the text are ambiguous They may also mean, *and leads him to praise me as the man who directed him towards this example.*

[2] The finger tips of the left hand touch the right elbow, and those of the right hand, the left elbow; or, the fingers of each hand rest against the inner upper arm of the opposite side. The lower arms rest on the *kamarband.* When in this position, a servant is called *ámádah i khidmat*, or ready for service. Sometimes the right foot also is put over the left, the toes of the former merely touching the ground. The shoes are, of course, left outside at the *çaff i ni'ál.* The emperor sits on the throne (*vide* Plate VII.) with crossed legs, or *chahár-zánú*, a position of comfort which Orientals allow to persons of rank. This position, however, is called *fir'auní nishast*, or Pharaoh's mode of sitting, if assumed by persons of no rank in the presence of strangers. Pharaoh—Orientals mean the Pharaoh of the time of Moses—is proverbial in the East for vain-glory. The position suitable for society is the *duzánú* mode of sitting, *i. e.*, the person first kneels down with his body straight; he then lets the body gently sink till he sits on his heels, the arms being kept extended and the hands resting on the knees.

[3] *Yasal* signifies the wing of an army, and here, the two wings into which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the Court, and the chief functionaries; on the other wing stood the *Qur* (*vide* pp. 109, 110), the Mullás and the 'Ulamá, &c.

[4] The servants who hold the *sáibán* Áín 19, or the fans.

ÁÍN 76.

THE MUSTER OF MEN.

The business which His Majesty daily transacts is most multifarious; hence I shall only describe such affairs as continually recur.

A large number of men are introduced on such days, for which an *Anjuman i Dád o Dihish*, or assembly of expenditure, has been announced. Their merits are enquired into, and the coin of knowledge passes current. Some take a burden from their hearts by expressing a wish to be enrolled among the members of the Divine Faith; others want medicines for their diseases.[1] Some pray His Majesty to remove a religious doubt; others again seek his advice for settling a worldly matter.[2] There is no end to such requests, and I must confine myself to the most necessary cases.

The salaries of a large number of men[3] from Túrán and Írán, Turkey and Europe, Hindustan and Kashmír, are fixed by the proper officers in a manner described below, and the men themselves are taken before His Majesty by the paymasters. Formerly it had been the custom for the men to come with a horse and accoutrements; but now-a-days only men appointed to the post of an Ahadí[4] bring a horse. The salary as proposed by the officers who bring them, is then increased or decreased, though it is generally increased; for the market of His Majesty's liberality is never dull. The number of men brought before His Majesty depends on the number of men available. Every Monday all such horsemen are mustered as were left from the preceding week. With the view of increasing the army and the zeal of the officers, His Majesty gives to each who brings horsemen, a present of two *dáms* for each horseman.

Special *Bitikchis*[5] [writers] introduce in the same manner such as are fit to be Ahadís. In their case, His Majesty always increases the stipulated salary. As it is customary for every Ahadí to buy[6] his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Ahadís that

[1] This is to be taken literally. The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy. *Vide* next Áín.

[2] As settling a family-feud, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new-born child a suitable name, &c.

[3] Abulfazl means men who were willing to serve in the several grades of the standing army. The standing army consisted of cavalry, artillery, and rifles. There was no regular Infantry. Men who joined the standing army, in the beginning of Akbar's reign, brought their own horse and accoutrements with them; but as this was found to be the cause of much inefficiency (*vide* Second Book, Áín 1), a horse was given to each recruit on joining, for which he was answerable.

[4] As Ahadís drew a higher salary (II, Áín 4), they could buy, and maintain, horses of a superior kind.

[5] Áín 4 of the second book mentions only one officer appointed to recruit the ranks of Ahadís.

[6] So according to two MSS. My text edition, p. 158, l. 10, has *As it is not customary for Ahadís to buy a horse, &c.* Both readings give a sense, though I should prefer the omission of the negative word. According to Áín 4, of the second book, an Ahadí was supplied with

may have lately died, which he hands over to the newly appointed Ahadís either as presents, or charging the price to their monthly salaries.

On such occasions, Senior Grandees and other Amírs introduce also any of their friends, for whom they may solicit appointments. His Majesty then fixes the salaries of such candidates according to circumstances; but appointments under fifty rupees *per mensem* are rarely ever solicited in this manner.

Appointments to the Imperial workshops also are made in such assemblies, and the salaries are fixed.

Áín 77.

HIS MAJESTY[1] AS THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF THE PEOPLE.

God, the Giver of intellect and the Creator of matter, forms mankind as He pleases, and gives to some comprehensiveness, and to others narrowness of disposition. Hence the origin of two opposite tendencies among men, one class of whom turn to religious (*dín*), and the other class to worldly thoughts (*dunyá*). Each of these two divisions selects different leaders,[2] and mutual repulsiveness grows to open rupture. It is then that men's blindness and silliness appear in their true light; it is then discovered how rarely mutual regard and charity are to be met with.

But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty[3] which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet[4] which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which He has given it.

> The Lover and the Beloved are in reality one;[5]
> Idle talkers speak of the Brahmin as distinct from his idol.

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a horse when his first horse had died. To such cases the negative phrase would refer. But it *was* customary for Ahadís to bring their own horse on joining; and this is the case which Abulfazl evidently means; for in the whole Áín he speaks of newcomers.

[1] A note will be found at the end of this Áín.

[2] As prophets, the leaders of the Church; and kings, the leaders of the State.

[3] God. He may be worshipped by the meditative, and by the active man. The former speculates on the essence of God, the latter rejoices in the beauty of the world, and does his duty as man. Both represent tendencies apparently antagonistic; but as both strive after God, there is a ground common to both. Hence mankind ought to learn that there is no real antagonism between *dín* and *dunyá*. Let men rally round Akbar, who joins Çufic depth to practical wisdom. By his example, he teaches men how to adore God in doing one's duties; his superhuman knowledge proves that the light of God dwells in him. The surest way of pleasing God is to obey the king.

The reader will do well to compare Abulfazl's preface with this Áín.

[4] The world.

[5] These Çufic lines illustrate the idea that 'the same enrapturing beauty' is everywhere. God is everywhere, in everything: hence everything is God. Thus God, the Beloved, dwells in man,

There is but one lamp in this house, in the rays of which,
Wherever I look, a bright assembly meets me.

One man thinks that by keeping his passions in subjection he worships God; and another finds self-discipline in watching over the destinies of a nation. The religion of thousand others consists in clinging to an idea: they are happy in their sloth and unfitness of judging for themselves. But when the time of reflection comes, and men shake off the prejudices of their education, the threads of the web of religious blindness[1] break, and the eye sees the glory of harmoniousness.

But the ray of such wisdom does not light up every house, nor could every heart bear such knowledge. Again, although some are enlightened, many would observe silence from fear of fanatics, who lust for blood, but look like men. And should any one muster sufficient courage, and openly proclaim his enlightened thoughts, pious simpletons would call him a mad man, and throw him aside as of no account, whilst ill-stared wretches would at once think of heresy and atheism, and go about with the intention of killing him.

Whenever, from lucky circumstances, the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their king, on account of the high position which he occupies, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well; for a king possesses, independent of men, the ray of Divine wisdom,[2] which banishes from his heart everything that is conflicting. A king will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow.

Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age, and this book is a witness of it.

Men versed in foretelling the future, knew this when His Majesty was born,[3] and together with all others that were cognizant of the secret, they

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the lover, and both are one. Brahmin = man; the idol = God; lamp = thought of God; house = man's heart. The thoughtful man sees everywhere 'the bright assembly of God's works.'

[1] The text has *taqlíd*, which means *to put a collar on one's own neck*, to follow another blindly, especially in religious matters. "All things which refer to prophetship and revealed religion they [Abulfazl, Hakím Abulfath, &c.] called *taqlídiyát*, *i. e.*, things against reason, because they put the basis of religion upon reason, not testimony. Besides, there came [during A. H. 983, or A. D. 1575] a great number of Portuguese, from whom they likewise picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning." *Badáoní* II, p. 281.

[2] *Vide* Abulfazl's preface, p. III, l. 19.

[3] This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor. Akbar spoke. "From Mirzá Sháh Muhammad, called Ghaznín Khán, son of Sháh Begkhán, who had the title of Daurán Khán, and was an Arghún by birth. The author heard him say at Láhor, in A. H. 1053, "I asked Nawáb 'Azíz Kokah, who has the title of Khán i A'zam [*vide* List of

have since been waiting in joyful expectation. His Majesty, however, wisely surrounded himself for a time with a veil, as if he were an outsider, or a stranger to their hopes. But can man counteract the will of God? His Majesty, at first, took all such by surprise as were wedded to the prejudices of the age; but he could not help revealing his intentions: they grew to maturity in spite of him, and are now fully known. He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth.

But whether he checks men in their desire of becoming disciples, or admits them at other times, he guides them in each case to the realm of bliss. Many sincere enquirers, from the mere light of his wisdom, or his holy breath, obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers of those who have renounced the world, as *Sannásís*, *Jogís*, *Sevrás*, *Qalandars*, *Hakíms*, and *Çufís*, and thousands of such as follow worldly pursuits, as soldiers, tradespeople, mechanics, and husbandmen, have daily their eyes opened to insight, or have the light of their knowledge increased. Men of all nations, young and old, friends and strangers, the far and the near, look upon offering a vow to His Majesty as the means of solving all their difficulties, and bend down in worship on obtaining their desire. Others again, from the distance of their homes, or to avoid the crowds gathering at Court, offer their vows in secret, and pass their lives in grateful praises. But when His Majesty leaves Court, in order to settle the affairs of a province, to conquer a kingdom, or to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, there is not a hamlet, a town, or a city, that does not send forth crowds of men and women with vow-offerings in their hands, and prayers on their lips, touching the ground with their foreheads, praising the efficacy of their vows, or proclaiming the accounts of the spiritual assistance received. Other multitudes ask for lasting bliss, for an upright heart, for advice how best to act, for strength of the body, for enlightenment, for the birth of a son, the reunion of friends, a long life, increase of wealth, elevation in rank, and many other things. His Majesty, who knows what is really good, gives satisfactory answers to every one, and applies remedies to their religious perplexities. Not a day passes but people bring cups of water to him, beseeching him to breathe upon it. He who reads the letters of the divine orders in the book of fate, on seeing the tidings of hope, takes the water with his blessed hands, places

Grandees, second Book, Áín 30], whether the late emperor, like the Messiah, had really spoken with his august mother. He replied, "His mother told me, it was true." *Dabistán ul Mazáhib*, Calcutta Edition, p. 390. Bombay edition, p. 260. The words which Christ spoke in the cradle, are given in the Qorán, Sur. 19, and in the spurious gospel of the *Infancy of Christ*, pp. 5, 111.

it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun, and fulfils the desire of the suppliant. Many sick people[1] of broken hopes, whose diseases the most eminent physicians pronounced incurable, have been restored to health by this divine means.

A more remarkable case is the following. A simple-minded recluse had cut off his tongue, and throwing it towards the threshold of the palace, said, "If that certain blissful thought,[2] which I just now have, has been put into my heart by God, my tongue will get well; for the sincerity of my belief must lead to a happy issue." The day was not ended before he obtained his wish.

Those who are acquainted with the religious knowledge and the piety of His Majesty, will not attach any importance to some of his customs,[3] remarkable as they may appear at first; and those who know His Majesty's charity and love of justice, do not even see any thing remarkable in them. In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection, though he is the ornament of the world. Hence he even keeps back many who declare themselves willing to become his disciples. He often says, "Why should I claim to guide men, before I myself am guided?" But when a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily enquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world-illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shewn by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantel of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing.

At the above-mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical,[4] and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast aside[5] conceit and selfishness,

[1] "He [Akbar] shewed himself every morning at a window, in front of which multitudes came and prostrated themselves; while women brought their sick infants for his benediction, and offered presents on their recovery." From the account of the Goa Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1595, in *Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, II, p. 96.

[2] His thought was this. If Akbar is a prophet, he must, from his supernatural wisdom, find out in what condition I am lying here.

[3] "He [Akbar] shewed, besides, no partiality to the Mahometans; and when in straits for money, would even plunder the mosques to equip his cavalry. Yet there remained in the breast of the monarch a stronghold of idolatry, on which they [the Portuguese Missionaries] could never make any impression. Not only did he adore the sun, and make long prayers to it four times a day; he also held himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." *Murray's Discoveries*, II, p. 95.

[4] The text has *zabán i hál*, and a little lower down, *zabán i bezufání*. *Zabán i hál*, or *symbolical* language, is opposed to *zabán i maqál*, spoken words.

[5] Or rather, *from his head*, as the text has, because the casting aside of selfish-

the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to enquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions, who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the *Shaçt*,[1] upon which is engraved 'the Great Name,'[2] and His Majesty's symbolical motto, '*Alláhu Akbar*.' This teaches the novice the truth that

"*The pure Shaçt and the pure sight never err.*"

Seeing the wonderful habits of His Majesty, his sincere attendants are guided, as circumstances require it; and from the wise counsels they receive, they soon state their wishes openly. They learn to satisfy their thirst in the spring of divine favour, and gain for their wisdom and motives renewed light. Others, according to their capacities are taught wisdom in excellent advices.

But it is impossible while speaking of other matters besides, to give a full account of the manner in which His Majesty teaches wisdom, heals dangerous diseases, and applies remedies for the severest sufferings. Should my occupations allow sufficient leisure, and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on this subject.

Ordinances of the Divine Faith.

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "*Alláhu Akbar;*" and the other responds, "*Jalla Jaláluhu.*"[3] The motive of His Majesty, in laying down this mode

ness is symbolically expressed by taking off the turban. To wear a turban is a distinction.

[1] *Shaçt* means *aim;* secondly *any thing round*, either a ring, or a thread, as the Brahminical thread. Here a ring seems to be meant. Or it may be the likeness of the Emperor which, according to Badáoní, the members wore on their turbans.

[2] The *Great Name* is a name of God. "Some say, it is the word *Allah;* others say, it is *çamad*, the eternal; others, *alhayy*, the living; others, *alqayyúm*, the everlasting; others, *arrahmán*, *arrahím*, the clement and merciful; others, *almuhaimin*, the protector. *Ghiás*. "Qází Hamíduddín of Nágor says, the Great Name is the word *Hú*, or He (God), because it has a reference to God's nature, as it shows that He has no other at His side. Again, the word *hú* is a root, not a derivative. All epithets of God are contained in it." *Kashfullughát*.

[3] These formulæ remind of Akbar's name, *Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar*. The words *Alláhu Akbar* are *ambiguous:* they may mean, *God is great*, or, *Akbar is God*. There is no doubt that Akbar liked the phrase for its ambiguity; for it was used on coins, the Imperial seals, and the heading of books, farmáns, &c. His era was called the *Divine* era; his faith, the *Divine* faith; and the note at the end of this Áín shews how Akbar, starting from the idea of the Divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the *Mujtahid* of the age, then as the prophet of God and God's Vice-regent on earth, and lastly as a Deity. "It was during these days [A. H. 983, or A. D. 1575-76] that His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Alláhu Akbar* to be cut on

of salutation, is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birth-day, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and birdcatchers.

Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.

Note by the Translator on the religious views of the Emperor Akbar.

In connection with the preceding Áín, it may be of interest for the general reader, and of some value for the future historian of Akbar's reign, to collect, in form of a note, the information which we possess regarding the religious views of the Emperor Akbar. The sources from which this information is derived, is, besides Abulfazl's Áín, the *Muntakhab ut Tawáríkh* by 'Abdul Qádir ibn i Mulúk Sháh of Badáon —regarding whom I would refer the reader to p. 104, and to a longer article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869—and the *Dabistán ul Mazáhib*[1], a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Pársí tendencies. Nor must we forget the valuable testimony of some of the Portuguese Missionaries whom Akbar called from Goa, as Rodolpho Aquaviva,

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the Imperial seal and the dies of his coins. Most said, people would like it very much. But Hájí Ibráhím objected, and said, the phrase had an ambiguous meaning, and the emperor might substitute the Qorán verse *Lazikru Alláhi akbaru* (To think of God is the greatest thing), because it involved no ambiguity. But His Majesty got displeased, and said, it was surely sufficient that no man who felt his weakness, would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." *Badáoní*, p. 210.

[1] Printed at Calcutta in 1809 with a short dictionary, and reprinted at Bombay, A. H. 1272, [A. D. 1856]. This work

Antonio de Monserrato, Francisco Enriques, &c., of whom the first is mentioned by Abulfazl under the name of *Pádri Radalf.*[1] There exist also two articles on Akbar's religious views, one by Captain Vans Kennedy, published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, and another by the late Horace Hayman Wilson, which had originally appeared in the Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Vol. I., 1824, and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson's works, London, 1862. Besides, a few extracts from Badáoní, bearing on this subject, will be found in Sir H. Elliott's Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India, p. 243 ff. The Proceedings of the Portuguese Missionaries at Akbar's Court are described in Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Edinburgh, 1820, Vol. II.

I shall commence with extracts from Badáoní.[2] The translation is literal, which is of great importance in a difficult writer like Badáoní.

Abulfazl's second introduction to Akbar. His pride.

[Badáoní, edited by Maulawí Ágha Ahmad 'Alí, in the Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. II, p. 198.]

"It was during these days [end of 982 A. H.] that Abulfazl, son of Shaikh Mubárik of Nágor, came the second time to court. He is now styled *'Allámi.* He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the *Çabáhis,* illustrating thereby the story of the man who, because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight, and representing himself as opposed to all sects, tied the girdle of infallibility round his waist, according to the saying, 'He who forms an opposition, gains power.' He laid before the Emperor a commentary on the *Áyat ul-kursi,*[3]

has also been translated into English at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

[1] Not *Padre Radíf,* پادری ردیف, as in Elphinstone's history, but ردلف, the letter (lám) having been mistaken for a ي (*yá*).

[2] As in the following extracts the years of the Hijrah are given, the reader may convert them according to this table:—
The year 980 A. H. commenced 14 May 1572 [Old Style.

981 — 3 May, 1573.
982 — 23 April, 1574.
983 — 12 April, 1575.
984 — 31 March, 1576.
985 — 21 March, 1577.
986 — 10 March, 1578.
987 — 28 February, 1579.
988 — 17 February, 1580.
989 — 5 February, 1581.
990 — 26 January, 1582.
991 — 15 January, 1583.
992 — 4 January, 1584.
993 — 24 December, 1584.
994 — 13 December, 1585.
995 — 2 December, 1586.
996 — 22 November, 1587.
997 — 10 November, 1588.
998 — 31 October, 1589.
999 — 20 October, 1590.
1000 — 9 October, 1591.
1001 — 28 September, 1592.
1002 — 17 September, 1593.
1003 — 6 September, 1594.
1004 — 27 August, 1595.

[3] Qor. Sur. II, 256.

which contained all subtleties of the Qorán; and though people said that it had been written by his father, Abulfazl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words *Tafsír i Akbarí* (Akbar's commentary) gives the date of composition [983]. But the emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abulfazl a man capable of teaching the Mullás a lesson, whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh, though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which His Majesty had placed in me.

The reason of Abulfazl's opinionativeness and pretensions to infallibility was this. At the time when it was customary to get hold of, and kill, such as tried to introduce innovations in religious matters (as had been the case with Mír Habshí and others), Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Makhdúm ul mulk, and other learned men at court, unanimously represented to the emperor that Shaikh Mubarik also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdí*[1], belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of permission to remove him, they despatched police officers, to bring him before the emperor. But when they found that the Shaikh, with his two sons, had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaikh, at first, took refuge with Salím i Chishtí at Fathpúr, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested him to intercede for him. Shaikh Salím, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him, it would be better for him to go away to Gujrát. Seeing that Salím took no interest in him, Shaikh Mubárik applied to Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah [Akbar's foster-brother], who took occasion to praise to the emperor the Shaikh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons, adding that Mubárik was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he ['Azíz] could really not see why the Shaikh was so much persecuted. The emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaikh. In a short time matters took a more favourable turn; and Abulfazl, when once in favor with the emperor, (officious as he was, and time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying His Majesty's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds) took every opportunity of reviling in the most shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated,[2] and became the cause not only of the extirpation of these experienced people, but also of the ruin of all servants of God, especially of Shaikhs, pious men, of the helpless, and the orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down.

[1] *Vide* p. 106, Note 5.

[2] Badáoní belonged to the believers in the approach of the Millennium. A few years later, Akbar used Mahdawí rumours for his own purposes; *vide* below. The extract shows that there existed before

He used to say, openly and implicitly,—

> O Lord, send down a proof[1] for the people of the world!
> Send these Nimrods[2] a gnat as big as an elephant!
> These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up their heads;
> Send them a Moses with a staff, and a Nile!

And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings, miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the 'Ulamás (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following Rubá'í to them:—

> I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
> As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy?
> No one is my enemy but myself,
> Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands.

And when during disputations people quoted against him the edict of any *Mujtahid*[3], he used to say, "Oh don't bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat-seller, and that cobbler, or that tanner!" He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaikhs and 'Ulamás."

Commencement of the Disputations. [Badáoní II, p. 200.]

"During the year 983 A. H., many places of worship were built at the command of His Majesty. The cause was this. For many years previous to 983, the emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day; everything turned out well, and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty had thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of the Mu'íniyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qorán), and the word of the prophet (the *Hadís*, or Tradition). Questions of Çúfism, scientific discussions, enquiries into Philosophy and Law, were the order of the day. His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yá hú* and *Yá hádí*, which had been mentioned to him,[4] and his

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982, heretical innovators, whom the emperor allowed to be persecuted. Matters soon took a different turn.

[1] That is, a man, capable of teaching the 'Ulamás a lesson. Abulfazl means himself.

[2] Nimrod, or Namrúd, and Pharaoh, are proverbial in the East for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat which had crept through the nose to his brain. He could only relieve his pains by striking the crown of head; but at last he died from the effects of his own blows.

[3] A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Muhammadan law. There are few Mujtahids. Among the oldest there were several who plied a trade at the same time. The preceding Rubá'í is translated by Sir H. Elliott in the Muhammadan Historians of India, p. 244.

[4] By some ascetic. *Yá hú* means O He (God), and *Ya hádí*, O Guide. The frequent repetition of such names is a means of knowledge. Some faqírs repeat them several thousand times during a night.

heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver. From a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours."

In his religious habits the emperor was confirmed by a story which he had heard of Sulaimán,[1] ruler of Bengal, who, in company with 150 Shaikhs and 'Ulamás, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mírzá Sulaimán, a prince of Çúfí tendencies, and a *Çáhib i hál*[2] was coming to him from Badakhshán.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called *Anúptaláo*, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the 'Ulamás and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the 'Ulamás, and the heretical (Shí'itic) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mullá Sherí, a poet of Akbar's reign, to compose a poem in which the place was called a temple of Pharaoh and a building of Shaddád (*vide* Qor. Sur. 89). The result to which the discussions led, will be seen from the following extract. [Bad. II, p. 202.]

"For these discussions, which were held every Thursday[3] night, His Majesty invited the Sayyids, Shaikhs, 'Ulamás, and grandees, by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places, and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side; the Sayyids on the west side; the 'Ulamás, to the south; and the Shaikhs, to the north. The emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and make his enquiries......, when all at once, one night, 'the vein of the neck of the 'Ulamás of the age swelled up,' and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me [Badáoní], "In future report any of the 'Ulamás that cannot behave and talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Áçaf Khán, "If I were to carry out this order, most of the 'Ulamás would have to leave," when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him."

[1] The edition of Badáoní calls him كرراني *Kararání*. He is sometimes called *Karání*; sometimes, *Karzání*. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 981, or A. D. 1563 to 1573.

[2] *Hál* is the state of ecstasy and close union with God, into which Çúfís bring themselves by silent thought, or by pronouncing the name of God.

[3] The text has *Shab i Jum'ah*, the night of Friday; but as Muhammadans commence the day at sunset, it is our *Thursday* night.

Soon after, another row occurred in the presence of the Emperor.

[Bad. II, p. 210.]

"Some people mentioned that Hájí Ibráhím of Sarhind had given a decree, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow clothes,[1] quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof. On hearing this, the Chief Justice, in the meeting hall, called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick, in order to strike him, when the Hájí by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him."

Akbar was now fairly disgusted with the 'Ulamás and lawyers; he never pardoned pride and conceit in a man, and of all kinds of conceit, the conceit of learning was most hateful to him. From now he resolved to vex the principal 'Ulamás; and no sooner had his courtiers discovered this, than they brought all sorts of charges against them.

[Bad. II, p. 203.]

"His Majesty therefore ordered Mauláná 'Abdullah of Sulṭánpúr, who had received the title of *Makhdúm ul mulk*, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Hájí Ibráhím, Shaikh Abulfazl (who had lately come to court, and is at present the infallible authority in all religious matters, and also for the New Religion of His Majesty, and the guide of men to truth, and their leader in general), and several other newcomers, to oppose him. During the discussion, His Majesty took every occasion to interrupt the Mauláná, when he explained anything. When the quibbling and wrangling had reached the highest point, some courtiers, according to an order previously given by His Majesty, commenced to tell rather queer stories of the Mauláná, to whose position one might apply the verse of the Qorán (Sur. XVI, 72), 'And some one of you shall have his life prolonged to a miserable age, &c.' Among other stories, Khán Jahán said that he had heard that Makhdúm ul mulk[2] had given a *fatwa*, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary fatwa, he had said, that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrát, were impracticable, because people, in going by land (Persia), had to suffer injuries at the hand of the *Qizilbáshes* (*i. e.*, the Shí'ah inhabitants of Persia), and in going by sea, they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose ship-tickets had pictures of Mary and Jesus stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed up.

[1] As women may use.

[2] This extract as given by Sir H. Elliott on p. 244 conveys a wrong impression. Akbar did not prohibit pilgrimages before 990 A. H.

Khán Jahán also related that the Mauláná had invented a clever trick by which he escaped paying the legal alms upon the wealth which he amassed every year. Towards the end of each year, he used to make over all his stores to his wife, but he took them back before the year had actually run out.[1]

Other tricks also, in comparison with which the tricks of the children of Moses are nothing, and rumours of his meanness and shabbiness, his open cheating and worldliness, and his cruelties said to have been practised on the Shaikhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Aimadárs and other deserving people of the Panjáb,—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, 'which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection' (Qor. LXXXVI, 9), were disclosed; all sorts of stories, calculated to ruin his character and to vilify him, were got up, till it was resolved to force him to go to Makkah.

But when people asked him whether pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances, he said *No*;[2] for Shaikh 'Abdunnabí had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mauláná was fast sinking."

But a heavier blow was to fall on the 'Ulamás. [Bad. II, p. 207.]

"At one of the above-mentioned meetings, His Majesty asked how many *freeborn* women a man was legally allowed to marry (by *nikáh*). The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the prophet. The emperor thereupon remarked that from the time he had come of age, he had not restricted himself to that number, and in justice to his wives, of whom he had a large number, both freeborn and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case. Most expressed their opinions, when the emperor remarked that Shaikh 'Abdunnabí had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the 'Ulamás present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abí Laila; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qorán verse (Qor. Sur. IV, 3), "Marry whatever women ye like, two and two,[3] and three and three, and four and four;" but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaikh 'Abdunnabí,

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[1] Alms are due on every surplus of stock or stores which a Sunní possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession for a whole year. If the wife, therefore, had the surplus for a part of the year, and the husband took it afterwards back, he escaped the paying of alms.

[2] *I. e.*, he meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him.

[3] Thus they got 2+2, 3+3, 4+4=18. But the passage is usually translated, 'Marry whatever women ye like, two, or three, or four.' The Mujtahid who took nine unto himself, translated 'two + three + four,' = 9. The question of the emperor was most ticklish, because, if the lawyers adhered to the number four, which they could not well avoid, the *harámzádagí* of Akbar's *freeborn* princesses was acknowledged.

who replied that he had merely wished to point out to Akbar that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a *fatwa*, in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. "The Shaikh," he said, "told me at that time a very different thing from what he now tells me." He never forgot this.

After much discussion on this point, the 'Ulamás, having collected every Tradition on the subject, decreed, *first*, that by *Mut'ah* [not by *nikáh*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and *secondly*, that *Mut'ah* marriages were allowed by Imám Málik. The Shí'ahs, as was well known, loved children born in *Mut'ah* wedlock more than those born by *nikáh* wives, contrary to the Sunnís and the Ahl i Jamá'at.

On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled *Najáturrashíd* [*Vide* note 2, p. 104], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqíb Khán fetched a copy of the *Muwaṭṭa* of Imám Málik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imám had cited as a proof against the legality of *Mut'ah* marriages.

Another night, Qází Ya'qúb, Shaikh Abulfazl, Hájí Ibráhím, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the *Anúptaláo* tank. Shaikh Abulfazl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding *Mut'ah* marriages, which his father (Shaikh Mubárik) had collected, and the discussion commenced. His Majesty then asked me, what my opinion was on this subject. I said, "The conclusion which must be drawn from so many contradictory traditions and sectarian customs, is this:—Imám Málik and the Shí'ahs are unanimous in looking upon *Mut'ah* marriages as legal; Imám Sháfi'í and the Great Imám (Hanífah) look upon *Mut'ah* marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qází of the Málikí sect decide that *Mut'ah* is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Sháfi'ís and Hanafís. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk." This pleased His Majesty very much."

The unfortunate Shaikh Ya'qúb, however, went on talking about the extent of the authority of a Qází. He tried to shift the ground; but when he saw that he was discomfited, he said, "Very well, I have nothing else to say,—just as His Majesty pleases."

"The emperor then said, "I herewith appoint the Málikí Qází Husain 'Arab as the Qází before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Ya'qúb, are from to-day suspended." This was immediately obeyed, and Qází Hasan, on the spot, gave a decree which made *Mut'ah* marriages legal.

The veteran lawyers, as Makhdúm ulmulk, Qází Ya'qúb, and others, made very long faces at these proceedings.

This was the commencement of 'their sere and yellow leaf.'

The result was that, a few days later, Mauláná Jaláluddín of Multán a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred, was ordered from Ágrah (to Fathpúr Síkri,) and appointed Qází of the realm. Qází Ya'qúb was sent to Gaur as District Qází.

From this day henceforth, 'the road of opposition and difference in opinion' lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed Mujtahid of the empire." [Here follows the extract regarding the formula '*Alláhu Akbar*, given on p. 166, note 3.]

[Badáoní II, p. 211.]

"During this year [983], there arrived Hakím Abulfath, Hakím Humáyún (who subsequently changed his name to Humáyún Qulí, and lastly to Hakím Humám,) and Núruddín, who as poet is known under the name of *Qarárí*. They were brothers, and came from Gílán, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendancy over the Emperor; he flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time, a most intimate friend of Akbar.

Soon after there came from Persia Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazídí, and attaching himself to the emperor, commenced openly to revile the *Çahábah* (persons who knew Muhammad, except the twelve Imáms), told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make the emperor a Shí'ah. But he was soon left behind by Bír Bar—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abulfazl, and Hakím Abulfath, who successfully turned the emperor from the Islám, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company.

At the same time, His Majesty ordered Qází Jaláluddín and several 'Ulamás to write a commentary on the Qorán; but this led to great rows among them.

Deb Chand Rájah Manjholah—that fool—once set the whole court in laughter by saying that Allah after all had great respect for cows, else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter (Súrat ul *baqarah*) of the Qorán.

His Majesty had also the early history of the Islám read out to him, and soon commenced to think less of the *Çahábah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in every thing connected with the prophet, were put down as *taqlídí*, or religious blindness,

and man's reason was acknowledged to be the basis of all religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty enquired into the articles of their belief which are based upon reason."

[Badáoní II, p. 245.]

"In the beginning of the next year [984], when His Majesty was at Dípálpúr in Málwah, Sharíf of Ámul arrived. This apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to the other, he went on wrangling till he became a perfect heretic. For some time he had studied Çúfic nonsense in the school of Mauláná Muhammad Záhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaikh Husain of Khwárizm, and had lived with derwishes. But as he had little of a derwish in himself, he talked slander, and was so full of conceit, that they hunted him away. The Mauláná also wrote a poem against him, in which the following verse occurs:

There was a heretic, Sharíf by name,
Who talked very big, though of doubtful fame.

In his wanderings he had come to the Dak'hin, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dak'hin wanted to kill him. But he was only put on a donkey and shewn about in the city. Hindustan, however, is a nice large place, where anything is allowed, and no one cares for another, and people go on as they may. He therefore made for Málwah, and settled at a place five *kos* distant from the Imperial camp. Every frivolous and absurd word he spoke, was full of venom, and became the general talk. Many fools, especially Persian heretics, (whom the Islám casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called *Nabaṭís*, and are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist) gathered round him, and spread, at his order, the rumour that he was the restorer of the Millenium. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him, he invited him one night to a private audience in a long prayer room, which had been made of cloth, and in which the emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers. Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and stood still with his arms crossed, and you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour[1] is a sign of hostility to our prophet) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy. There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself in worship, and sat down *duzánú* (*vide* p. 160, note 2), like an Indian camel. He talked privately to His Majesty; no one dared to draw near them, but I some-

[1] *Chashmi i azraq.* Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Harírí and the Crusades.

times heard from a distance the word *'ilm* (knowledge) because he spoke pretty loud. He called his silly views 'the truth of truths,' or 'the groundwork of things.'

A fellow ignorant of things external and internal,
From silliness indulging idle talk.
He is immersed in heresies infernal,
And prattles—God forbid!—of truth eternal.

The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Mahmúd of Basakhwán (a village in Gílán), who lived at the time of Tímúr. Mahmúd had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such hypocrisy, as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but *tùál*, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language.' The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Bahr o Kúzah* (the Ocean and the Jug), and contains such loathsome nonsense, that on listening to it one's ear vomits. How the devil would have laughed into his face, if he had heard it, and how he would have jumped for joy! And this Sharíf—that dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled *Tarashshukh i Zuhúr*, in which he blindly follows Mír 'Abdulawwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words *mífarmúdand* (the master said), a queer thing to look at, and a mass of ridiculous, silly nonsense. But notwithstanding his ignorance, according to the proverb, 'Worthies will meet,' he has exerted such an influence on the spirit of the age, and on the people, that he is now [in 1004] a commander of One Thousand, and His Majesty's apostle for Bengal, possessing the four degrees of faith, and calling, as the Lieutenant of the emperor, the faithful to these degrees."

The discussions on Thursday evenings were continued for the next year. In 986, they became more violent, in as far as the elementary principles of the Islám were chosen as subject, whilst formerly the disputations had turned on single points. The 'Ulamás even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other *Káfirs* or *accursed*.

[Bad. II. p. 255.]

"Makhdúm also wrote a pamphlet against Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, in which he accused him of the murder of Khizr Khán of Shirwán, who was suspected to have reviled the prophet, and of Mír Habshí, whom he had ordered to be killed for heresy. But he also said in the pamphlet that it was wrong to say prayers with 'Abdunnabí, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles. Upon this, Shaikh 'Abdunnabí called Makhdúm a fool, and cursed him. The 'Ulamás now

broke up into two parties, like the Sibṭís and Qibṭís, gathering either round the Shaikh, or round Makhdúm ulmulk; and the heretic innovators used this opportunity, to mislead the emperor by their wicked opinions and aspersions, and turned truth into falsehood, and represented lies as truth.

His Majesty till now [986] *had shewn every sincerity, and was diligently searching for truth. But his education had been much neglected; and surrounded as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to doubt the truth of the Islám. Falling from one perplexity into the other, he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth; and when the strong embankment of our clear law and our excellent faith had once been broken through, His Majesty grew colder and colder, till after the short space of five or six years not a trace of Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart. Matters then became very different.*"

[Bad. *II*, *p*. 239.]

"In 984, the news arrived that Sháh Ṭahmásp of Persia had died, and Sháh Ismá'íl II. had succeeded him. The Táríkh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words دولت, فتح, and ظفر [د + ف + ظ = 984]. Sháh Ismá'íl gave the order that any one who wished to go to Makkah could have his travelling expenses paid from the royal exchequer. Thus thousands of people partook of the spiritual blessing of pilgrimage, whilst here you dare not now [1004] mention that word, and you would expose yourself to capital punishment, if you were to ask leave from court for this purpose."

[Bad. *II*, *p*. 241.]

In 985, the news arrived that Sháh Ismá'íl, son of Sháh Ṭahmásp had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister *Parí Ján Khánum*. Mír Haidar, the riddle writer, found the Táríkh of his accession in the words *Shahinsháhi rúi zamín* [984,] 'a king of the face of the earth,' and the Táríkh of his death in *Shahinsháhi zer i zamín* [985,] 'a king below the face of the earth." At that time also there appeared in Persia the great comet which had been visible in India (p. 240), and the consternation was awful, especially as at the same time the Turks conquered Tabríz, Shirwán, and Mázandarán. Sulṭán Muhammad Khudábandah, son of Sháh Ṭahmásp, but by another mother, succeeded; and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the *Çahábah*.

But the heretical ideas had certainly entered Hindustán from Persia."

[1] As Ṭahmásp in his short Memoirs (Pers. Ms. 782, As. Soc. Bengal) gives the word ظل *zil* [930] as the Táríkh of his accession, we have
Ṭahmasp from 930 to 984.
Ismá'íl II. 984 to 985.
Prinsep's Tables (IInd edition, p. 308) give,
Ṭahmasp, 932 to 983,
Ismá'íl II., from 983 to 985.

Bada'oni''s Summary of the reasons which led Akbar to renounce the Islám.

[Bad. *II*, *p*. 256.]

The following are the principal reasons which led His Majesty from the right path. I shall not give all, but only some, according to the proverb, "That which is small, guides to that which is great, and a sign of fear in a man points him out as the culprit."

The principal reason is the large number of learned men of all denominations and sects that came from various countries to court, and received personal interviews. Night and day people did nothing but enquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected every thing which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of enquiry opposed to every [Islámitic] principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, there grew, gradually as the outline on a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islám, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself.

Moreover Sumanís[1] and Brahmins managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty. As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs, based on reason and testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their

[1] Explained in Arab. Dictionaries as a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (*tanásukh.*) Akbar, as will be seen from the following, was convinced of the transmigration of souls, and therefore rejected the doctrine of resurrection.

doctrines so firmly, and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder.

Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islámitic revelations regarding resurrection, the day of judgment, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he shewed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands.

How wise was the advice which the guardian gave a lovely being,
"Do not smile at every face, as the rose does at every zephyr." [1]
When it was too late to profit by the lesson,
She could but frown, and hang down the head.

For some time His Majesty called a Brahmin, whose name was Puzukhotam, author of a commentary on the . .,[2] whom he asked to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence. At other times, a Brahmin of the name of Debí was pulled up the wall of the castle,[3] sitting on a *chárpái*, till he arrived near a balcony where the emperor used to sleep. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, as Brahma, Mahádev, Bishn, Kishn, Rám, and Mahámáí, who are supposed to have been men, but very likely never existed, though some, in their idle belief, look upon them as gods, and others as angels. His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, commenced to look upon them with affection. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls especially took a deep root in his heart, and he approved of the saying, —"There is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Insincere flatterers composed treatises, in order to fix the evidence for this doctrine; and as His Majesty relished enquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of revealed books, but nevertheless, do not belong to the *Ahl i Kitáb* (Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans), not a day passed, but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence.

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[1] Just as Akbar liked the zephyr of enquiry into other religious systems. But zephyrs are also destructive: they scatter the petals of the rose.

[2] The text has a few unintelligible words.

[3] Perhaps in order not to get polluted, or because the balcony belonged to the Harem.

Sometimes again, it was *Shaikh Tájuddín* of Dihlí, who had to attend the emperor. This Shaikh is the son of Shaikh Zakariyá of Ajodhan. The principal 'Ulamás of the age call him *Tájul'árifín*, or crown of the Çúfís. He had learned under Shaikh Zamán of Pánípat, author of a commentary on the Lawáih, and of other very excellent works, was in Çúfism and pantheism second only to Shaikh Ibn 'Arabí, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Nuzhat ularwáh*. Like the preceding he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Çúfic trifles. As the Shaikh was not overstrict[1] in acting according to our religious law, he spoke a great deal of the pantheistic presence, which idle Çúfís will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy. He also introduced polemic matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh—God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the *Fuçúç ulhikam*,[2] or the excellence of hope over fear,[3] and many other things to which men incline from weakness of disposition, unmindful of cogent reasons, or distinct religious commands, to the contrary. The Shaikh is therefore one of the principal culprits, who weakened His Majesty's faith in the orders of our religion. He also said that infidels would, of course, be kept for ever in hell, but it was not likely, nor could it be proved, that the punishment in hell was eternal. His explanations of some verses of the Qorán, or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far-fetched. Besides, he mentioned that the phrase *'Insán i kámil* (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy. In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct. Even the *sijdah* (prostration), which people mildly call *zamínbos* (kissing the ground,) he allowed to be due to the Insán i Kámil; he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king *Ka'bah i Murádát*, the sanctum of desires, and *Qiblah i Háját*, the cynosure of necessities. Such blasphemies[4] other people supported by quoting stories of no credit, and by referring to the practice followed by disciples of some heads of Indian

[1] As long as a Çúfí conforms to the Qorán, he is *shar'í;* but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God, and does no longer require the ordinances of the *profanum vulgus*, he is *ázád*, free, and becomes a heretic.

[2] Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore *mal'ún*, accursed by God. But according to some books, and among them the Fuçúç, Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses a true prophet.

[3] The Islám says, *Alímán baina-l khaufi warrijá*, 'Faith stands *between* fear and hope.' Hence it is sin to fear God's wrath more than to hope for God's mercy; and so reversely.

[4] As the *zamínbos*, or the use of holy names as *Ka'bah* (the temple at Makkah) or *qiblah* (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying).

sects. And after this, when....[1]

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority. Thus Shaikh Ya'qúb of Kashmír, a well known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by 'Ain ulquzát of Hamadán, that our prophet Muhammad was a personification of the divine name of *Alhádí* (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God's name of *Almuzill* (the tempter),[2] that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary.

Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the first three Khalífahs, called the whole Çahábah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnís and the *Ahl i Jamá'at*,[3] and represented every sect, except the Shí'ah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the 'Ulamás, of whom one called lawful what the other called unlawful, furnished His Majesty with another reason for apostacy. The emperor also believed that the 'Ulamás of his time were superior in dignity and rank to Imám i Ghazzálí and Imám i Rází,[4] and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his 'Ulamás, he judged those great men of the past by his contemporaries, and threw them aside.

Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of *Pádre*.[5] They have an infallible head, called *Pápá*. He can change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority. These monks brought the gospel, and mentioned to the emperor their proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murád[6] to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspicious-

[1] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

[2] According to the Islám, God leads (*hádí*) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.

[3] *Ahl i jamá'at* is a term which is often joined with the word *Sunnís*. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qorán; or upon the Tradition; or upon the opinion (*qiás*) of famous *Çahábís*; or lastly, upon *ijmá'*, agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the Hijrah. Hence *Ahl i jamá'at* comprises all such as believe *ijmá'* binding.

[4] Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of *Imám Ghazzálí* are the *Ihyá ul'ulúm*, and the *Kimiyá i Sa'ádat*, which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Abkar liked.

[5] The text has پادهری.

[6] Prince Murád was then about eight years old. Jahángír (Salím) was born on Wednesday, the 17 Rabí'ulawwal 977. Three months after him, his sister *Shahzádah Khánum* was born; and after her (perhaps in year the 978) *Sháh Murád*, who got the nickname of *Paharí*, as he was born in the hills of Fathpúr Síkrí. Dányál was born in Ajmír during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th the Jumádalawwal 979.

ness, and charged Abulfazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismilláh-irrahmán-irrahím*,[1] the following lines were used—

Ai nám i tu Jesus o Kiristo

(O thou whose names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, 'O thou whose name is gracious and blessed;' and Shaikh Faizí added another half, in order to complete the verse

Subhánaka lá siwáka Yá hú.

(We praise Thee, there is no one besides Thee, O God!)

These accursed monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities, to Muhammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do.

Bír Baṛ also impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the primary origin of every thing. The ripening of the grain on the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary; and people in praying should face towards the place where he rises, instead of turning to the quarter where he sets. For similar reasons, said Bír Baṛ, should men pay regard to fire and water, stones, trees, and other forms of existence, even to cows and their dung, to the mark on the forehead and the Brahminical thread.

Philosophers and learned men who had been at Court, but were in disgrace, made themselves busy in bringing proofs. They said, the sun was 'the greatest light,' the source of benefit for the whole world, the nourisher of kings, and the origin of royal power.

This was also the cause why the Naurúz i Jalálí[2] was observed, on which day, since His Majesty's accession, a great feast was given. His Majesty also adopted different suits of clothes of seven different colours, each of which was worn on a particular day of the week in honor of the seven colours of the seven planets.

The emperor also learned from some Hindus formulæ, to reduce the influence of the sun to his subjection, and commenced to read them mornings and evenings as a religious exercise. He also believed that it was wrong to kill cows, which the Hindus worship; he looked upon cow-dung as pure, interdicted the use of beef, and killed beautiful men (?)

[1] The formula '*Bismilláh*, &c.' is said by every schoolboy before he commences to read from his text book.

The words *Ai nám i tu Jesus o Kiristo* are taken from the Dabistán; the edition of Badáoní has *Ai námí wai zhazho Kiristo*, which, though correct in metre (*vide* my 'Prosody of the Persians, p. 33, No. 32,) is improbable. The formula as given in the Dabistán has a common Masnawí metre, (*vide* my 'Prosody,' p. 33, No. 31), and spells *Jesus* ديزز *dezuz*. The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works II, p. 387) has no metre.

[2] *Vide* the *Táríkh i Mulkí*, in the beginning of Book III.

instead of cows. The doctors confirmed the emperor in his opinion, and told him, it was written in their books that beef was productive of all sorts of diseases, and was very indigestible.

Fire-worshippers also had come from Nausárí in Gujrát, and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fire-worship 'the great worship,' and impressed the emperor so favorably, that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Pársís, and ordered Abulfazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God, and 'a ray of His rays.'

His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the *Hom* (a kind of fire-worship), from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem.

From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign [988], His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise, when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. On the festival of the eighth day of Virgo, he put on the mark on the forehead, like a Hindu, and appeared in the Audience Hall, when several Brahmins tied, by way of auspiciousness, a string with jewels on it round his hands, whilst the grandees countenanced these proceedings by bringing, according to their circumstances, pearls and jewels as presents. The custom of Rák'hí (or tying pieces of clothes round the wrists as amulets) became quite common.

When orders, in opposition to the Islám, were quoted by people of other religions, they were looked upon by His Majesty as convincing, whilst Hinduism is in reality a religion, in which every order is nonsense. The Originator of our belief, the Arabian Saints, all were said to be adulterers, and highway robbers, and all the Muhammadans were declared worthy of reproof, till at length His Majesty belonged to those of whom the Qorán says (Sur. 61, 8:) "They seek to extinguish God's light with their mouths: but God will perfect his light, though the infidels be averse thereto." In fact matters went so far, that proofs were no longer required when anything connected with the Islám was to be abolished."

Akbar publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation.

[Bad. II, p. 268.]

In this year [987], His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the state and those of the Church; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amír Tímúr Çáhibqirán, and Mírzá Ulugh Beg i Gurgán, and several others, had

themselves read the *Khuṭbah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtahid of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first Jumáda-lawwal 987, in the Jámi' Masjid of Fathpúr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the Khuṭbah. But all at once he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaikh Faizí had composed, came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of the Imám (leader of the prayer) to Háfiz Muhammad Amín, the Court *Khaṭíb*. These are the verses—

> The Lord has given me the empire,
> And a wise heart, and a strong arm,
> He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
> And has removed from my thoughts everything but justice.
> His praise surpasses man's understanding,
> Great is His power, Alláhu Akbar !"

[*p.* 269.]

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Qorán, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muhammadans openly reviled our prophet, irreligious writers left out in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the prophet, and after saying something to the praise of God, wrote eulogies of the emperor instead.[1] It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (as Abulfazl, Faizí, &c.) did not like it. This wicked innovation gave general offence, and sowed the seed of evil throughout the country ;[2] but notwithstanding this, a lot of low and mean fellows put piously on their necks the collar of the Divine Faith, and called themselves disciples, either from fear, or hope of promotion, though they thought it impossible to say our creed."

[*p.* 270 *to* 272.]

"In the same year [987], a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdúm ulmulk, of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, çadruççudúr, of Qází Jaláluddín of Multán, Qázílquzát, of Çadr Jahán, the muftí of the empire, of Shaikh Mubárik, the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghází Khán of Badakhshán, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences.

[1] As Abulfazl has done in the Áín. 'But Faizí added the usual praise of the prophet (*na't*) to his *Nal Daman*, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends.' *Badáoní.*

[2] Because books were sure to be copied ; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula '*Bismilláh, &c.*' had been changed to *Alláhu Akbar*, we also find *Alláhu Akbar* in the heading of books, as in the Áín.

The object of the document was to settle the superiority of the *Imám i 'ádil* (just leader) over the *Mujtahid*, which was proved by a reference to an ill-supported authority. The whole matter is a question, regarding which people differ in opinion; but the document was to do away with the possibility of disagreeing about laws, whether political or religious, and was to bind the lawyers in spite of themselves. But before the instrument was signed, a long discussion took place as to the meaning of *ijtihád*, and as to whom the term *Mujtahid* was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just Imám who, from his acquaintance with politics, holds a higher rank than the Mujtahid, to decide, according to the requirements of the times, and the wants of the age, all such legal questions on which there existed a difference of opinion. At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly, others against their convictions.

I shall copy the document *verbatim*.

The Document.

'Whereas Hindústán has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal 'Ulamás, who are not only well versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first*, of the verse of the Qorán (Sur. IV, 62,) "*Obey God, and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you,*" and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition, "*Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imám i 'Ádil: whosoever obeys the Amír, obeys Me; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me,*" and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sulṭán i 'Ádil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the king of the Islám, Amír of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fath Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar Pádisháh i ghází*, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qorán, but also of real benefit for the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Islám, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulamás and lawyers, in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijrah.'

The draft of this document when presented to the emperor, was in the handwriting of Shaikh Mubárik. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaikh had added at the bottom that he had most willingly signed his name; for this was a matter, which, for several years, he had been anxiously looking forward to.

No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open; the superiority of intellect of the Imám was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imám became law.

But the state of Shaikh Abulfazl resembled that of the poet *Hairatí* of Samarqand,[1] who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Máwaral-nahr (Turkistán), joined the old foxes of Shí'itic Persia, and chose 'the roadless road.' You might apply the proverb to him, 'He prefers hell to shame on earth.'

On the 16th Rajab of this year, His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmír. It is now fourteen years that His Majesty has not returned to that place. On the 5th Sha'bán, at the distance of five *kos* from the town, the emperor alighted, and went on foot to the tomb of the saint (Mu'ínuddín). But sensible people smiled, and said, it was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwájah of Ajmír, whilst he rejected the foundation of everything, our prophet, from whose 'skirt' hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree had sprung."

[*p.* 273.]

"After Makhdúm ulmulk and Shaikh 'Abdunnabí had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qorán, elicited

[1] The birthplace of the poet *Hairatí* is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkistán. It is said that he was a great wine-bibber, and travelled about in search of places where wine-drinking was connived at. At last he settled at Káshán, and became a Shí'ah. He was murdered there by a robber in 961.

their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the prophet and the imáms. He distinctly denied the existence of *Jins*, of angels, and of all other beings of the invisible world, as well as the miracles of the prophet and the saints; he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our faith, the proofs for the truths of the Qorán as far as they agree with man's reason, the existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, and future rewards and punishments in as far as they differed from metempsychosis.

> Some copies of the Qorán, and a few old graves
> Are left as witnesses for these blind men.
> The graves, unfortunately, are all silent,
> And no one searches for truth in the Qorán.
>
> An '*Íd* has come again, and bright days will come—like the face of the bride.
> And the cupbearer will again put wine into the jar—red like blood.
> The reins of prayer and the muzzle of fasting—once more
> Will fall from these asses—alas, alas![1]

His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. People expressed the date of this event by the words *fitnahái ummat*, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Quṭbuddín Muhammad Khán and Shahbáz Khán (*vide* List of grandees, IId book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Quṭbuddín said, "What would the kings of the West, as the Sulṭán of Constantinople, say, if he heard all this. Our faith is the same, whether a man hold high or broad views." His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he shewed so much opposition; or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he once go away from India, and be a respectable man there: he might go at once. Shahbáz got excited, and took a part in the conversation; and when Bír Baṛ—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shahbáz abused him roundly, and said, "You cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you." It got quite uncomfortable, when His Majesty said to Shahbáz in particular, and to the others in general, "Would that a shoe-full of excrements were thrown into your faces."

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[1] Badáoní bewails the blindness of Akbar, Abulfazl, &c., who threw away the means of grace of the Islám (prayers, fasts).

[*p*. 276.]

"In this year the *Tamghá* (inland tolls) and the *Jazyah* (tax on infidels), which brought in several krors of *dáms*, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire."

In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpúr, headed by Muhammad Ma'çúm of Kábul, Muhammad Ma'çúm Khán, Mu'izzul Mulk, 'Arab Bahádur, and other grandees. They objected to Akbar's innovations in religious matters, in as far as these innovations led to a withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. The rebels had consulted Mullá Muhammad of Yazd (*vide* above, pp. 175, 182), who was Qází-lquzát at Jaunpúr; and on obtaining his opinion that, under the circumstances, rebellion against the king of the land was lawful, they seized some tracts of land, and collected a large army. The course which this rebellion took, is known from general histories; *vide* Elphinstone, p. 511. Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, and Mu'izzulmulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Ágrah, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnah.

In the same year the principal 'Ulamás, as Makhdúm ul mulk, Shaikh Munawwar, Mullá 'Abdushshukúr, &c., were sent as exiles to distant provinces.

[*p*. 278.]

"Hájí Ibráhím of Sarhind (*vide* above, p. 105) brought to court an old, worm-eaten MS. in queer characters, which, as he pretended, was written by Shaikh Ibn 'Arabí. In this book, it was said that the *Çáhib i Zamán*[1] was to have many wives, and that he would shave his beard. Some of the characteristics mentioned in the book as belonging to him, were found to agree with the usages of His Majesty. He also brought a fabricated tradition that the son of a *Çahábí* (one who knew Muhammad) had once come before the prophet with his beard cut off, when the prophet had said that the inhabitants of Paradise looked like that young man. But as the Hájí during discussions, behaved impudently towards Abulfazl, Hakím Abulfath, and Sháh Fathullah, he was sent to Rantanbhúr, where he died in 994.

Farmáns were also sent to the leading Shaikhs and 'Ulamás of the various districts to come to Court, as His Majesty wished personally to enquire into their grants (*vide* IId book, Áín 19) and their manner of living. When they came, the emperor examined them singly, giving

[1] *Çáhib i Zamán*, or 'Man of the Period,' is a title frequently given to Imám Mahdí.

them private interviews, and assigned to them some lands, as he thought fit. But when he got hold of one who had disciples, or held spiritual soirées, or practised similar tricks, he confined them in forts, or exiled them to Bengal or Bhakkar. This practice become quite common.* * * The poor Shaikhs who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindu Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no other place where to live, except mouseholes."

[*p.* 288.]

"In this year (988) low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the *Çáhib i Zamán*, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of the Islám. Sharíf of Ámul brought proofs from the writings of Mahmúd of Basakhwán (*vide* above, p. 177), who had said that, in 990, a man would rise up who would do away with all that was wrong* *.[1] And Khwájah Mauláná of Shíráz, the heretic of Jafrdán, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharífs of Makkah, in which a tradition was quoted that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time was now over, the promised appearance of Imám Mahdí would immediately take place. The Mauláná also brought a pamphlet written by himself on the subject. The Shí'ahs mentioned similar nonsense connected with 'Alí, and some quoted the following Rubá'í, which is said to have been composed by Náçir i Khusrau,[2] or, according to some, by another poet:—

In 989, according to the decrée of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, and on the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil.

All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else."[3]

[*p.* 291.]

"At one of the meetings, the emperor asked those who were present, to mention each the name of man who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they should not mention kings, as they formed an exception. Each then mentioned that man in whom he had confidence. Thus Hakím Humám (*vide* above, p. 175) mentioned himself, and Shaikh Abulfazl his own father.

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[1] The text here does not give a clear meaning.

[2] A Persian poet of the fifth century of the Hijrah. As he was a free-thinker and Shí'ah, his poems were much read at the time of Akbar. The *Farhang i Jahángírí* is full of verses from the works of this ancient poet.

[3] God.

During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honor, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four degrees; and whoever had sacrificed one of these four, possessed one degree.

All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne."

[*p.* 299.]

"At this time (end of 989), His Majesty sent Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár to bring Shaikh Quṭbuddín of Jalesar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God.' When Quṭbuddín came, the emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and rationalists, and some other great authorities of the age. After a discussion, the Shaikh exclaimed, 'Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty I shall pass through it. And if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it the truth of his religion." The fire was made. The Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him, "Come on, in the name of God!" But none of the priests had the courage to go.

Soon after the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other faqírs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

A large number of Shaikhs and Faqírs were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahár, where they were exchanged for horses. About the same time, the emperor captured a sect consisting of Shaikhs and disciples, and known under the name of *Iláhís*. They professed all sorts of nonsense, and practised deceits. His Majesty asked them whether they repented of their vanities. They replied, "Repentance is our Maid." And so they had invented similar names for the laws and religious commands of the Islám, and for the fast. At the command of His Majesty, they were sent to Bhakkar and Qandahár, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts."

[*p.* 301.]

"His Majesty was now (990) convinced that the Millennium of the Islámitic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. The Shaikhs and 'Ulamás who, on account of their obstinacy and pride, had to be entirely discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to disprove the orders and principles of the Islám, and to ruin the faith of the nation by making new and absurd regulations. The first order which was passed was, that the coinage should shew the era of the Millennium, and that a history of the one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death

of the prophet. Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus the *sijdah*, or prostration, was ordered to be performed as being proper for kings; but instead of *sijdah*, the word *zamínbos* was used. Wine also was allowed, if used for strengthening the body, as recommended by doctors; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings, and uproars. For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick persons could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. Of course, people sent in fictitious names, and got supplies of wine; for who could strictly enquire into such a matter? It was in fact nothing else but licensing a shop for drunkards. Some people even said that pork formed a component part of this wine! Notwithstanding all restrictions, much mischief was done, and though a large number of people were daily punished, there was no sufficient check.

Similarly, according to the proverb,[1] 'Upset, but don't spill,' the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Shaiṭánpúrah*, or Devilsville. A Dárogah and a clerk also were appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it. But without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing girls to his house. If any wellknown courtier wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty, and get his permission. In the same way, boys prostituted themselves, and drunkenness and ignorance soon led to bloodshed. Though in some cases capital punishment was inflicted, certain privileged courtiers walked about proudly and insolently doing what they liked.

His Majesty himself called some of the principal prostitutes and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity. After hearing their replies, some of the principal and most renowned grandees were punished or censured, or confined for a long time in fortresses. Among them, His Majesty came across one whose name was Rájah Bír Baṛ, a member of the Divine Faith,

[1] *Kaj dár o maríz*, which is impossible. Akbar's order was well meant; but according to Badáoní, his Act of Segregation was unpractical. The passage is remarkable, as it shews the open profligacy among the Grandees, which annoyed Akbar very much. For another instance, *vide* Bad. II, p. 20.

who had gone beyond the four degrees, and acquired the four cardinal virtues.[1] At that time he happened to live in his jágír in the Parganah of Karah; and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jógí; but His Majesty ordered him to come to Court, assuring him that he need not be afraid.

Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu libertines, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard,[2] which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from everything which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him. Hence this custom has become very general. Pandering pimps also expressed the opinion that the beard takes its nourishment from the testicles; for no eunuch had a beard; and one could not exactly see of what merit or importance it was to cultivate a beard. Moreover, former ascetics had looked upon carelessness in letting the beard grow, as one way of mortifying one's flesh, because such carelessness exposed them to the reproach of the world; and as, at present, the silly lawyers of the Islám looked upon cutting down the beard as reproachful, it was clear that shaving was now a way of mortifying the flesh, and therefore praiseworthy, but not letting the beard grow. (But if any one considers this argument calmly, he will soon detect the fallacy.) Lying, cheating Muftís also quoted an unknown tradition, in which it was stated that 'some Qázís' of Persia had shaved their beards. But the words *kamá yaf'alu ba'zulquzáti* (as *some Qázís* have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be *kamá yaf'alu ba'zul'uzát* (as some *wicked men* have done). * * * *

The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross, and[3]........, and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice. The words *Kufr shái' shud*, or 'heresy became com-

[1] *Fazáil i arba'ah*, or the four virtues *viz.*, *hikmat* wisdom; *shujá'at* courage; *'iffat* chastity; *'adálat* justice. Books on *Akhláq* divide each into several kinds. Compare the above with the cardinal virtues of the ancient justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude.

[2] 'The last three things are inconvenient in kissing.'

[3] The text has *o balbalán (?) kih khushgáh i íshánast*, which I do not understand.

mon', express the *Tárikh* (985). Ten or twelve years after the commencement of these doings, matters had gone so far that wretches like Mírzá Jání, chief of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confessions on paper as follows :—'I, such a one, son of such a one, have willingly and cheerfully renounced and rejected the Islám in all its phases, whether low or high, as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Sháh Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honor and religion.' And these papers—there could be no more effective letters of damnation—were handed over to the Mujtahid (Abulfazl) of the new Creed, and were considered a source of confidence or promotion. The Heavens might have parted asunder, and earth might have opened her abyss, and the mountains have crumbled to dust!

In opposition to the Islám, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean. A large number of these animals was kept in the Harem, and in the vaults of the castle, and to inspect them daily, was considered a religious exercise. The Hindus, who believe in incarnations, said that the boar belonged to the ten forms which God Almighty had once assumed.

'God is indeed Almighty—but not what they say.'

The saying of some wise men that a dog had ten virtues, and that a man, if he possess one of them, was a saint, was also quoted as a proof. Certain courtiers and friends of His Majesty, who were known for their excellence in every department, and proverbial as court poets,[1] used to put dogs on a tablecloth and feed them, whilst other heretical poets, Persians and Hindustánís, followed this example, even taking the tongues of dogs into their own mouths, and then boasting of it.

Tell the Mír that thou hast, within thy skin, a dog and a carcass.[2]

A dog runs about in front of the house ; don't make him a messmate.

The ceremonial ablution after emission of *semen*[3] was no longer considered binding, and people quoted as proof that the essence of man was the *sperma genitale*, which was the origin of good and bad men. It was absurd that voiding urine and excrements should not require ceremonial ablutions, whilst the emission of so tender a fluid should necessitate ablution ; it would be far better, if people would first bathe, and then have connexion.

Further, it was absurd to prepare a feast in honour of a dead person ; for the corpse was mere matter, and could derive no pleasure from the feast. People should therefore make a grand feast on their birth-days.[4] Such feasts were called *Ásh i hayát*, food of life.[5]

The flesh of the wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the

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[1] Faizí.
[2] *I. e.*, that you are a dog.
[3] According to the law, bathing is required after *jimá*,' and *ihtilám*.
[4] For the poor.
[5] Provisions for the life to come.

courage which these two animals possess, would be transferred to any one who fed on such meat.

It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. Boys were not to marry before the age of 16, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages was weakly. The wearing of ornaments and silk dresses at the time of prayer was made obligatory.[1] * * * *

The prayers of the Islám, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, as the son of Mullá Mubárik, a worthy disciple of Shaikh Abulfazl, wrote treatises, in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs. His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors.

The era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the emperor's accession (963). The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the *Niçábuççibyán*.[2] Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians ; but the feasts of the Musalmáns and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people[3] used to go to it. The new era was called *Táríkh i Iláhí*, or 'Divine Era.' On copper coins and gold muhurs, the era of the Millenium[4] was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked upon as a crime ; and Muhammedan law, the exegesis of the Qorán, and the Tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, as the ث, ع, ح, ص, ض, and ظ, were avoided. Thus for عبدالله *'Abdullah*, people wrote ابدالله *Abdullah* ; and for احدی Aḥadí, اهدی *Ahadí*, *&c.* All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Sháhnámah, which Firdausí gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at court—

From eating the flesh of camels and lizards
The Arabs have made such progress,

[1] The Muhammadan law enjoins Muslims to go to the Mosques simply dressed. Silk is forbidden. Muhammadans disapprove of our 'Sunday dresses' and pewage.

[2] *Vide* p. 41, note 2.

[3] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

[4] That is, the word *alf* (one thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with *alf* on it (*vide* Marsden, p. 599) were struck about 991.

That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
Fie upon Fate ! Fie upon Fate !

Similarly other verses were eagerly seized, if they conveyed a calumny, as the verses from the ......,[1] in which the falling out of the teeth of our prophet is alluded to.

In the same manner, every doctrine and command of the Islám, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islám with reason, the doctrines of *Rúyat*, *Taklíf*, and *Takwín*,[2] the details of the day of resurrection and judgment,—all were doubted and ridiculed. And if any one did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted. But it is well known how little chance a man has who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands ; for equality in condition is a *sine quâ non* in arguing.

A man who will not listen, if you bring the Qorán and the Tradition,
Can only be replied to by not replying to him.

Many a family was ruined by these discussions. But perhaps 'discussions' is not the correct name ; we should call them meetings for arrogance and defamation. People who sold their religion, were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many presents. Thus Laṭíf Khwájah, who came from a noble family in Turkistán, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizí's *Shamáil*,[3] and asked how in all the world the neck of the prophet could be compared to the neck of an *idol*. Other remarks were passed on the straying camel.[4] Some again expressed their astonishment, that the prophet, in the beginning of his career, plundered the caravans of Quraish ; that he had fourteen wives ; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband, if the prophet thought her agreeable, &c. * * * At night, when there were social

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[1] The word in the text is *Sajarák* (?). In an engagement Muhammad lost two of his teeth.

[2] *Rúyat*, or *dídár i Iláhí dar jannat*, the actual seeing of God in Paradise, is a doctrine in high favour with the Sunnís. The Shí'ahs say, there will be no actual seeing.

Taklíf. A man is called *mukallaf bil-shar'*, bound by the law, *first*, if he belong to the *Islám ; secondly*, if he have *'aql* or a sound mind ; *thirdly*, if he have reached *bulúgh*, *i. e.*, if he be of age.

Takwín means existence between two non-existences (*'adamain*). Thus a present event stands between a past and a future non-existence. This, the Islám says, is the case with the world, which will come to an end. But Akbar denied it, as he did not believe in a day of judgment.

[3] The book of the famous *Muhaddis* (Collector of Traditions) Tirmizí, which contains all Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the prophet. The word *idol* is expressive of great beauty ; but the courtiers laughed at the phrase as unsuited to Muhammad, who had abolished idols.

[4] This refers to the charge of adultery brought against *'Áishah*, Muhammad's favorite wife. The whole story will be found in Sale's Qorán, Sur. 24, p. 288.

assemblies, His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'The Forty,'[1] and every one might say or ask what he liked. If then any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said, "You had better ask the Mullás about that, as we only settle things which appeal to man's reason." But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the *Çahábah,* when historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalífahs, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of Çiffín,[2] &c.,—would that I were deaf! The Shí'ahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnís were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof for his own infallibility, entirely forgetful of the proverb, 'Who slanders others, slanders himself.'* * * The ignorant vulgar had nothing on their tongues but '*Alláhu Akbar*', and they looked upon repeating this phrase, which created so much commotion, as a daily religious exercise. Mullá Sherí, at this time, composed a *qiṭ'ah* of ten verses, in which the following occur:—

> It is madness to believe with the fool that love towards our prophet
> Will ever vanish from the earth.
> I smile, if I think that the following verse, in all its silliness,
> Will be repeated at the feast of the rich, and as a prayer by the poor:
>
> > 'This year the emperor has claimed prophetship,
> > Next year, if God will, he will be God.'

At the new year's day feasts, His Majesty forced many of the 'Ulamás and the pious, nay even the Qázís and the Muftí of the realm, to drink wine.* * * And afterwards the Mujtahids of the Divine Faith, especially Faizí, called out, "Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!" On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Sharafu-lsharaf,* and considered particularly holy by His Majesty), the grandees were promoted, or received new jágírs, or horses,

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[1] The *Chihil tanán,* or 40 *Abdáls.* After the death of Muhammad, the last of the long series of prophets, the earth complained to God, that henceforth she would no longer be honored by prophets walking on her surface. God promised her, that there should always be on earth *forty* (according to some, *seventy-two*) holy men, Abdáls, for whose sake He would let the earth remain. The chief of the Forty is called *Ghaus.*

[2] *Fadak* is a village not far from Makkah, which Fátimah claimed as her own; but Abú Bakr would not let her have it. *Çiffín* is a place near the Euphrates, where a battle took place between 'Alí and Mu'áwiyah.

Both affairs form, even now-a-days, subjects of quarrel between Sunnís and Shí'ahs. Hence the author of the Dabistán has also made use of them in his Dialogues. The reader will find more particulars in the notes to the English translation of the Dabistán.

or dresses of honor, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion of the tribute they had brought."

In this year Gulbadan Begum [Akbar's aunt] and Salímah Sulṭán Begum returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah. Soon after Sháh Abú Turáb also, and I'timád Khán of Gujrát, returned from the pilgrimage, and brought an immense stone with them, which had to be transported on an elephant. The stone contained, according to Abú Turáb, an impression of the foot of the prophet. Akbar—though it is difficult to guess the motive—went four *kos* to meet it, and the grandees were ordered to carry the stone themselves by turns, and thus it was brought to town.

[*p.* 312.]

"In this year, Shaikh Mubárik of Nágor said in the presence of the emperor to Bír Baṛ, "Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are many in ours (Qorán); hence it is impossible to trust either."

Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty, why at the approaching close of the Millennium, he did not make use of the sword, 'the most convincing proof,' as Sháh Ismá'íl of Persia had done. But His Majesty, at last, was convinced that confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel, and did not require the sword. And indeed, if His Majesty, in setting up his claims, and making his innovations, had spent a little money, he would have easily got most of the courtiers, and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets.

The following Rubá'í of Náçir i Khusrau was often quoted at court—

I see in 992 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdí and that of Antichrist:
Either politics must change or religion.
I clearly see the hidden secret.

At a council meeting for renovating the religion of the empire, Rájah Bhagawán said, "I would willingly believe that Hindus and Musalmáns have each a bad religion; but only tell us where the new sect is, and what opinion they hold, so that I may believe." His Majesty reflected a little, and ceased to urge the Rájah. But the alteration of the orders of our glorious faith was continued. The *Táríkh* was found in the words *Ihdás i bid'at*, the innovation of heresy (990).

During those days also the public prayers and the *azán*, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the statehall, were abolished. Names like *Ahmad*, *Muhammad*, *Muçṭafa*, &c., became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside, the Harem, till, after some time, those courtiers

who had such names, changed them; and names as *Yár Muhammad*, *Muhammad Khán*, were altered to *Rahmat*. To call such ill-starred wretches by the name of our blessed prophet would indeed be wrong, and there was not only room for improvement by altering their names, but it was even necessary to change them, according to the proverb, 'It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig.'

And this destructive fire broke all out in Ágrah, burnt down great and small families, and did not even spare their family tombs—May God forsake these wretches!"

[*p.* 315.]

"In *Rabí'ussáni* 990, Mír Fathullah came from the Dak'hin (*vide* above p. 33).* * * * As he had been an immediate pupil of Mír Ghiásuddín Mançúr of Shíráz, who had not been overstrict in religious matters, His Majesty thought that Fathullah would only be too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fathullah was such a stanch Shí'ah, and at the same time such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility, that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shí'ism. Even in the statehall he said, with the greatest composure, his Shí'ah prayers—a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots; but he connived at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge. Once the emperor, in Fathullah's presence,[1] said to Bír Baŗ, "I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could, in the space of a moment, leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm?" So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. "Why," said His Majesty, lifting up one foot, "it is really impossible for me to lift up the other foot! What silly stories men will believe." And that wretch (Bír Baŗ) and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten—said, "Yea, we believe! Yea, we trust!" This great foot-experiment was repeated over and over again. But Fathullah—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something; for he was a new-comer—looked straight before himself, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear."

Here Badáoní mentions the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, which have been alluded to above, p. 104. It is not quite certain whether the translations were made from Sanscrit, or from Hindí trans-

[1] As Fathullah was a good mechanic, Akbar thought that by referring to the weight of a man, and the following experiment with his foot, he would induce Fathullah, to make a remark on the prophet's ascension (*mi'ráj*).

lations, or from both. Badáoní clearly states that for some translations, as as the At'harban, Hindus were used as interpreters. For other works as the Mahabhárat, there may have been Hindí translations or extracts, because Akbar himself (*vide* p. 105, note 1) translated passages to Naqíb Khán. Abulfazl also states that he was assisted by Pandits when writing the fourth book of the Ain. Compare Sir H. Elliott's Index to the Historians of India, p. 259.

[*p.* 321.]

"In these days (991) new orders were given. The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun; during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardín; the whole month of Ábán (the month in which His Majesty was born); and on several other days, to please the Hindus. This order was extended over the whole realm, and capital punishment was inflicted on every one who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts, His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether.

A second order was given that the Sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanscrit names of the Sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun; he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of the ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindu mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store rooms, or given to Hindu Chaukídárs. For the word *jamá'at* (public prayer), His Majesty used the term *jimá'* (copulation), and for *hayya*[2] *ala*, he said *yalalá talalá*.

The cemetry within the town was ordered to be sequestered."

[*p.* 324.]

"In the same year (991), His Majesty built outside the town two places for feeding poor Hindus and Muhammadans, one of them being called *Khairpúrah*, and the other *Dharmpúrah*. Some of Abulfazl's people were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor. As an immense number of *Jogis* also flocked to this establishment, a third

[2] *Hayya 'ala*, for 'hayya 'ala-çç aláh' [the *waqf* form of *çalát*], 'Come quick to the prayer,' is a phrase which occurs in the *Azán*. *Yalalá talalá* is a phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth.

place was built, which got the name of *Jogipúrah*. His Majesty also called some of the Jogís, and gave them at night private interviews, enquiring into abstruse truths; their articles of faith; their occupations; the influence of pensiveness; their several practices and usages; the power of being absent from the body; or into alchemy, physiognomy, and the power of omnipresence of the soul. His Majesty even learned alchemy, and shewed in public some of the gold made by him. Once a year also during a night called *Sivrát*, a great meeting was held of all Jogís of the empire, when the emperor ate and drank with the principal Jogís, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men. His Majesty fully believed it, and connecting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, he got quite convinced of it. Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs for the longevity of the emperor, and said that the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close, and that the cycle of Saturn[1] was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind, would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years, whilst in Sanscrit books the ages of some men were put down as ten thousand years; and in Thibet, there were even now a class of *Lámahs*, or Mongolian devotees, and recluses, and hermits, that live two hundred years, and more. For this reason, His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lámahs, limited the time he spent in the Harem, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hairs at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening[2] of the human body) under a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul, by metempsychosis, will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king.

His Majesty gave his religious system the name of *Tauhíd i Iláhí*, or 'Divine Monotheism.'

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[1] *Zuhal*, in Persian *Kaiwán*, Saturn. This planet is looked upon as the fountain of wisdom. Nizámí says *sawád é safínah bakaiwán supurd*, 'He (Muhammad) gave Saturn the power of writing.' *Anwár Suhailí*, in praise of some physician, *Zuhal shágird i ú dar nukhtahdání*, 'Saturn in wisdom is his pupil.' Hence the famous astronomer Abulqásim has the *laqab* (title) of *Ghulám i Zuhal*. Besides, there are several cycles of years, over which each of the seven planets reigns. The first cycle was that of Saturn, during which the ages of men were long. The last cycle is that of the moon, during which people do not attain a very old age. It existed already at the time of Háfiz, who says, *In chih shorest kih dar daur i qamar mībīnim*, 'What misfortune is this which we witness in the cycle of the moon.'

[2] *Vide* my text edition, Fourth book, p. 8, l. 9.

He also called, according to the manner of the Jogis, a number of special disciples *Chelahs* (slaves). A lot of vile, swindling, wicked birds, who were not admitted to the palace, stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared, they had made vows not to rinse their mouths, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the emperor; and every evening, there was a regular court assembly of needy Hindus and Muhammadans, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering, and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the 1001 names of the 'Greater Luminary', and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmins collected another set of 1001 names of 'His Majesty the Sun,' and told the emperor that he was an incarnation, like Rám, Kishn, and other infidel kings; and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honor Brahmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and shewed it to the emperor, who believed every word of it.

In this year also, in the state hall of Fathpúr, the ten cubit square of the Hanafís and the *Qullatain*[1] of the Sháfi'ís and Shí'ahs were compared. The fluid quantum of the Hanafís was greater than that of the others.

His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnís should stand separately from the Shí'ahs, when the Hindustánís, without exception, went to the Sunní side, and the Persians to the Shí'ah side."

[*p*. 336.]

"During this year [992], Mullá Iláhdád of Amrohah and Mullá Sherí attended at Court, in order to flatter the emperor; for they had been appointed to *Çadrships* in the Duáb of the Panjáb. Mullá Sherí presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled *Hazár Shuá'*, or 'The Thousand Rays,' which contained 1,000 *qiṭa'hs* in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased."

At the feast of the emperor's accession in 992, numerous conversions took place. [Bad. II. p. 338.]

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[1] *Qullaṭain*, two large jars containing 1,200 *raṭl i 'iráqí* ('iráqí pounds) of water. According to the Shí'ahs and the Sháfi'í sect, water does not become *najis*, or soiled, from its being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 *raṭl*, or the cube of 3½ spans. Hanífah fixed (10 ذراع)[2], just deep enough that the hand, in passing over it, do not touch the bottom. The experiment which Akbar made had for its object to throw blame on the Hanafí Sunnís.

"They were admitted as disciples in sets of twelve, one set at a time, and declared their willingness to adopt the new principles, and to follow the new religion. Instead of the usual tree,[1] His Majesty gave his likeness, upon which the disciples looked as a symbol of faith and the advancement of virtue and prosperity. They used to wrap it up in cloth studded with jewels, and wore it on the top of their turbans. The phrase '*Alláhu Akbar*' was ordered to be used as the heading in all writings. Playing with dice, and taking interest, were allowed, and so in fact was every thing else admitted which is forbidden in the Islám. A play-house was even built at Court, and money from the exchequer was lent to the players on interest (*vide* Second book, Áín 15). Interest and *shalal* (money given at the end of the play to the by-standers) were looked upon as very satisfactory things.

Girls before the age of fourteen, and boys before sixteen, were not to marry, and the story of the marriage night of the Prophet with *Çiddíqah*[2] was totally disapproved of.[3] But why should I mention other blasphemies—May the attention which any one pays to them run away like Quicksilver—really I do not know what human ears cannot bear to hear!

The sins which all prophets are known to have committed, were cited as a reason, why people should not believe the words of the prophets. So especially in the case of David[3] and the story of Uriah. And if any one dared to differ from the belief of these men, he was looked upon as fit to be killed, or as an apostate and everlastingly damned, or he was called a lawyer and enemy of the emperor. But according to the proverb, 'What people sow, that they shall reap,' they themselves became notorious in the whole world as the greatest heretics by their damnable innovations, and 'the infallible authority' got the nick name of *Abújahl*.[4] Yes, 'If the king is bad,

[1] Heads of sects give their pupils trees, not of genealogy, but of disicipleship, as, Ahmad, disciple of 'Alí, disciple of Mu'ín, disciple of Bayazíd, &c., ending with their own name and the name of that disciple to whom the tree (*shajarah*) is given.

[2] *Çiddíqah* is the title of '*Áishah*, the daughter of Abú Bakr. "She was six years old, when she was engaged to Muhammad, who was then fifty years old. The actual marriage took place, when she was nine years old. 'I sat,' she relates, 'with other girls in a swing, when my mother called me. I went to her, not knowing what she wanted. She took my hand, and led me to the door of the house. I now guessed what she wished to do with me: my heart throbbed, but I soon got again composed. I washed my face and my head, and was taken inside, where several women were assembled, who congratulated me, and dressed me up. When they had done, they handed me over to the prophet.' As she was so young, she took her toys to the house of the prophet. The prophet loved her so much, that even in the mosque, at the time of the service, he put his head under her veil, and caressed her, and played with her hair (Tha'labí Tafsír 2, 180); and he told the faithful that she would be his wife in Paradise." From Sprenger's Life of Muhammad III. p. 62.

[3] David counts as a prophet. The book revealed to him is the *zabúr*, or the Psalms.

[4] Properly *father of ignorance*. Badáoní means *Abulfazl*, which name signifies *father of wisdom*. Besides, Abulfazl had the title(*takhalluç*) '*Allamí*, the most learned.

the Vizier is worse.' Looking after worldly matters was placed before religious concerns; but of all things, these innovations were the most important, and every thing else was accessory.

In order to direct another blow at the honour of our religion, His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the Fancy bázárs, which are held on New year's-day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the Harem, and also for any other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of Harem people, marriage-contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings.

The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office; and though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindus, of whom he could not get enough; for the Hindus, of course, are indispensible; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindústánís nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them. For their honour and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not."

[*p.* 340.]

"In this year Sulṭán Khwájah died. He also belonged to the elect disciples of His Majesty. After burying him, they laid down a new rule. They put a grate over his grave in such a manner that the light of the rising sun, which cleanses from all sins, could shine on the face of the corpse. People said, they had seen fiery tongues resting over his mouth, but God knows best."

During the month of *Çafar* (the second month of the year) 994, Akbar's troops were defeated by the Yúsufzaís. Badáoní says (p. 350):

"Nearly 8,000 men, perhaps even more, were killed. Bír Baṛ also, who had fled from fear of his life, was slain, and entered the row of the dogs in hell, and thus got something for the abominable deeds he had done during his lifetime. During the last night attack, many grandees and persons of renown were killed, as Hasán Khán,[1] and Khwájah 'Arab, paymaster (colonel) of Khán Jahán, and Mullá Sherí, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. The words *az Khwájah 'Arab haif*[2]

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[1] *Vide* List of grandees, Text edition of the Áín, p. 227, No. 220, where for *Husain* read *Hasan*. In the MSS. of the Áín he is called بتنى or بتّني. My MS. of the Ṭabaqát reads پتّنی افغان *Patani Afghán*, and calls him a *Hazárí*. The edition of Badáoní has wrong پني. His biography is not given in the *Maásir ulumará*.

[2] The letters give 993; hence one more = 994.

express the Táríkh of the defeat, by one less. Hakím Abulfath and Zain Khán, on the 5th Rabí'ulawwal, reached with their defeated troops the fort of Aṭak.* * * But His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bír Baṛ. He said, "Alas! they could not even get his body out of the pass, that it might have been burned;" but at last, he consoled himself with the thought, that Bír Baṛ was now free and independent of all earthly fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient for him, there was no necessity that he should be cleansed by fire."

New orders were given in the beginning of 995. [*Page* 356.]

"No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was, 'One God, and one wife.' Women, on reaching the limit of their period of fertility, when their courses stop, should no longer wish for the husband. If widows liked to re-marry, they might do so, though this was[1] against the ideas of the Hindus. A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt. If, however, the Hindus thought this a hardship, they should not be prevented (from burning the girl); but then a Hindu widow should take the girl......[2]

Again, if disciples meet each other, one should say '*Alláhu Akbar*,' and the other should respond '*Jalla Jaláluhu*.' These formulas were to take the place of our *salám*, and the answer to the *salám*. The beginning of counting Hindu months should be the 28th day, and not the 16th, because the latter was the invention and innovation of Bikramájít. The Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule. But the order was not obeyed, though farmáns to that effect, as early as 990, had been sent to Gujrát and Bengal.

Common people should no longer learn Arabic, because such people were generally the cause of much mischief. Cases between Hindus should be decided by learned Brahmins, and not by Musalmán Qázís. If it were necessary to have recourse to oaths, they should put heated irons into the hands of the accused, who was guilty if his hands were burnt, but innocent if not; or they should put the hands of the accused into hot, liquid butter; or the accused should jump into water, and if he came to the surface before an arrow had returned to the ground, which had been shot off when the man jumped into the water, he was guilty.

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[1] The text has *was not against the ideas of the Hindus* (?).

[2] The text of the whole passage is doubtful. The readings of the three MSS. which Maulawí Ághá Ahmad 'Alí had in editing Badáoní, give no sense.

People should be buried with their heads towards the east, and their feet towards the west.[1] His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position."

[*p.* 363.]

"In the same year the prohibition of the study of Arabic was extended to all. People should learn Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, and Philosophy. The Tárikh of this order is *Fasád i fazl* (995) * *

On the 10th day of Muharram 996, His Majesty had invited the Khán Khánán, and Mán Singh (who had just been appointed governor of Bahár, Hájipúr and Patna); and whilst they were drinking, His Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test Mán Singh. He said without reserve, "If Your Majesty mean by the term of membership, willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have given pretty clear proofs, and Your Majesty might dispense with examining me; but if the term has another meaning, and refers to religion, surely I am a Hindu. And if I am to become a Muhammadan, Your Majesty ought to say so— but besides Hinduism and Islám, I know of no other religion." The emperor then gave up urging him.

During the month of *Çafar* 996, Mírzá Fúlád Beg Barlás managed to get one night Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'hah, on some pretext, out of his house, and stabbed at him, because the Mullá openly reviled [as Shí'ahs do] the companions of the prophet. The Tárikh of this event is expressed by the words *Zihe khanjar i Fúlád*, 'Hail, steel of Fúlád,' or by *Khúk i saqari*, 'hellish hog!' And really, when this dog of the age was in his agony, I saw that his face looked just like the head of a pig,[2] and others too witnessed it—O God! we take refuge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mírzá Fúlád tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Láhor; for when Hakím Abulfath, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Mírzá, whether he had stabbed at the Mullá from religious hatred, he had said, "If religious hatred had been my motive, it would have been better to kill a greater one[3] than the Mullá." The Hakím reported these words to His Majesty, who said, "This fellow is a scoundrel; he must not be allowed to remain alive," and ordered his execution, though the people of the Harem asked the emperor to spare him for his general bravery and courage. The Mullá outlived

[1] This was an insult, because the Muhammadans in India face the west during prayer. *Vide* Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal for 1868, p. 56.

[2] Sunnís assert that this transfiguration into an animal (*maskh*) happens very often to Shí'ahs, because they revile the *Çahábah*. Faizí, according to Badáoní, looked and barked like a dog, when dying. Another thing which the Sunnís all over India quote as a great proof of the correctness of their *mazhab*, is that no Shí'ah can ever become a *háfiz*, *i. e.*, no Shí'ah can commit the Qorán to memory.

[3] Either Akbar, or Abulfazl.

the Mírzá three or four days. The Shí'ahs, at the time of washing his corpse, say that, in conformity with their religion, they put a long nail into the *anus*, and plunged him several times into the river.[1] After his burial, Shaikh Faizí and Shaikh Abulfazl put guards over his grave; but notwithstanding all precaution, during the year His Majesty went to Kashmír, the people of Láhor, one night, took the hideous corpse of the Mullá from the grave, and burned it."

[*pp*. 375, 376, 380.]

"In 999, the flesh of oxen, buffaloes, goats, horses, and camels, was forbidden. If a Hindu woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced. Circumcision was forbidden before the age of twelve, and was then to be left to the will of the boys. If any one was seen eating together with a butcher, he was to lose his hand, or if he belonged to the butcher's relations, the fingers which he used in eating.

In 1000, the custom of shaving off the beard was introduced."

In 1002, special orders were given to the *kotwáls* to carry out Akbar's commands. They will be found in the Third book of the Áín, Áín 5. The following are new:

If any of the *darsaniyyah*[2] disciples died, whether man or woman, they should hang some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river, and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was. But this order is based upon a fundamental rule, which His Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention.

If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her, and if a young girl was found running about town, whether veiled or not, or if a woman was bad, or quarrelled with her husband, she should be sent to the quarter of the prostitutes, to do there what she liked."

[*p*. 391.]

"At the time of famines and distress, parents were allowed to sell their children, but they might again buy them, if they acquired means to repay their price. Hindus who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmáns, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked. If a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him

[1] This was done to clean the intestines of *faeces*, which were thrown into the river from which the Sunnís got their water.

[2] From *darsan*, for which *vide* p. 157, l. 1.

by force, and be given back to her family. People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and prayer rooms, or idol temples, or fire temples."

[*p.* 398.]

"In this year A'zam Khán returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharífs,[1] and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *sijdah* and following all other rules of discipleship; he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith from the Reverend Master Abulfazl, and got Gházípúr and Hájípúr as *jágír*."

[*p.* 404.]

"During the Muharram of 1004, Çadr Jahán, muftí of the empire, who had been promoted to a commandership of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over-ambitious sons; and having taken the *Shaçt*[2] of the new religion, he ran into the net like a fish, and got his *Hazárîship*. He even asked His Majesty what he was to do with his beard, when he was told to let it be. On the same day, Mullá Taqí of Shushtar[3] joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Sháhnámah into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase *jallat 'azmatuhu wa 'azza shánuhu*,[4] wherever the word *Sun* occurs. Among others that joined were Shaikhzádah Gosálah Khán of Banáras; Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád;[5] and Çúfí Ahmad, who claimed to belong to the progeny of the famous Muhammad Ghaus. They all accepted the four degrees of faith, and received appointments as Commanders from One Hundred to Five Hundred, gave up their beards agreeably to the rules, and thus looked like the youths in Paradise. The words *mútarásh i chand*, or 'several shavers', express the *táríkh* of this event (1004). The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muhammadan,[6] or like those who are dressed in red clothes, and look in their joy towards their relations, who say to them, "My dear little man, these rags will be old to-morrow, but the Islám will still remain on your neck. This Ahmad, 'the little Çúfí', is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor, of Shaikh Ahmad of Egypt. He said that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age, he had come to India, and the Shaikh had frequently told him, to assist the Sulţán of India, should he commit an

[1] This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.
[2] *Shaçt*, which has been explained on p. 166, also means *a fish hook*.
[3] *Vide* List of Grandees, Second Book, No. 352.
[4] Because Muhammadans use such phrases after the name of God.
[5] *Vide p.* 106, note 1.
[6] That is, over-zealous.

error, and lead him back from everlasting damnation. But the opposite was the case."

So far Badáoní. We have, therefore, the following list of members of the Divine Faith. With the exception of Bír Baṛ, they are all Muhammadans; but to judge from Badáoní's remarks, the number of those that took the *Shaçt*, must have been much larger.

1. Abulfazl.
2. Faizí, his brother, Akbar's court-poet.
3. Shaikh Mubárik, of Nágor, their father.
4. Ja'far Beg Áçaf Khán, of Qazwín, a historian and poet.
5. Qásim i Káhí, a poet.
6. 'Abduççamad, Akbar's court-painter; also a poet.
7. A'zam Khán Kokah, after his return from Makkah.
8. Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád, a historian.
9. Çúfí Ahmad.

10 to 12. Çadr Jahán, the crown-lawyer, and his two sons.

13. Mír Sharíf of Ámul, Akbar's apostle for Bengal.
14. Sulṭán Khwájah, a çadr.
15. Mírzá Jání, chief of T'hat'hah.
16. Taqí of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shaikhzádah Gosálah of Banáras.
18. Bír Baṛ.

Nos. 4 to 6 are taken from the Áín; the others are mentioned in the above extracts from Badáoní. The literary element is well represented in the list.

The above extracts from Badáoní possess a peculiar value, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islám to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pársís. This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Áín, nor to the longer article in the Dabistán.

As the author of the latter work has used Badáoní, it will only be necessary to collect the few remarks which are new.

The following two miracles are connected with Akbar's birth.

[*Dabistán*, p. 390.[1]]

[1] *Vide* also *Shea and Troyers'* English Translation of the Dabistán, III, p. 49.

"Khwájah Mas'úd, son of Khwájah Mahmúd, son of Khwájah Murshid-ulhaq, who was a gifted *Çáhib i hál,*[1] said to the writer of this book, "My father related, he had heard from great saints, that the Lord of the faith and the world 'reveals himself.' I did not know, whether that august personage had appeared or would appear, till, at last, one night I saw that event, and when I awoke, I suddenly arrived at that place, where the blessed' Lord was born, namely on a Sunday of the month of Rajab of the year 949, the lord Jaláluddín Akbar, the august son of Humáyún Pádisháh and Hamídah Ḅánú Begum."

The second miracle has been related above, on p. 163, note 3. These two miracles make up the first of the four chapters, into which the author of the Dabistán has divided his article on the "Divine Faith." The second chapter contains religious dialogues, and extracts from Badáoní, which are rather conjecturally rendered in Shea's Translation. The third chapter contains remarks on the worship of the sun and stars, chiefly with reference to the sun-worship of the Tátárs.[2] The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the Áín.

P. 410. "His Majesty also sent money to Írán, to bring to India a wise Zoroastrian of the name of Ardsher."[3]

P. 412. Abulfazl wrote, *as a counterpart to his commentary on the Áyatul-kursi* (p. 169), a preface to the translation of the Mahábhárat (*vide* p. 105) of two *juz.*

P. 413. "When Sulṭán Khwájah,[4] who belonged to the members of the Divine Faith, was near his death, *he said that he hoped, His Majesty would not have him buried like a mad man.* He was therefore buried in a grave *with a peculiar lamp,* and a grate was laid over it, so that the greater luminary, whose light cleanses from all sins, might shine upon him.* * *

Should a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and be converted to the Islám, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family; *but so should also a Musalmán woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism.*"[5]

P. 414. "I heard from Mullá Tarson of Badakhshán, who was a Hanafí

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[1] *Vide* p. 171, note 2.

[2] The author of the Dabistán gives much prominence to the idea that the power and success of the Tátárs was in some way mysteriously connected with their sun and star worship, and that their conversion to the Islám was looked upon as the beginning of their decline. It looks as if the writer wished to connect this idea with Akbar's successes and sun-worship.

[3] Regarding this Ardsher, *vide* Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal for 1868, p. 14. Akbar's fire temple was in the Harem.

[4] *Vide* above, p. 204.

[5] The words in Italics are not in Badáoní. The object of the order was evidently to prevent a woman from doing what she liked; for, according to the Muhammadans, women are looked upon as *náqiç ul'aql.*

by sect, that once during the year 1058, he had gone on a pilgrimage to Sikandrah, the burial place of Akbar. "One of my companions," he said, "declined to enter the pure mausoleum, and even abused the Representative of God [Akbar]. My other companions said, "If Akbar possesses hidden knowledge, that man will certainly come to grief." Soon after a piece of a broken stone fell down, and crushed his toe."

P. 431. "In Multán, I saw Sháh Salámullah, who has renounced the world, and is a *muahhid* (Unitarian). He is very rigid in discipline, and avoids the society of men. He said, he had often been in company with Jaláluddín Akbar, and had heard him frequently say, "Had I formerly possessed the knowledge which I now have, I would never have chosen a wife for myself; for upon old women I look as mothers, on women of my age as sisters, and on girls as daughters." A friend of mine said, he had heard Nawáb Abul Hasan, called Lashkar Khán of Mashhad, report the same as having been said by Akbar.

Salámullah also said that God's Representative (Akbar) had often wept and said, "O that my body were larger than all bodies together, so that the people of the world could feed on it without hurting other living animals."

A sign of the sagacity of this king is this, that he employed in his service people of all classes,[1] Jews, Persians, Túránís, &c., because one class of people, if employed to the exclusion of others, would cause rebellions, as in the case of the Uzbaks and Qizilbáshes (Persians), who used to dethrone their kings. Hence Sháh 'Abbás, son of Sulṭán Khudábandah i Çafawí, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gurjís (Georgians). Akbar paid likewise no regard to hereditary power, or genealogy and fame, but favoured those whom he thought to excel in knowledge and manners."

The passages in the Áín which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following:—p. III; 11; 48; 49; 54; 57; 58, l. 4 from below; Áín 26, p. 61; p. 90, notes 3 and 4, the Sanscrit names being very likely those which were alluded to by Badáoní, *vide* above p. 180, l. 18; p. 91, note 3; p. 103, note 3; 104, 105, 106; p. 108 l. 22, because the "making of likenesses" is as much forbidden by the Islám, as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law; Áín 72, p. 153; 159; Áín 77, p. 162; Áín 81, p. 216. In the Second Book, Áíns 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25; in the IIId book, end of Áín 1 (Táríkh Iláhí); Áíns 2, 5, 9, 10; and lastly, the greater part of the fifth book.

It will be observed that the remarks on Akbar's religious views do not extend beyond the year 1596, when the greater part of the Áín had

[1] *Vide* the notes to Áín 30 of the Second Book.

been completed. Badáoní's history ends with A. H. 1004, or A. D. 1595; but his remarks on Akbar's religion become more and more sparing towards the end, and as subsequent historians, even Jahángír in his 'Memoirs,' are almost entirely silent on the religious ideas of the emperor, we have no means of following them up after 1596. Akbar, in all probability, continued worshipping the sun, and retained all other peculiarities of his monotheistic Pársí-Hinduism, dying as he had lived. The story related in that edition of Jahángír's Memoirs which has been translated by Major Price, that Akbar died as a good Musalmán, and 'repented' on his death-bed, is most untrustworthy, as every other particular of that narrative.[1]

With Akbar's death,[2] the Divine Faith died out. Akbar, solely relying on his influence and example, had established no priesthood, and had appointed no proper person for propagating his faith. If we except the influence which his spirit of toleration exerted, the masses had remained passive. Most of the members, mentioned on p. 209, had died before Akbar; such as were still alive, as Sharíf of Ámul took

[1] The story of Akbar's 'conversion' is also repeated in Elphinstone's History, Second edition, p. 531. The Mullá whom Akbar, according to Price's Memoirs, is said to have called, is Çadr Jahán who, as remarked above on p. 209 was a member of the Divine Faith. This in itself is improbable. Besides, the Tuzuk i Jahángírí, as published by Sayyid Ahmad, says nothing about it. Nor does the Iqbálnámah, a poor production (though written in beautiful Írání Persian), or Kháfí Khán, allude to the conversion, which, if it had taken place, would certainly have been mentioned. Kháfí Khán especially would have mentioned it, because he says of Badáoní, that he said and wrote about the religious views of the Emperor things which he should not have related (*vide Kháfí Khán*, I., p. 196). The silence of the author of the Dabistán is still more convincing, whilst the story of Mullá Tarson, and the abuse uttered by his companion against Akbar (p. 210), are proofs that Akbar did not 'repent.' To this we have to add that Jahángír, in his Memoirs, adopts a respectful phraseology when mentioning the sun, which he calls *Hazrat Nayyir i A'zam;* he also continued the *sijdah*, though offensive to pious Muhammadans, and Akbar's Solar Era, though it involved a loss to the revenue, because for every 33 lunar years, the state only received taxes for 32 solar years; he allowed some Hindu customs at Court, as the *Rák'hí* (*vide* above p. 184), and passed an order, not to force Hindus to join the Islám (*Tuzuk*, p. 100).

[2] Akbar died on the *Shab i Chahárshambih, 12th Jumáda-lukhra* 1014 A. H., which, according to note 3 of p. 171, is our Tuesday night [not Wednesday, as in Price, and all European Historians], the 15th October, 1605, old style. Hence Akbar would have died in the night which followed the day on which he celebrated his sixty-third birth-day, if we adopt our mode of reckoning; *vide* p. 62, note 1.

There is some confusion in the Histories regarding the exact day of Akbar's death. The *Pádisháhnámah* (Vol. I, p. 66) says that Akbar died at the age of sixty-three (solar) years and one day, in the night of the *Chahárshambih* (the night between Tuesday and Wednesday) of the 12th *Jumádalukhra*, corresponding to the 2d *Ábán* of Akbar's Era. The *Mir-át* and *Kháfí Khán* (I, p. 235) give the same; the latter adds that Akbar died at midnight.

The Pádisháhnámah (p. 69) and Kháfí Khán (p. 246) fix the *julús*, or accession, of Jahángír for Thursday the 20th Jumá-

again to sophistry, and tried to create sensations under Jahángír.[1] As Jahángír did not trouble himself about any religion, Akbar's spirit of toleration soon changed to indifference, and gradually died out, when a reaction in favour of bigotry set in under Aurangzeb. But people still talked of the Divine Faith in 1643 or 1648, when the author of the Dabistán collected his notes on Akbar's religion.[2]

AÍN 78.

THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS.

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal. The *Kháçah* elephants with their furniture and ornaments are the first which are daily brought before His Majesty, namely, ten on the first day of every solar month. After this, the *Halqah* elephants are mustered according to their number. On Tuesdays from ten to twenty are mustered. The Bitikchí, during the muster, must be ready to answer any questions as to the name of each animal (there are more than five thousand elephants, each having a different name. His Majesty knows to which section most of the elephants belong—ten elephants form a section of ten (*dahái*), and are in charge of an experienced officer); as to how each elephant came into the possession of His Majesty; the price; the quantity of food; the age of the animal; where it was born; the period of heat, and the duration of that state each time; the date when an elephant was made *kháçah*; its promotion in the *halqahs*; the time when

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dalukhra, or the 10th Ábán, *i. e.*, 8 days after Akbar's death.

Muhammad Hádí, in his preface to the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, says that Akbar died on the *Shab i Chahárshambih*, 13*th Jumádalukhra*; and Sayyid Ahmad's Edition of the Tuzuk refers the *Julús* to Thursday the *eighth* Jumádalukhra; but the word هشتم is often confounded in MSS. with بیستم.

Again the *Mir-át*, and Sharíf i Írání in his *Iqbálnámah*, mention the *Julús* as having taken place on Thursday, the *eleventh* Jumádalukhra. Lastly, the prefaces of the *Farhang i Jahángírí* refer the *julús* to the third Thursday [the twentieth day] of Jumádalawwal [a mistake for *alukhra*], corresponding to the *roz i khur*, or the *eleventh*, of Ábán.

[1] *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 22.

[2] Only one of Akbar's innovations, the *Sijdah*, was *formally* abolished by Sháhjahán. "During the reigns of *Arshá-shyání* [Akbar], and *Junnat Makání* [Jahángír], it was customary for courtiers on meeting their Majesties, or on receiving a present, to prostrate themselves, placing the forehead on the ground.* * * This custom had also obtained in antiquity, but had been abolished by the Islám.* * * When His Majesty [Sháhjahán] mounted the throne, he directed his imperial care to *the re-introduction of the customs of the Islám, the strict observance of which had died away*, and turned his august zeal to re-building the edifice of the law of the prophet, *which had all but decayed.* Hence on the very day of accession, His Majesty ordered that putting the forehead on the ground should be restricted to God. Mahábat Khán, the Commander-in-Chief, objected at first, &c. His Majesty would not even allow the *Zamínbos*, or kissing the ground, and subsequently introduced a fourth Taslím [Akbar had fixed three, *vide* p. 158, l. 5]." *Pádisháhnámah* I, p. 110.

the tusks are cut; how many times His Majesty has mounted it; how many times it was brought for riding out; the time of the last muster; the condition of the keepers; the name of the Amír in charge. For all other elephants eight things are to be reported, *viz.*, the change of its name (?); the repetition of it; its price; how it came into the possession of His Majesty; whether it is fit for riding, or for carrying burdens; its rank; whether it has plain furniture or not; which rank the Faujdár has assigned to it. The rule is, that every Faujdár divides his elephants into four classes, separating those that are best from those that are worst, whether they are to remain with him, or whether he has to give some to other Faujdárs.

Each day five *tahwíli* (transferable) elephants are inspected by an experienced man. The following custom is observed: When new elèphants arrive for the government, they are handed over in fifties or hundreds to experienced officers, who fix their ranks. Such elephants are called *Tahwíli* elephants. When His Majesty inspects them, their rank is finally settled, and the elephants are transferred to the proper sections. Every Sunday one elephant is brought before His Majesty, to be given away as a present to some deserving servant. Several *halqahs* are set apart for this purpose. The rank of the *kháçah* elephants formerly depended on the number of times they had been inspected by His Majesty; but now their precedence is fixed by the number of times His Majesty has mounted them. In the *halqahs*, the precedence of elephants is determined by the price. When all elephants have been mustered, the kháçah elephants are again examined, ten every day. Then come the elephants of the princes, who mostly march them past themselves. After them come the halqahs. As they are arranged in sections according to the price, some elephants have, at every muster, their value either enhanced or lowered, and are then put among their equals. For this reason, many Faujdárs are anxious to complete their sets, and place themselves for this purpose in a row at the time of the musters. His Majesty then gives the elephants to whomsoever he likes. If the number of the elephants of any Faujdár is found correct, some more are put in his charge; for such officers are thought of first. Faujdárs, whose elephants are found to be lean, are preferred, in making up the complements, to such as bring less than their original number. Each Faujdár receives some, provided he musters all his elephants. The Mushrif (accountant) receives orders where to keep the elephants.

The elephants of the grandees also, though not belonging to the fixed establishment, are almost daily brought before His Majesty, who settles their rank, and orders them to be branded with a peculiar mark. Elephants of dealers also are brought before His Majesty, who fixes their rank and value.

ÁÍN 79.

THE MUSTER OF HORSES.

They begin with the stables of forty; then come the stables of the princes; then the *kháçah* courier horses; then the country-bred, and all other stables. When the ten muhur horses have been inspected, they bring the *Gúṭs*, *Qisráqs*, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the *Bárgír* horses (*vide* p. 133, l. 12; p. 135, l. 10 from below, and Áín 54, p. 139). The place of the horses at the musters, is determined by their value, and in the case of horses of the same value, the precedence is determined by the time of service. Before the musters, the horses are inspected by clever officers, who again fix their value, and divide them into three classes. When the rank of a horse has been put higher or lower, it is placed among his proper class-fellows. Those horses which belong to the third class, form separate stables, and are given away as presents. If horses have their value raised, they are given over to such keepers as bring to the musters either the full complement of their horses, or at least a complement not more deficient than by two. Incomplete stables are daily filled up during the musters; or if not filled up, they are put in charge of separate keepers. Twenty horses are daily mustered. On Sundays, horses are the first that are mustered. Double the usual number are then inspected. Several horses are also kept in waiting at Court, *viz.*, one from each of the sixty to the forty muhur stables, and one more from each of the thirty to the ten muhur stables. They are given away as presents or as parts of salaries. The precedence at musters of bázár-horses is fixed according to the price. According to the number of horses available, from twenty to a hundred are daily mustered. Before the musters, experienced officers fix the prices, which are generally enhanced at the time of the parades. Horses above thirty muhurs, have their value fixed in the presence of His Majesty. A cash-keeper attached to the State-hall is entrusted with money, so that horse-dealers have not to wait long for payment of their claims. When horses have been bought, they are marked with a peculiar brand, so that there may be no fraudulent exchange.

From foresight, and on account of the large profits of the horse-dealers, His Majesty enforces a tax of three Rupees for every *'Iráqí*, *Mujannas* (*vide* p. 140, note 2), and Arab, imported from Kábul and Persia; two and a half Rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Qandahár; and two for Kábul horses, and Indian Arab breed.

ÁÍN 80.

THE MUSTERS OF CAMELS.

The beginning is made with country-bred camels, of which five *qaṭárs* are daily inspected. Those *panҫadís* (officers in charge of five hundred camels) come first who are oldest. The Head Dárogah has the permission to parade before His Majesty a qaṭár of excellent Bughdís and Jammázahs. Then come the Bughdís, and after them the Jammázahs, the G'hurds, the Loks, and all other camels. The commencement of the musters takes place on Fridays, on which day double the usual number marches past. The precedence of camels is determined by their value.

ÁÍN 81.

THE MUSTER OF CATTLE.

Cattle are mustered according to their value, ten yokes daily. The muster commences on Wednesdays, on which day double the usual number is inspected.

On the day of the *Díwálí*—an old festival of this country, on which the Hindus pray to the cow, as they look upon reverence shewn to cows as worship—several cows are adorned and brought before His Majesty. People are very fond of this custom.

ÁÍN 82.

THE MUSTERS OF MULES.

The musters of this beast of burden commence on Thursdays, when six *qaṭárs* are inspected in order of their value. Mules are mustered once a year.

Formerly all musters took place as above described. But now horses are inspected on Sundays; camels, cows, and mules, on Mondays; the soldiers, on Tuesdays; on Wednesdays, His Majesty transacts matters of Finance; on Thursdays, all judicial matters are settled; Fridays His Majesty spends in the Harem; on Saturdays, the elephants are mustered.

ÁÍN 83.

THE PÁGOSHT REGULATION.[1]

His Majesty has taught men something new and practical, and has made an excellent rule, which protects the animal, guards the stores, teaches equity, reveals the excellent, and stimulates the lazy man. Experienced people saw their wisdom increased, and such as inquired into this secret, obtained their desires.

His Majesty first determined the quantity of daily food for each domestic animal, and secondly determined the results, which different quanta of food produce in the strength of an animal. In his practical wisdom and from his desire of teaching people, His Majesty classifies the dishonest practices of men. This is done by the *Págosht* regulation. From time to time an experienced man is sent to the stables of these dumb creatures. He inspects them, and measures their fatness and leanness. At the time of the musters also the degrees of fatness or leanness are first examined into, and reports are made accordingly. His Majesty then inspects the animals himself, and decreases or increases the degrees of their fatness or leanness as reported, fixing at the same time the fine for leanness. If, for some reason, the allowance of grain or grass of an animal had been lessened, proper account is taken of such a decrease. The leanness of an elephant has been divided into thirteen classes. * * * [2]

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[1] The object of this curious regulation was to determine the amount of the fines which Akbar could justly inflict on the officers in charge of the animals belonging to the Court, if the condition of the animals did not correspond to his expectations. The daily quanta of food supplied to the animals had been fixed by minute rules (Áíns 43, 51, 62, 67, 70), and the several Dároghahs (store-keepers) entered into their *roznámchahs*, or day-books, the quantum daily given to each animal. These day-books were produced at the musters, and special officers measured the fatness of each animal, and compared it with the food it had been receiving since the last muster, as shewn in the day-book. Akbar determined a maximum fatness (A), which corresponded to a maximum quantity of daily food (*a*). Similarly, he determined a fatness (B), resulting from a daily quantity of food (*b*), though Abulfazl does not specify how this was done. The quantities A, B, &c. were then divided into several fractions or degrees, as $\frac{8A}{8}$, $\frac{7A}{8}$, $\frac{6A}{8}$, &c. Thus in the case of elephants, the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees.

Pá-gosht means *a quarter of flesh*, and evidently expresses that the food *a* only produced $\frac{3}{4}$A, instead of $\frac{4}{4}$A. The name was then transferred to the regulation.

We do not know how the mustering officers applied Akbar's rule, whether by measuring the circumference of an animal, or by weighing them. The rule may appear fanciful and unpractical; but it shews how determined Akbar was to fathom the dishonesty of his Dároghahs. Hence the carefulness which he shewed in assessing fines (Áíns 48, 57), in ordering frequent musters of animals and men, in reviving the regulations of branding animals as given by 'Aláuddín Khiljí and Sher Sháh, in fixing the perquisites, in paying cash for all supplies, in allowing veterinary surgeons certain powers, &c.

[2] The text (p. 163, l. 19) enumerates several fractions, or degrees of leanness, but they give no sense. The confusion of the MSS. is due to the want of interpunctuation.

For all other animals beside the elephant, six degrees have been laid down, *viz.* the second, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and tenth [degrees of the thirteen for the elephant]. And as it is the custom of the Faujdárs, to mark, at the time of the musters of the halqahs, one halqah which is the best in their opinion, and to put separate that which is the worst, the officers who inquire into the leanness and fatness, deduct fifty *per cent.* from the degree of the former, and count one half for the latter halqah. If the Faujdár works in concert with the Dároghah, and both sign the entries in the day-book, the Faujdár is responsible for one-fourth, and the Dároghah for the remaining part of the food. The leanness of old elephants is fixed by the condition of the whole *halqah*. In the horse stables the grooms, water-carriers, and sweepers are fined one-fourth of the wages. In the case of camels, the Dároghah is fined the amount of the grain, and the driver for the share of the grass. In the case of oxen used for carriages, the Dároghah is fined for the part of the grass and the grain; but the driver is not liable. In case of heavy carriages, half the fine is remitted.

ÁÍN 84.

ON ANIMAL FIGHTS. REGULATIONS FOR BETTING.

His Majesty is desirous of establishing harmony among people of different classes. He wishes to arrange feasts of friendship and union, so that every thing may be done with propriety and order. But as all men do not possess a mind capable of selecting that which is true, and as every ear is not fit to listen to wisdom, His Majesty holds social meetings for amusement, to which he invites a large number of people. Through the careful arrangements of His Majesty, the court has been changed from a field of ambitious strife to a temple of a higher world, and the egotism and conceit of men have been directed to the worship of God. Even superficial, worldly people thus learn zeal and attachment, and are induced by these gatherings to enquire after the road of salvation.[1]

Deer-fights.

The manner of fighting of this animal is very interesting, and its method of stooping down and rising up again is a source of great amusement. Hence His Majesty pays much attention to this animal, and has succeeded in training this stubborn and timid creature. One hundred and one deer are *kháçah;* each has a name, and some peculiar qualities. A keeper is placed over every ten. There are three kinds of fighting deer,

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[1] To join Akbar's Divine Faith.

first, those which fight with such as are born in captivity and with wild ones; *secondly*, such as fight best with tame ones; and *thirdly*, such as fiercely attack wild deer. The fights are conducted in three different ways. *First*, according to number, the first fighting with the second, the third with the fourth, and so on, for the whole. At the second go, the first fights with the third, the second with the fourth, and so on. If a deer runs away, it is placed last; and if it is known to have run away three times, it ceases to be *kháçah*. Betting on these fights is allowed; the stake does not exceed 5 dáms. *Secondly*, with those belonging to the princes. Five *kháçah* pair fight with each other, and afterwards, two kháçah pair from His Majesty's hunting-ground; then five other *kháçah* pair. At the same time two pair from the deer park of His Majesty's hunting-ground fight, and afterwards five *kháçah* deer engage with five deer of the eldest prince. Then fourteen *kháçah* pair engage with each other, and fight afterwards with the deer of the prince, till the fight with the deer of the prince is finished. Upon this, the deer of princes fight with each other, and then *kháçah* deer. The betting on such fights must not exceed one muhur. *Thirdly*, with the deer of other people.

His Majesty selects forty-two from his nearer friends, and appoints every two of them as opponents, forming thus one and twenty sets. The first winners receive each thirty deer, and all others get one less, so that the last get each eleven. To every set a *Mal*,[1] a water-buffalo, a cow, a *quchqár* (fighting ram), a goat, and a cock, are given. Fights between cows and goats are rarely mentioned to have been held in ancient times. Before the fighting commences, two *kháçah* deer are brought in trimmed up, and are set against two deer belonging to people of various sets. First, with a deer belonging to a powerful grandee, and then the fight takes place before His Majesty. If a general assembly is announced, the fight may also take place, if the deer belongs to a commander of One Thousand. The betting on *kháçah* deer is eight muhurs, and on deer belonging to one of a set, five muhurs, if it be an *Aṭkal;* and four, if an *Anín*. As deer have not equal strength and impetuosity of attack, the rule among deer-keepers is, once to select each of their deer in turn and take it to the arena. Such deer are called *Anín*. Another then estimates its strength, and brings a deer as opponent. The latter is called *Aṭkal*. In case of *Mals*, the betting is five muhurs; for water buffaloes and cocks, four; for cows and fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of One Thousand is allowed to bet six muhurs on a *kháçah* deer; and with one of his own rank,[2] $3\frac{3}{4}$ muhurs, if the bet is on an *Aṭkal;* and three on an *Anín;* and so also in the same

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[1] *Mal*, according to Áín 6 of the Second Book, is the name for a Gujrát wrestler.

[2] Or perhaps with his opponent in the set (*misl*).

proportion on *Mals*, water-buffaloes, and cocks; but on cows, fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of Nine Hundred may bet on a *kháçah* deer 50 Rupees; and with one of his own rank, 30¼ *R.* on an *Aṭkal*, and 25 *R.* on an *Anín;* on a *Mal* 3⅛ muhurs; on a water-buffalo and a cock 3¼ *M.*; and on all other animals, 1½ *M.* A commander of Eight Hundred is allowed to bet 48 R. on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his rank, 30 *R.* on an *Aṭkal;* and 24 *R.* on an *Anín;* on a *Mal* 3⅓ *M.*; on a water-buffalo and cock, 2½ *M.*, and on other animals, as before. A commander of Seven Hundred is allowed to bet 44 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank on an *Aṭkal* 27½ *R.*; on an *Anín* 22 R.; on a *Mal* 3 *M*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Six Hundred may bet 40 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank, 25 *R.* on an *Aṭkal;* 20 *R.* on an *Anín;* on other animals as before. A Commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 *M.* [36 *R.*] on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank 2½ *M.* on an *Aṭkal*, and 2 *M.* on a *Anín*; on other animals, as the preceding. A Commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank 21½ *R.* on an *Aṭkal;* 17 *R.* on an *Anín;* on a *Mal* 2¾ *M.;* on a water-buffalo and cock, 2 *M.*; on a cow, a fighting ram, and goat, 1 *M.* A Commander of Three Hundred may bet 30 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank, 18¾ *R.* on an *Aṭkal;* 15 *R.* on an *Anín;* 2⅓ *M.* on a *Mal;* on other animals as the preceding. A Commander of Two Hundred may bet 24 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank 15 *R.* on an *Aṭkal*, 12 *R.* on an *Anín*, and on other animals as before. A Commander of One Hundred may bet 2 *M.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank 1½ *M.* on an *Aṭkal;* 1 *M.* on an *Anín*; and on other animals as before. A Commander of Eighty may bet 16 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank 10 *R.* on an *Aṭkal;* 8 *R.* on an *Anín;* 17 *R.* on a *Mal;* 1⅓ *M.* on a water-buffalo and a cock; on other animals as before. A Commander of Forty may bet 12 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of his own rank 7½ *R.* on an *Aṭkal;* 6 *R.* on a *Anín*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Twenty may bet 10 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; 6½ *R.* with one of his own rank on an *Aṭkal;* 5 *R.* on an *Anín;* on other animals as before, A Commander of Ten may bet 8 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer, and 5 *R.* on an *Aṭkal*, with one of his own rank; 4 *R.* on an *Anín;* on other animals as before. People who hold no *mançabs*, bet 4 *R.* on a *kháçah* deer; with one of their own rank, 2½ *R.* on an *Aṭkal;* 2 *R.* on an *Anín;* 15 *R.* on a *Mal;* on other animals as before.

But if the opponent hold a less rank, the amount of the bet is determined according to the amount which the opponent is allowed to bet on an *Anín.* When the last pair comes, the betting is everywhere on the deer. A fourth part of what people take from each other in *Mal* fights, is given to the victorious wrestler. The presents which His Majesty makes on such occasions, have no limits.

The rule is that every one of such as keep animals brings on the fourteenth night of the moon one deer to the fight. The Bitikchí of this department appoints half the number of deer as *Anins*, and the other half as *Aṭkals*. He then writes the names of the *Aṭkals* on paper slips, folds them up, and takes them to His Majesty, who takes up one. The animal chosen has to fight with an *Anin*. As such nights are clear, fights are generally announced for that time.

Besides, there are two other classes of deer, *kotal*, and *half kotal*. The number of each is fixed. As often the number of *kháçah* deer decreases, the deficiency is made up from the *kotal* deer; and the deficiency in the number of *kotals* is made up from *half kotals*. One pair of *kotals* also is brought to the fight, so that they may be tried. Hunters supply continually wild deer, and bring them to His Majesty, who fixes the price. A fat superior deer costs 2 *M.*; a thin superior one, 1 *M.* to 15 *R.*; a fat middling one, 12 *R.*; Do. lean, 8 *R.*; a third class fat one, 7 *R.*; Do. thin, 5 *R.*; a fourth class fat one, 4 *R.*; Do. lean, 2½ to 2 *R.*

Deer are kept and fed as follows: *Kháçah* deer selected for fighting before His Majesty, get 2 *s.* grain, ½ *s.* boiled flour, ⅛ *s.* butter, and 1 *d.* for grass. Such as are kept on His Majesty's hunting-grounds, *kotals*, and fighting deer of the sets, get 1¾ *s.* of grain, and flour and butter as before. The grass is supplied by each amateur himself. All *kháçah*, home-bred, *kotal* deer, and those of His Majesty's hunting-ground, have each one keeper. The fighting deer of the sets have one keeper for every two; the single last one has a keeper for itself. Nothing is given for grass. Deer which are given to people to have them fattened, get 1¾ *s.* grain, and ½ *d.* for grass. They have one keeper for every four; but one for every two, if they are fit to become *kháçah*. Some deer are also sent to other towns; they get 1½ *s.* grain, and have each one keeper. If deer are newly caught, they get no regular food for seven days, after which they get ½ *s.* of grain for a fortnight. They then get 1 *s.*, and when one month is over, 1½ *s.*

In the deer park, Mançabdárs, Ahadís, and other soldiers are on staff-employ. The pay of foot-soldiers varies from 80 to 400 *d.*

His Majesty has 12,000 deer; they are divided into different classes, and proper regulations are made for each of them. There is also a stud for deer, in which new results are obtained. A large female gets 1½ *s.* grain, and ½ *d.* for grass. A new born deer drinks the milk of the dam for two months, which is reckoned as equivalent to ¼ *s.* of grain. Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter ser of grain, so that after a period of two years, it gets the same as its dam. For grass, ¼ *d.* is given from the seventh to the tenth month. Young male ones also get weaned after two months, when they get ⅜ *s.* of grain, which is increased

by that quantity every second month, so that, after two years, they get 2¼ *s.* From the fifth to the eighth month, they get ½ *d.* for grass, after which period they get ½ *d.* for grass.

I have given a short description of animal fights as announced for general assemblies. His Majesty announces them also for day time; but as often a more important act of worship is to be performed, he announces them for the night. Or else His Majesty thinks of God, and seeks for wisdom in self-examination; he cares neither for cold nor heat; he spends the time which others idle away in sleep, for the welfare of the people, and prefers labour to comfort.

ÁÍN 85.

ON BUILDINGS.

Regulations for house-building in general are necessary; they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government. People that are attached to the world will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress. Hence His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay. Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious, and please the obedient. Delightful villas, and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which is so necessary for worldly power.

Everywhere also *Saráis* have been built, which are the comfort of travellers and the asylum of poor strangers. Many tanks and wells are being dug for the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil. Schools and places of worship are being founded, and the triumphal arch of knowledge is newly adorned.

His Majesty has enquired into every detail connected with this department, which is so difficult to be managed, and requires such large sums. He has passed new regulations, kindled the lamp of honesty, and put a stock of practical knowledge into the hands of simple and inexperienced men.

ÁÍN 86.

THE PRICES OF BUILDING MATERIAL, &c.

Many people are desirous of building houses; but honesty and conscientiousness are rare, especially among traders. His Majesty has

carefully inquired into their profits and losses, and has fixed the prices of articles in such a manner, that both parties are satisfied.

Red sandstone costs 3 *d. per man.* It is obtainable in the hills of Fathpúr Síkṛí, His Majesty's residence, and may be broken from the rocks at any length or breadth. Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully, as no turner could do with wood; and their works vie with the picture book of *Máni* [the great painter of the Sassanides]. Pieces of red standstone (*sang i gulúlah*), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the *p'harí*, which means a heap of such stones, without admixture of earth, 3 *gaz* long, 2½ *g.* broad, and 1 *g.* high. Such a heap contains 172 *mans*, and has a value of 250 *d.*, *i. e.*, at the rate of 1 *d.* 11¼ *j. per man.*

Bricks are of three kinds: burnt, half burnt, unburnt. Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three *sers*, and cost 30 *d. per mille.* The second class cost 24 *d.*, and the third 10 *d.* per thousand.[1]

Wood. Eight kinds of wood are in general use. 1. *Sísaun*, unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 *Iláhí gaz* long, and 8 *Ṭassújes* broad and high, costs 15 *d.* 6 *j.* But if the height be only 5 or 6 *Ṭ.*, 11 *d.* 10¾ *j.* Other sizes according to the same proportion. 2. *Nazhú*, called in Hindí *Jíḍh.*[1] A beam, 10 *Ṭ.* broad and high, costs *per gaz* 5 *d.* 13¾ *j.*; and a half size beam, from 7 to 9 *Ṭ.* broad and high, costs *per gaz* 5 *d.* 3¾ *j.* 3. *Dasang* (?), called in Hindí *Karí;* a beam 3 *Ṭ.* broad, and 4 *gaz* long, costs 5 *d.* 17½ *j.* 4. *Ber,*[2] 1 *Ṭ.* broad and high, 4 *gaz* long, 5 *d.* 17¾ *j.;* so also *Tút*, or Mulbery. 5. *Mughilán* (Babúl), of the same cubic content as No. 4., 5 *d.* 2 *j.* 6. *Sirs*, size as before, 10 *d.* 4 *j.* 7. *Dayál*, same size, first quality 8 *d.* 22¼ *j.*; second quality, 8 *d.* 6¼ *j.* 8. *Bakáyin*, same size, 5 *d.* 2 *j.*

Gaj i Shírín, or sweet limestone. There is a quarry near Bahírah. When a merchant brings it, it costs 1 *R. per three mans*; but if any one sends his own carriers, only 1 *d.* *Sangín qal'í*, *per man* 5 *d.* 5 *j.* *Çadafí* 5 *d.* *Chúnah*, or quick lime, 2 *d. per man;* it is mostly boiled out of *kangur*, a kind a solid earth resembling stone in hardness.

Iron cramps, if tinned, 13 for 18 *d.*; plain ones, for 6 *d.*

Iron door-knockers, from Persia and Túrán, tinned; large ones, 8 *d. per pair;* small ones, 4 *d.* Indian do., tinned, 5½ *d.*; plain ones, 4 *d.* 12 *j.*

Gul Mekh (large nails with broad heads), 12 *d. per ser.* *Dinárínails*, 5 *d. per ser.* *Gogah*, or small nails, tinned, first quality 7 *d.* for one hundred; second quality, 5 *d.*; smallest, 4 *d.*

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[1] This word is spelt *Chíḍh* in Áín 90, No. 59.

[2] "The *Ber* was in great request in Akbar's time as a building timber, but is now little used, except for kingposts and tiebeams, as the direct cohesion of its fibres is equal to that of Salwood." *Balfour's Timber Trees of India.*

Screws and nuts, chiefly used for doors and boxes. Tinned, 12 *d.* *per ser;* plain, 4 *d.*

Rings, tinned, 6 *d. per ser;* plain, 4 *d.*

K'haprel, or tiles. They are one hand long and ten fingers broad, are burnt, and are used for the roofs of houses, as a protection against heat and cold. Plain ones, 86 *d. per mille;* enamelled, 30 *d.* for ten.

Qulbah, or spouts, to lead off water. Three for 2 *d.*

Báns, or bamboo. It is used for spears. First quality, 15 *d.* for twenty pieces; second quality, 12 *d.* for do.; third quality, 10 *d.* for do. The price of some kinds of bamboo is much higher. Thus a peculiar kind is sold at 8 *Ashrafís* [Muhurs] *per piece.* They are used for making thrones. Bamboo, at a rupee *per piece*, is common. *Patal* is made of the reed which is used for *qalams* (pens). It is used for covering ceilings. First quality, cleaned, 1½ *d. per square gaz;* second quality, 1 *d.* Sometimes they sell *patal* at 2 *d.* for pieces 2 *gaz* long, and 1½ *g.* broad. *Sirkí* is made of very fine *qalam* reeds, looks well, and is very smooth; it is sold at the rate of 1½ *d. per pair*, 1½ *g.* long, and 16 *girihs* broad. The ceilings and walls of houses are adorned with it.

K'has is the sweet-smelling root of a kind of grass, which grows along the banks of rivers. During summer, they make screens of it, which are placed before the door and sprinkled with water. This renders the air cool and perfumed. Price, 1½ *R. per man.*

Káh i chappar (reeds for thatching) is sold in bundles, which are called in Hindí *púlah*, *per ser* from 100 to 10 *d.*

Bhus, or wheat straw, used for mixing with mortar, 3 *d. per man.*

Káh i Dáb'h, straw, &c., which is put on roofs, 4 *d.* for a load of 2 *mans.*

Múnj, the bark of *qalam* reeds, used for making ropes to fasten the thatching, 20 *d. per man.*

San is a plant. Peasants mix it with quicklime. People also make ropes of it for well buckets, &c., 3 *d. per man.*

Gum, of an inferior quantity, is mixed with quicklime, 70 *d. per man.*

Sirish i káhí, or reed glue, is mixed with sweet limestone, 4 *d. per ser.*

Luk is the flower-bunch of the reed which is used for matting. People burn it, and use it as a candle. It is also mixed with quicklime and *Qal'í*. Price, 1 *R. per man.*

Símgil (silver clay) is a white and greasy clay, 1 *d. per man.* It is used for white-washing houses. It keeps a house cool and looks well. *Gil i surhh*, or red clay, called in Hindí *gerú*, 40 *d. per man.* There is a quarry of it in the hills of Gwáliár.

Glass is used for windows; price, 1 *R.* for 1¼ *s.*, or one pane for 4 *d.*

ÁÍN 87.

ON THE WAGES OF LABOURERS.

Gilkárs (workers in lime), first class workmen, 7 *d.*; second class, 6 *d.*; third class, 5 *d.*

Sangtarásh (stone-masons). The tracer gets 6 *d.* for each *gaz;* one who does plain work, 5 *d.* A labourer employed in quarries gets for every *man* he breaks, 22 *j.*

Carpenters, first class, 7 *d.*; second do., 6 *d.*; third do., 4 d.; fourth do., 3 *d.*; fifth do., 2 *d.* For plain job-work, a first class carpenter gets 1 *d.* 17 *j.* for one *gaz;* second class do., 1 *d.* 6 *j.*; third class do., 21 *j.*

Pinjarah sáz (Lattice work and wicker work). *First*, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 *d.* for every square *gaz;* when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 *d.*; when hexagonal, 18 *d.*; when *ja'farí* [or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical the other horizontal], 16 *d.*; when *shaṭranjí* [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 *d.* for every square *gaz.*

Secondly, when the work is *ghair waçlí* (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skilfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 *d.* per square *gaz;* for second class do., 40 *d.*

Arrahkash (one who saws beams). For job-work, *per square gaz* 2½ *d.*, if *sisaun* wood; if *nazhú* wood, 2 *d.* A labourer employed for the day, 2 *d.* There are three men for every saw, one above, two below.

Bildárs (bricklayers), first class, daily 3½ *d.*; second class do., 3 *d.* If employed by the job, for building fortress walls with battlements, 4 *d.* per *gaz;* for laying foundations, 2½ *d.*; for all other walls, 2 *d.* For digging ditches, ½ *d. per gaz.*

☞ The *gaz* of a labourer contains 32 *ṭassújes.*

Cháh-kan, or well diggers, first class work men, 2 *d. per gaz;* second class do., 1½ *d*; third class do., 1¼ *d.*

Ghauṭah khur, or well-divers. They clean wells. In the cold season, 4 *d. per diem;* in the hot season, 3 *d.* By the job, 2 *R.* for cleaning a depth of one *gaz.*

Khisht tarásh, or tile makers, for 100 moulds, smoothened, 8 *d.*

Surkhíkob (pounders of old bricks), 1½ *d.* for a heap of 8 *mans.*

Glass-cutters, 100 *d. per gaz.*

Bamboo-cutters, 2 *d. per diem.*

Chapparband, or thatchers, 3 *d. per diem;* if done by the job, 24 *d.* for 100 *gaz.*

Patalband (*vide* p. 224), 1 *d.* for 4 *gaz.*

Lak'hírah. They varnish reeds, &c., with lac. Wages, 2 *d. per diem.*

Ábkash, or water-carriers. First class, 3 *d. per diem ;* second class do., 2 *d.* Such water-carriers as are used for furnishing house-builders with water for mortar and quicklime, get 2 *d. per diem.*

ÁÍN 88.

ON ESTIMATES OF HOUSE BUILDING.

Stonebuildings. For 12 *gaz*, one *p'ha* (*vide* above *Áín* 86) is required; also 75 *mans chúnah;* but if the walls be covered with red stone, 30 *mans chúnah* are required *per gaz.*

Brickbuildings. For every *gaz*, there are required 250 bricks of three *ser* each, 8 *mans chúnah*, and 2 *m.* 27 *s.* pounded brick (*surkhí*).

Claybuildings. 300 bricks are required for the same; each brick-mould contains 1 *s.* of earth and ½ *s.* of water.

Astarkárí work. For every *gaz*, 1 *man chúnah*, 10 *s. qal'í*, 14 *s. surkhí*, and ¼ *s. san* (*vide* p. 224) are required.

Çandalahkárí work. For every *gaz*, 7 *s.* of *qal'í*, and 3 *s. surkhí* are required.

Safídkárí work. 10 *s.* of *qal'í* are required *per gaz.*

Gajkárí work (white-washing). For walls and ceilings, 10 *s. per gaz;* for pantries, 6 *s.*; chimneys, 10 *s.*

Windows require 24 *s.* of lime, 2½ *s.* of glass, 4 *s.* of *sirish i káhí* (putty).

Plaster for walls, for 14 *gaz* 1 *m.* of straw, and 20 *m.* earth; for roofs and floors, do. for 10 *gaz.* For ceilings, and the inside of walls, do. for 15 *gaz.*

Lac (varnish work) used for *chighs* [sliced bamboo sticks, placed horizontally, and joined by strings, with narrow interstices between the sticks. They are painted, and are used as screens]. If red, 4 *s.* of lac, and 1 *s.* of vermilion; if yellow, 4 *s.* of lac, 1 *s.* of *zarníkh* (auripigment). If green, ½ *s.* of indigo is mixed with the lac, and *zarníkh* is added; if black, 4 *s.* of lac and 8 *s.* of indigo.

ÁÍN 89.

RULES FOR ESTIMATING THE LOSS IN WOOD CHIPS.[1]

One *gaz* = 24 *tassújes*
1 *tassúj* = 24 *taswánsahs*
1 *taswánsah* = 24 *khâms*
1 *khâm* = 24 *zarrahs.*

Whatever quantity of wood be used, the chippings (?) are reckoned at

[1] I am not sure whether this Áín has been correctly translated.

one-eighth (?). In *Sísauṇ* wood, *per ṭassúj*, 26¼ *sers*, 15 *tánks*; *Babúl* wood 23½ *s.* 5 *d.*; *Sirs* wood, 21½ *s.* 15 *tánks*; *Nazhú* wood, 20 *s.*; *Ber* wood, 18½ *s.*; *Dayál* wood, 17 *s.* 20 *tánks*.

ÁÍN 90.

THE WEIGHT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF WOOD.

His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has for several reasons experimented on the weight of different kinds of wood, and has thus adorned the market place of the world. One cubic *gaz* of dry wood of every kind has been weighed, and their differences have thus been established. *Khanjak* wood has been found to be the heaviest, and *Safídár* the lightest wood. I shall mention 72 kinds of wood.

The weight of one cubic *gaz* of

		Máns.	*Sers.*	*Tánks.*
1.	Khanjak, ...is	27	14	—
2.	Amblí (*Tamarindus Indica*)	24	8¾	25
3.	Zaitún (*Gyrocarpus Asiaticus*,[1] ?) .... }	21	24	—
4.	Balúṭ (Oak), ... }			
5.	K'her (*Acacia catechu*) .... }	21	16	—
6.	K'hirní (*Mimusops*), ... }			
7.	Parsiddh, ...	20	14	17
8.	Ábnús (Ebony), ...	20	9	20
9.	Sain (*Acacia Suma*), ...	19	32	10
10.	Baqqam (*Caesalpina sappan*), ...	19	22½	10
11.	K'harhar, ...	19	11¼	5
12.	Mahwá (*Bassia latifolia*), ...	18	32½	2
13.	Chandaní, ... }	18	20½	10
14.	P'huláhí, ... }			
15.	Red Sandal, in Hindí *Rakt Chandan*, (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*), ...	18	4½	10
16.	Chamrí, ...	18	2	7½
17.	Chamar Mamrí	17	16¼	—
18.	'Unnáb (*Zizyphus sativus*), ...	17	5	4
19.	Sisaun Patang (*vide* No. 40), ...	17	1¾	7
20.	Sándan, ...	17	1	28
21.	Shamshád (*Buxus Sempervirens*,)	16	18	25

[1] So according to Watson's Index. But Voigt, in his *Hortus Bengalensis* says, the wood of *Zaitún*, or *Gyrocarpus*, is very light, and is used for boats. Abulfazl puts *Zaitún* among the heaviest woods.

		Mans.	*Sers.*	*Tánks:*
22.	D'hau (*Grislea tomentosa*),	16	1	10
23.	Ámlah, *Hind.* Áṇwlah, (*Emblica officinalis*),	16	1½	1
24.	Karíl (*Sterculia fetida*),	16	1	10
25.	Sandal wood,	15	17	20
26.	Sál (*Shorea robusta*),	15	4¾	7
27.	Banaus. His Majesty calls this tree *Sháh Álú;* but in Kábul and Persian it is called *Álú Bálú* (Cherry),	14	36½	10
28.	Kailás (Cherry tree)	14	35½	—
29.	Níṇb (*Azadirakhta Indica*),	14	32¼	31
30.	Dárhard (*Berberis aristata*),	14	32¼	19
31.	Main,	14	22¾	—
32.	Babúl (*Acacia Arabica*),			
33.	Ságaun,	14	10	20
34.	Bijaisár,	13	34	—
35.	Pílú,			
36.	Mulberry,	13	28½	15
37.	D'háman,	13	25	20
38.	Bán Barás,	13	10	29
39.	Sirs (*Acacia odoratissima*),	12	38	21
40.	Sísauṇ (*Dalbergia sissoo; vide* No. 19,)	12	34¼	5
41.	Finduq,	12	26	4
42.	Chhaukar,	12	17½	22
43.	Dudd'hí,			
44.	Haldí	12	13½	32
45.	Kaim (*Nauclea parviflora*),	12	12½	30
46.	Jáman (*Jambosa*),	12	8	20
47.	Farás,			
48.	Bar (*Ficus Indica*),	12	3¼	5
49.	K'handú,	11	29	—
50.	Chanár,			
51.	Chármaghz (Walnut tree),	11	9¼	17
52.	Champá (*Michelia champaca*),			
53.	Ber (*Zizyphus jujuba*),	11	4	—
54.	Ámb (Mango, *Mangifera Indica*,)	11	2	20
55.	Pápari (Ulmus),			
56.	Diyár (*Cedrus deodar*),	10	20	—
57.	Bed (Willow),			
58.	Kunbhír (*Gunbhir* (?), *Gmelina arborea*),	10	19½	22
59.	Chíḍh (*Pinus longifolia*),			
60.	Pípal. The Brahmins worship this tree (*Ficus religiosa*).	10	10¼	21

		Mans.	Sers.	Tánks.
61.	Kat'hal (Jacktree, *Artocarpus integrifolia*), }	10	7½	34
62.	Gurdaiṇ, }			
63.	Ruherá (*Terminalia belerica*),	10	7	30
64.	Palás (*Butea frondosa*),	9	34	—
65.	Surkh Bed,	8	25	20
66.	Ák (*Calotropis gigantea*),	8	19½	25
67.	Senbal (*Cotton tree*),	8	13	34
68.	Bakáyin (*Melea composita*),	8	9	30
69.	Lhasorá (*Cordia mixa*), }	8	9	20
70.	Padmák'h (*Cerasus caproniana*), }			
71.	Aṇd,	7	7	31
72.	Safídár,	6	7	22½

☞ In the above weights, the *ser* has been taken at 28 *dáms*.

End of the First Book.

BOOK SECOND.
THE ARMY.

ÁÍN 1.
THE DIVISIONS OF THE ARMY.

His Majesty guides the Imperial Army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.

With some tribes, His Majesty is content, if they submit; he does not exact much service from them, and thus leads many wild races towards civilization.

The Zamindárs of the country furnish more than four millions, four hundred thousand men, as shall be detailed below (Third Book).

Some troopers are compelled by His Majesty to mark their horses with the Imperial brand. They are subject to divisions into ranks, and to musters.

Some soldiers are placed under the care and guidance of *one* commander. They are called *Ahadís*, because they are fit for a harmonious *unity*. His Majesty believes some capable of commanding, and appoints them as commanders.

A large number are worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand. Túránís and Persians get 25 *Rupees;* and Hindústánís, 20 *R.* If employed to collect the revenue, they get 15 *R.* Such troopers are called *Baráwardí.*

Some Commanders who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called *Dákhilís.*

In the contingent of a Commander *(mançabdár)* of Ten Thousand, other *mançabdárs* as high as *Hazárís* (Commanders of One Thousand) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Eight Thousand, Mançabdárs up to *Hashtçadís* (Commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Seven Thousand, Mançabdárs up to Haftçadís (Commanders of Seven

Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Five Thousand, other Mançabdárs as high *Pançadís* (commanders of Five Hundred) serve; and in the contingent of a *Pançadí*, Mançabdárs as high as *Çadís* (Commanders of One Hundred) serve. Mançabdárs of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Mançabdárs.

Some Commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called *Kumakís*.

At the present time, those troopers are preferred whose horses are marked with the Imperial brand. This class of soldiers is superior to others. His Majesty's chief object is to prevent the soldiers from borrowing horses (for the time of musters), or exchanging them for worse ones, and to make them take care of the Imperial horses; for he knows that avarice makes men so short-sighted, that they look upon a loss as a gain. In the beginning of the present reign, when His Majesty was still 'behind the veil,' many of his servants were given to dishonest practices, lived without check, and indulged, from want of honour, in the comforts of married life. Low, avaricious men sold their horses, and were content to serve as foot-soldiers, or brought instead of a superior horse, a *tatoo* that looked more like an ass. They were magniloquent in their dishonesty and greediness of pay, and even expressed dissatisfaction, or rebelled. Hence His Majesty had to introduce the Descriptive Roll System, and to make the issue of pay dependent upon the inspection of these rolls (*vide* below Áín 7). This stopped, in a short time, much lawlessness, and regenerated the whole military system. But at that time the regulations regarding the Imperial brand were not issued, as His Majesty had adopted the advice of some inexperienced men, who look upon branding an animal as an act of cruelty; hence avaricious men (who cannot distinguish that which is good from that which is bad, having neither respect for themselves nor their master, and who think to promote a cause by ruining it, thus acting against their own interest) adopted other vicious practices, which led to a considerable want of efficiency in the army. Horse borrowing was then the order of the day. His Majesty, therefore, made the branding of the horses compulsory, in addition to the Descriptive Roll System. Easy-minded idlers thus passed through a school of discipline and became worthy men, whilst importunate, lowmen were taught honorableness and manliness. The unfeeling and avaricious learned the luxury of magnanimity. The army resembled a newly irrigated garden. Even for the Treasury the new regulations proved beneficial. Such are the results which wisdom and practical knowledge can produce! Branding a horse may indeed inflict pain; but when viewed from a higher point, it is the cause of much satisfaction to the thinking man.

ÁÍN 2.

ON THE ANIMALS OF THE ARMY.

In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty introduced the branding system [*vide* p. 140, note 1]. The ranks of the men were also laid down in the best manner, and the classification of the animals belonging to the army was attended to. The requirements for each were noted down, and excellent regulations were issued. The maximum and minimum prices were enquired into by His Majesty, and average prices were fixed. A proper check by accounts was enforced, and regulations on this subject were laid down. The Bakhshís were also freed from the heavy responsibility of bringing new men, and every thing went on smoothly.

1. *Horses.* They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed. These seven classes are *Arabs*, *Persian horses*, *Mujannas*, *Turkí horses*, *Yábús*, *Tázís*, and *Janglah* horses.

The first class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess. They cost 720 *dáms per mensem ;* and get daily 6 *s.* of grain (the price of which, in the estimates for each animal, is put down at 12 *d. per man*), 2½ *d.* of g'hí, 2 *d.* for sugar, and 3 *d.* for grass. Also, for a *jul*, *artak*, *yálposh*, *girth* (His Majesty does not call it *tang*, but *farákhí*), *gaddí*, *nakhtahband*, *qaizah* (which the vulgar pronounces *qáizah*), *magasrán*, curry-comb, *hatt'hí* (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, *páiband*, *nails*, &c., [*vide* p. 136], 70 *d. per mensem*, which outlay is called *kharj i yaráq i asp* (outlay for the harness of the horse). Besides, 60 *d.* for the saddle, and an *apchí* (?) every second month ; 7 *d. per mensem* for shoes ; and 63 *d.* for a groom, who gets double this allowance, if he takes charge of two horses. Total, 479 *d.* But as His Majesty cares for the comfort of the army, and enquires into the satisfactory condition of the soldiers, he increased, in the very beginning, this allowance of 479 *d.* by 81 *d.* ; and when the value of the Rupee was increased from 35 to 40 *dáms*, His Majesty granted a second additional allowance of 80 *d.* This coin [the Rupee] is always counted at 40 *d.* in salaries. Afterwards, a third additional allowance of 2 *R.* (80 *d.*) was ordered to be given for each class of horses, except *Janglahs*, which horses are now-a-days entirely left out in the accounts.

The *second* class are horses bred in Persia, or such as resemble Persian horses in shape and bearing. Monthly allowance, 680 *d.* Of this, 458 *d.* are necessary expenses, being 21 *d.* less than the former, *viz.* 10 *d.* for the *yaráq*, 10 *d.* for saddle and bridle, and 1 *d.* for shoes. The first increase which was given, amounted to 67 *d.* ; the second, to 75 *d.* ; the third to 80 *d.* Total 680 *d.*

The *third* class, or *Mujannas* horses, resemble Persian horses [*vide* p. 140, note 2], and are mostly Turkí, or Persian geldings. Monthly cost

560 *d.* Of this, 358 *d.* are for necessaries. The allowance for these horses is 100 *d.* less than the preceding, *viz.*, 30 *d.* less for sugar; 30 *d.* less for saddle, bridle, &c.; 15 *d.* less in g'hí; 3 *d.* less for the groom; 2 *d.* less for shoeing. First increase sanctioned by His Majesty, 72 *d.*; second, 50 *d.*; third, 80 *d.*

The *fourth* class are horses imported from Túrán; though strong and well-formed, they do not come up to the preceding. Monthly allowance, 480 *d.* Of this, 298 *d.* are for necessaries. The allowance is 60 *d.* less than for *Mujannas* horses, *viz.*, 30 *d.* less for sugar, 30*d.* less for grass; 10 *d.* less for the *yaráq*; 4 *d.* less for the saddle, bridle, &c.; 2 *d.* less for shoeing; 2 *d.* less for g'hí. But the daily allowance of grain was increased by 2 *sers* (which amounts to 18 *d. per mensem*), as the sugar had been left out. First increase 52 *d.*; second, 50 *d.*; third 80 *d.*

The *fifth* class (*yábú* horses) are bred in this country, but fall short in strength and size. Their performances also are mostly bad. They are the offspring of Turkí horses with an inferior breed. Monthly cost 400 *d.* Of this, 239 *d.* are for necessaries. The allowance is 59 *d.* less than the preceding; *viz.*, 28 *d.* for *g'hí*; 15 *d.* less for the groom; 10 *d.* less for the *yaráq*; and 6 *d.* less for the saddle, bridle, &c. First increase, 41 *d.*; second increase, 40 *d.*; third, 80 *d.*

The last two classes also are mostly Indian breed. The best kind is called *Tázís*; middling ones, *Janglahs*; inferior ones, *Tátús*.

Good mares are reckoned as *Tázís*; if not, they are counted as *Janglahs*.

1. *Tázís*. Monthly cost, 320 *d.*, of which 188 *d.* are for necessaries. The allowance is 51 *d.* less than for the *Yábú*, *viz.*, 18 *d.* less for grain, as they only get 6 *sers per diem*; 15 *d.* less for grass; 10 *d.* less for g'hí and sugar; 8 *d.* less for *yaráq*. First increase, 22 *d.*; second, 30 *d.*; third, 80 *d.*

2. *Janglahs*. Monthly cost, 240 *d.*, of which 145½ *d.* are for necessaries. The allowance is 42½ *d.* less than for *Tázís*. The daily allowance of grain has been fixed at 5 *sers*. Hence there are 15 *d.* less for grass; 9 *d.* less for grain; 6 *d.* less for g'hí and molasses; 4½ *d.* less for the *yaráq*; 2 *d.* less for shoeing. First increase, 29½ *d.*; second 25 *d.*; third, 40 *d.*

Formerly, mules were reckoned as *Tází* horses; but now-a-days, as *Janglahs*.

For *Tátús* the monthly expenditure is 160 *d.*; but this animal is now altogether thrown out.

Note by the Translator. We may arrange Abulfazl's items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Badáoní, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindustán was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kotwáls responsible for it; *vide Bad.* II, p. 390, l. 5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a *Mançabdár*, brought horses

with them, for which the Mançabdár received from the Treasury an allowance according to the following table.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
	Arabs.	Persian Horses.	Mujannas Horses.	Turkí Horses.	Yábús.	Tázís.	Janglahs.	Tátús.
Gram,	54 d.	54 d.	54 d.	72 d.	72 d.	54 d.	45 d.	
G'hí,	75 d.	75 d.	60 d.	58	30 d.	10 d.	4 d.	
Sugar,	60 d.	60 d.	30 d			10 d.	4 d.	
Grass,	90 d.	90 d.	90 d.	60 d.	60 d.	45 d.	30 d.	Not
Yaráq,	70 d.	60 d.	40 d.	30 d.	20 d.	12 d.	7½ d.	specified.
Saddle, &c.,	60 d.	50 d.	20 d.	16 d.	10 d.	10 d.	10 d.	
Shoes,	7 d.	6 d.	4 d.	2 d.	2 d.	2 d.	...	
Groom,	63 d.	63 d.	60 d.	60 d.	45 d.	45 d.	45 d.	
Original Allowance,	479 d.	458 d.	358 d.	298 d.	239 d.	188 d.	145½ d.	
1st Increase,	81 d.	67 d.	72 d.	52 d	41 d.	22 d	29½ d.	
2nd Ditto,	80 d.	75 d.	30 d.	50 d.	40 d.	30 d.	25 d	Not
3rd Ditto,	80 d.	80 d.	80 d.	80 d.	80 d.	80 d.	40 d.	specified.
Total monthly cost in *dáms*,	720 d.	680 d.	560 d.	480 d.	400 d.	320 d.	240 d.	160 d.

The allowance of sugar, or molasses, according to Abulfazl ceases from Class IV.; but as he goes on mentioning it in the inferior classes, I have made brackets. G'hí and molasses were generally given together; *vide* p. 135.

2. *Elephants.* The branded elephants of the army are divided into *seven* classes: *Mastí*, *Shergír*, *Sádah*, *Manjholah*, *Karha*, *P'handurkiya*, and *Mokal*, elephants; but there are no subdivisions, as in His Majesty's elephant stables [*vide* p. 124, l. 17].

The monthly allowance for *Mast* elephants is 1320 dáms [33 Rupees]. Daily allowance of grain, 2½ *mans*. No elephant has more than three servants, a *Mahâwat*, a *Bhoí*, and a *Meth*, of whom the first gets 120 *d.*, and the two last 90 *d.* An increase of 120 *d.* was given. From the beginning elephants were branded; but now certain differences are made.

Shergír Elephants. Monthly cost, 1100 *d.*, which is 220 *d.* less than the former. Grain, 2 *m. per diem*, which makes 180 *d.* less *per mensem;* also 15 *d.* less for the Mahâwat and the Bhoí. His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 *d.*

Sádah Elephants. Monthly cost, 800 *d.*, which is 300 *d.* less than the preceding. Grain 1½ *m. per diem*, which gives 180 *d.* less *per month.* Besides

30 *d.* less for the Meth, and 15 *d.* less for the Maháwat and the Bhoí. An increase of 50 *d.* was sanctioned.

Manjholah Elephants. Monthly cost, 600 *d.* Grain 1 *m.* The decrease is the same as in the preceding; but an additional allowance of 90 *d.* was sanctioned.

Karha Elephants. Monthly cost, 420 *d.* Grain, 30 *s.* Hence there is a decrease of 30 *d.* on this account, and of 15 *d.* for the Maháwat. No Bhoí is allowed. The additional grant is 60 *d.*

P'handurkiya Elephants. Monthly cost, 300 *d.* Grain, 15 *s. per diem*, which gives a decrease of 135 *d. per mensem.* Only one servant is allowed, at 60 *d. per month.* An additional grant of 105 *d.* was sanctioned.

Mokal elephants were formerly not counted. Now they are considered worthy of entering the classes. Monthly allowance, 280 *d.*

In all payments on account of elephants, *dáms* are taken, not rupees, so that there is no possibility of fluctuation.

3. *Camels.* Monthly cost, 240 *d.* Grain, 6 *s.*; grass, 1 *d.*; furniture, 20 *d.*; the driver, 60 *d.* An addition of 58 *d.* was sanctioned; and when the value of the Rupee was fixed at 40 *dáms*, 20 *d.* more were allowed.

4. *Oxen.* Monthly allowance, 120 *d.* Grain, 4 *s.*; grass 1 *d.*; furniture, 6 *d.* Additional grant, 38 *d.* At the time when the value of the rupee was raised, 10 *d.* more were given.

5. *Oxen for the waggons.* For each waggon, the monthly expenditure is 600 *d.*, *viz.*, 480 *d.* for four oxen; 120 *d.* for grease, repairs, and additional comforts.

Elephants and waggons are only allowed to Mançabdárs, and to those who bring good horses and camels, and middling oxen to be branded.

AÍN 3.

THE MANÇABDÁRS.[1]

Wise inquirers follow out the same principles, and the people of the present age do not differ in opinion from those of ancient times. They all agree that if that which is numerous be not pervaded by a principle of harmony, the dust of disturbances will not settle down, and the troubles of lawlessness will not cease to rise. It is so with the elements: as long as the uniting principle is absent, they are dead, and incapable of exhibiting the wonders of the kingdoms of nature. Even animals form unions among

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[1] The Arabians say *mançib*; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced *mançab.* It means a post, an office, hence *mançab-dár*, an officer; but the word is generally restricted to high officials.

themselves, and avoid wilful violence; hence they live comfortably, and watch over their advantages and disadvantages. But men, from the wickedness of their passions, stand much more in need of a just leader, round whom they may rally; in fact their social existence depends upon their being ruled by a monarch; for the extraordinary wickedness of men, and their inclination to that which is evil, teach their passions and lusts new ways of perversity, and even cause them to look upon committing bloodshed and doing harm as a religious command.[1] To disperse this cloud of ignorance, God chooses one, whom he guides with perfect help and daily increasing favor. That man will quell the strife among men by his experience, intrepidity, and magnanimity, and thus infuse into them new vigour.

But as the strength of one man is scarcely adequate to such an arduous undertaking, he selects, guided by the light of his knowledge, some excellent men to help him, appointing at the same time servants for them. For this cause did His Majesty establish the ranks of the Mançabdárs, from the *Dahbáshí* (Commander often) to the *Dah Hazárí* (Commander of Ten Thousand), limiting, however, all commands above Five Thousand, to his august sons.

The deep-sighted saw a sign, and enquirers got a hint from above, when they found the value of the letters of God's holy name;[2] they read in it glad tidings for the present illustrious reign, and considered it a most auspicious omen. The number of Mançabs is sixty-six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of *Allah*, which is an announcement of eternal bliss.

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[1] "When the collector of the Díwán asks them (the Hindus) to pay the tax, they should pay it with all humility and submission. And if the Collector wishes to spit into their mouths, they should open their mouths without the slightest fear of contamination (*taqazzuz*), so that the Collector may do so. In this state [with their mouths open], they should stand before the Collector. The object of such humiliations and spitting into their mouths is to prove the obedience of Infidel subjects under protection, and to promote the glory of the Islám, the true religion, and to show contempt to false religions. God himself orders us to despise them; for He says (Sur. 9, 29), 'Out of hand, whilst they are reduced low.' To treat the Hindus contemptuously is a religious duty, because they are the greatest enemies of Musṭafa (Muhammad), because Musṭafa, regarding the killing, and plundering of Hindus, and making slaves of them, has ordered, 'They must either accept the Islám, or be killed or be made slaves, and their property must be plundered;' and with the exception of the Imám i A'zam (Abú Hanífah), to whose sect we all belong, there is no other authority for taking the *Jazyáh* from Hindus; but all other lawyers say, 'Either death or the Islám.' *Táríkh i Fírúz Sháhí, p.* 290. Akbar often reproached the Muhammadans for converting with the sword. This, he said, was inhuman. And yet, he allowed the suttee.

[2] *Jalálah.* This curious word is, according to *Bahár i 'Ajám*, an abbreviation of the phrase *Jalla jalálahu*, 'May His glory shine forth.' It is then used in the sense of *God;* thus the dual *jalálatain*, saying *Allah! Allah!*; and *khatm i jalálah* saying the word *Allah* 125,000 times. Similarly here; the 66 mançabs correspond to the value of the letters of *Jalálah, i. e.* الله $= 1 + 30 + 30 + 5 = 66$. Abulfazl makes much of the coincidence; for Akbar's name was *Jalál uddín*, and Akbar was a divinity. Perhaps I should not say *coincidence*, because of the sixty-six mançabs only one half existed.

In selecting his officers, His Majesty is assisted by his knowledge of the spirit of the age, a knowledge which sheds a peculiar light on the jewel of his wisdom. His Majesty sees through some men at the first glance,[1] and confers upon them high rank. Sometimes he increases the mançab of a servant, but decreases his contingent. He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden. The monthly grants made to the Mançabdárs vary according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent comes up to his mançab, is put into the first class of his rank; if his contingent is one half and upwards of the fixed number, he is put into the second class; the third class contains those contingents which are still less, as is shewn in the table below.

Yúzbáshís (Commanders of One Hundred) are of eleven classes. The *first* class contains such as furnish one hundred troopers. Their monthly salary is 700 Rupees. The *eleventh* class contains such as have no troops of their own in accordance with the statement made above, that *Dákhilí* troops are now-a-days preferred. This class gets 500 Rupees. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from 700 Rupees by 20 Rupees for every ten troopers which they furnish less.

In the live stock accounts of the *Dúbistís*, the fixed number of *Turkí* and *Janglah* horses, and of elephants, is not enforced. For Commanders of Thirty and Twenty, four horses are reckoned, generally *Mujannas*, rarely *Yábús;* and *Dahbáshís* are excused the *Turkí* horse, though their salaries remain as before.

Note by the Translator on the Mançabs.

The sixty-six Mançabs, detailed by Abulfazl in the following table appear to be the result of a minute classification rather than a representation of the Mançabs which actually existed at the time of Akbar. The table may represent Akbar's plan; but the list of grandees, as given by Abulfazl himself in the 30th Áín of this Book, only mentions *thirty-three*—the three commands of the three Princes from 10000 to 7000; and thirty commands of the Mançabdárs, namely commands of 5000, 4500, 4000, 3500, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1250, 1000, 900 ?, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 350, 300 ?, 250, 200, 150, 120, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10. Of the last thirty commands, two are somewhat doubtful (the commands of 900 and 300), as not given in all MSS. of the Áín, though the List of Grandees of Sháh Jahán's time (*Pádisháhnámah*, II. p. 717) mentions a command of 900. It does not specify a command of 300, because no Mançabs under 500 are enumerated in that list.

[1] Abulfazl often praises Akbar as a good physiognomist. Badáoní says, Akbar learnt the art from the Jogís.

Abulfazl specifies below the names of all of Akbar's Commanders up to the Mançabdárs of 500; he then gives the names of the Commanders of 500 to 200, who were living, when he made the list. Of the Commands below 200, he merely gives the numbers of those that were alive, *viz.*,

of Commanders of	150	53
	120	1
	100 (*Yúzbáshis*)	250
	80	91
	60	204
	50	16
	40	260
	30	39
	20	250
	10	224

in all, 1388 Commanders from 150 to 10. The number of the higher Mançabdars from 5000 to 200 is 412, of which about 150 may have been dead, when Abulfazl made his list.

As Abulfazl's List (Áín 30), according to the testimony of Nizám i Harawí is a complete list,[1] it is certain that of the 66 Mançabs of the following table, only 33 existed in reality. The first eighteen of these 33 are commands down to 500, which corresponds to the List of Sháhjahán's grandees in the *Pádisháhnámah*, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500.

The commands as detailed in the *Pádisháhnámah* are:—Four commands of the princes (Dárá Shikoh, 20,000; Sháh Shujá, 15,000; Aurangzeb, 15,000; Murad Bakhsh, 12,000) and commands of 9000, 7000, 6000, 5000, 4000, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500.

From the fact that Abulfazl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the *Pádisháhnámah* up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar's time, Mançabs under 200, and at Sháhjahán's time, Mançabs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of *Amír*. To judge from *Nizám's Tabaqát* and the *Maásir i Rahími*, Mançabdárs from the Hazárí (Commander of 1000) were, at Akbar's time, styled *umará-i-*

[1] Nizám says in the introduction to his List of the principal grandees of Akbar's Court, that it was unnecessary for him to specify all, because *tafçíl i asámí i* har yak *rá afázilpanáh Shaikh Abulfazl dar kitáb i Akbarnámah marqúm i qalam i badáï'raqam gardanídah.*

kibár, or *umará-i-'izám*, great Amírs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amír is not restricted to Mançabdárs from the *Hazáris* upwards. Nizám does restrict his phrases *ba martabah i imárat rasíd*, or *dar jargah* (or *silk*, or *zumrah*) *i umará muntazim gasht*, to commanders from Hazárís.

The title *Amír ul Umará* (the Amír of the Amírs, principal Amír), which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at the time, seems to have been held by several simultaneously. Nizám gives this title to Adham Khán, Khizr Khwájah Khán, Mír Muhammad Khán Atkah, Muzaffar Khán, Quṭbuddín Muhammad Khán, and to the three commanders-in-chief, Bairám Khán, Mun'im Khán, and Mírzá 'Abdurrahím, the three latter being styled *Khán Khánán*,[1] or *Khán Khánán o Sipahsálár*.

In the *Pádisháhnamáh*, however, the title of *Amírul Umará* is restricted to the first living grandee ('Alí Mardán Khán).

It is noticeable that Nizám only mentions commanders of 5000, 4000, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, and 1000—for lower Mançabs he does not specify names. Abulfazl gives three intermediate Mançabs of 4500, 3500, and 1250; but as he only gives five names for these three ranks, we may conclude that these Mançabs were unusual. This agrees also with the salaries of the commanders; for if we leave out the commands of 4500, 3500, and 1250, we have, according to Áín 30, *twelve* steps from 5000 to 500, and the monthly salary of a commander of 500 (Rs. 2500) is the *twelfth* part of the salary of a commander of 5000 (Rs. 30,000). The *Pádisháhnámah* gives *fourteen* steps between the commanders of 7000 and 500, and fixes the salary of a Commander of 7000 at *one kror* of *dáms per annum*, or 250000 *Rs.*, stating at the same time that the salaries decrease in proportion. The Persian Dictionary, entitled *Ghiás ullughát*, states that the salary of a commander of 5000 is 1 *kror*, or 250,000 *Rs.*, and that the salary of a *Pançadí*, or commander of 500, is 20,000 Rs. *per annum*, the 12½th part of the former.

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Mançabdárs, as given by Abulfazl in the following table, are somewhat *higher* than those given in the *Pádisháhnámah* and the *Ghiás*, whatever may have been the source of the latter.

The salaries appear to be unusually high; but they would be

[1] For *Khán i Khánán*, the Khán of the Kháns. In such titles the Persian *Izáfat* is left out.

considerably reduced, if each Mançabdár had to keep up the establishment of horses, elephants, camels, carts, &c., which Abulfazl specifies for each rank. Taking the preceding Áín and the table in the note as a guide, the establishment of horses, &c., mentioned in the following table, would amount

for a Commander of 5000 (monthly salary 30,000 *R.*) to 10637 *R.*
1000 (ditto 8200 *R.*) to $3015\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*
100 (ditto 700 *R.*) to 313 *R.*

The three classes which Abulfazl mentions for each Mançab differ very slightly, and cannot refer to p. 238, l. 7.

A commander of 5000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5000 men. In fact, the numbers rarely even approach the number expressed by the title of a Mançabdár. Thus Nizám says of Todar Mall and Quṭbuddín Muhammad Khán, as if it was something worth mentioning, that the former had 4000 cavalry, and the latter 5000 *naukars*, or servants, *i. e.*, soldiers, though Todar Mall was a commander of 4000 (Nizám says 5000), and Quṭbuddín a commander of 5000. Of 'Abdul Majíd Áçaf Khán, a commander of 3000 (*vide* Áín 30, No. 49), Nizám says, 'he reached a point when he had 20,000.' In the Pádisháhnámah, where more details are given regarding the number of men under each commander, we find that of the 115 Commanders of 500 under Sháhjahán only six had contingents of 500, whilst the last had only 50 troopers. This also explains the use of the word ذات *zát* after the titles of Mançabdárs; as *panj házárí i zát sihhazár suwár*, "a Commander of 5000, personally (*zát*, or by rank), and in actual command of 3000 cavalry." Sometimes we meet with another phrase, the meaning of which will be explained below, as *Sháistah Khán panjhazárí, panj hazár suwár i duaspah sihaspah*, "Sháistah Khán, a Commander of 5000, contingent 5000 cavalry, *with two horses, with three horses.*" A trooper is called *duaspah*, if he has two horses, and *sihaspah*, if three, in order to change horses during *elghárs* or forced marches. But keeping *duashpah sihaspah* troopers was a distinction, as in the *Pádisháhnámah* only the senior Mançabdárs of some ranks are so designated, *viz.*, 8 (out of 20) Panjhazárís; 1 Chahárhazárí; 2 Sihhazárí; 2 Duhazárí; 2 Hazár o pançadí; 1 Hazárí; and 1 Haftçadí.

The higher Mançabdárs were mostly governors of Çúbahs. The governors were at first called *sipahsálárs;* towards the end of Akbar's reign we find them called *Hákims*, and afterwards, *Çáhib Çúbah* or

Çúbahdárs, and still later merely *Çúbahs*. The other Mançabdárs held *Jágírs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Mançabdárs are also called *ta'ínátiyán* (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called *tábínát* (followers);[1] hence *tábínbáshi*, the Mançabdár himself, or his *Bakhshi* (pay-master, colonel).

The contingents of the Mançabdárs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general, or the local treasuries; *vide* Áíns 6, 7, 8. Akbar had much trouble with these musters, as fraudulent practices were quite common. The reform of the army dates from the time when Shahbáz Khán (*vide* pp. 140, 188) was appointed *Mír Bakhshi*. The following passage from Badáoní (II, p. 190) is interesting:

"The whole country, with the exception of the *Khâliçah* lands (domains), was held by the Amírs as jágír; and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leisure to look after the troops or take an interest in the people. In cases of emergency, they came themselves with some of their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war; but really useful soldiers there were none. Shahbáz Khán,[2] the Mír Bakhshí, introduced the custom and rule of the *dágh o mahalli*, which had been the rule of A'láuddín Khiljí,[3] and afterwards the law under Sher Sháh. It was settled that every Amír should commence as a commander of twenty (*bísti*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard and....,[4] as had been ordered; and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Çadi*, or Commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Mançabs, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the musters their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazári*, *Duhazári*, and even *Panjhazári*, which is the highest Mançab; but if they did not do well at the musters, they were to be put down. But notwithstanding this new regulation, the condition of the soldiers got worse, because the Amírs did what they liked; for they put most of their own servants and mounted

[1] تعيناتيان, pl. of تعيني, from تعين *ta'ín*, the Indian pronunciation of تعيين *ta'yín*, to appoint. *tábín*, تابين, *to follow*; then as an adj., *one who follows*. This corrects the erroneous meanings of *tábín* on p. 62 of the Journal A. S. of Bengal for 1868.

[2] The passage in the printed edition is frightfully unintelligible. For *kih* read *Kambú*; for *baú dahanídah*, we have perhaps to read *yád dahánídah*, having brought to the memory of (Akbar); for *tábtán*, read *tábínán*; for *panáh Khudá*, read *panáh ba Khudá*; for *án ham*, read *án hamah*.

[3] The Táríkh i *Fírúz Sháhí* says but little regarding it. The words *dágh o mahalli* occur very often together.

[4] *Ojár o maljár* (?). For *iár*, a Turkish word, *vide* Vullers.

attendants into soldiers' clothes (*libás i sipáhí*), brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their jágírs, they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them again away, when they had served their purpose. Hence while the income and expenditure of the Mançabdár remained *in statu quo*, 'dust fell into the platter of the helpless soldier,' so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything. But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers, and cotton-cleaners (*naddáf*), carpenters, and greengrocers, Hindu and Musalmán, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Mançab, or were made *Krorís* (*vide* p. 13, l. 5 from below), or Ahadís, or Dákhilís to some one (*vide* p. 231); and when a few days afterwards no trace was to be found of the imaginary horse and the visionary saddle, they had to perform their duties on foot. Many times it happened at the musters, before the emperor himself in the Díwánkhánah i kháç, that they were weighed in their clothes, with their hands and feet tied, when they were found to weigh from 2½ to 3 *man*, more or less (?) and after inquiry, it was found that all were hired, and that their very clothes and saddles were borrowed articles. His Majesty then used to say, "With my eyes thus open, I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on." After some time had passed away, His Majesty divided the Ahadís into *duaspah*, *yakaspah* (having one horse), and *nímaspah* (having half a share in a horse), in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees.[1]

Weigh well these facts, but put no question!

These were things of daily occurrence, ... ;[2] but notwithstanding all this, His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not so very necessary, and the Amírs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their servants."

Hence the repeated musters which Akbar held, both of men, and of animals, carts, &c.; the minuteness of some of the regulations recorded in the Aín; and the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants (p. 217, note). The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (*kasrat*), in order to understand the whole (*wahdat*)—an unusual thing for rulers of former times—is the secret of his success.[3]

We have not sufficient data to form an exact estimate of the strength of Akbar's army. We may, however, quote a statement in

[1] So according to one MS. The passage is not quite clear.

[2] Here follows a sentence which I do not know how to translate.

[3] *Vide* p. 11, note.

the *Pádisháhnámah* regarding the strength of Sháhjahán's army; *vide Pádisháhn.* II, p. 715.

"The paid army of the present reign consists of 200,000 cavalry, according to the rule of branding the fourth part, as has been mentioned above. This is exclusive of the soldiers that are allowed to the Faujdárs, Krorís, and tax-collectors, for the administration of the Parganahs. These 200,000 cavalry are made up as follows—

8000 Mançabdárs.

7000 mounted Ahadís and mounted *Barqandázes.*

185,000 Cavalry, consisting of the contingents (*tábínán*) of the Princes, the Chief grandees, and the other Mançabdárs.

"Besides these 200,000 cavalry, there are 40,000 foot, musketeers, artillery, and rocket-bearers. Of these 40,000, 10,000 accompany the emperor, and the remaining 30,000[1] are in the Çúbahs and the forts."

The 'Rule of branding the fourth part' is described among the events of the year 1056, as follows (II, p. 506) :—

"The following law was made during the present reign (Sháhjahán). If a Mançabdár holds a jágír in the same çúbah, in which he holds his mançab, he has to muster *one-third* of the force indicated by his rank.[2] Accordingly a *Sih Hazárí i zát sihhazár suwár* (a Commander of 3000, personal rank; contingent, 3000 cavalry) has to muster (bring to the brand) 1000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another çúbah, he has only to muster *a fourth* part. Accordingly, a *Chahárhazárí chahárhazár suwár* (a Commander of 4000; contingent, 4000) has only to muster 1000 cavalry.

At the time when the Imperial army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarqand [1055], His Majesty, on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition should last, each Mançabdár should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a *Panjhazárí panjhazár suwár* (a commander of 5000; contingent, 5000) mustered only 1000, *viz.*, 300 *Sihaspah* troopers, 600 *Duaspah* troopers, 100 *yakaspah* troopers [*i. e.*, 1000 men with 2200 horses], provided the income (*háçil*) of his jágír was fixed at 12 months; or 250 *Sihaspah* troopers, 500 *duaspah* troopers, and 250 yakaspah troopers [*i. e.*, 1000 men with 2000 horses], provided the income of his jágír was fixed at 11 months; or 800 *duaspah* troopers, and 200 *yakaspah* troopers [*i. e.*, 1000 men and 1800 horses], if the income of his jágír was fixed at 10 months; or 600 *duaspah* troopers and 400 *yakaspah*, if at 9 months; or 450 *duaspah* and 550 *yakaspah* troopers, if at 8 months;

[1] The edition of the *Pádisháhnámah* has wrongly 3000.

[2] Literally, *he has to bring his followers (troopers) to the brand* (dágh) *according to the third part.*

or 250 *duaspah* and 750 *yakaspah* troopers, if at 7 months; or 100 *duaspah* and 900 *yakaspah* troopers, if at 6 months; or 1000 *yakaspah*, if at 5 months.

But if the troopers to a mançab had all been fixed as *sihaspah duaspah* [in other words, if the Commander was not a *Panj hazárí, panj hazár suwár*, but a *Panj hazárí panj hazár suwár i duaspah siaspah*] he musters, as his proportion of duaspah and sihaspah troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his mançab had been as in the preceding. Accordingly, a *Panj hazárí panj hazár tamám duaspah sihaspah* (a Commander of 5000; contingent, only *duaspah* and *sihaspah*), would muster 600 troopers with three horses, 1200 troopers with two horses, and 200 troopers with one horse each [*i. e.*, 2000 men with 4400 horses], provided the income of his jágír be fixed at 12 months, and so on."

From this important passage, it is clear that one-fourth of that number of troopers, which is indicated by the title of a Mançabdár, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Sháhjahán. Thus if a Commander of 1000 troopers had the title of *Hazárí hazár suwár*, the strength of his contingent was $\frac{1000}{4} = 250$ men with 650 horses, *viz.* 75 *sihaspah*, 150 *duaspah*, and 25 *yakaspah*; and if his title was *Hazárí hazár suwár i duaspah siaspah*, the strength of his contingent was 500 men with 1300 horses, *viz.* 150 *sihaspah*, 300 *duaspah*, and 50 *yakaspah*, if the income of his jágír was drawn by him for every month of the year. The above passage also indicates that the proportions of sihaspah, and duaspah, and yakaspah troopers was for all mançabs as 300 : 600 : 100, or as 3 : 6 : 1.

As the author of the *Padisháhnamáh* does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Mançabdárs drew the income, we may assume that the difference in strength of the contingents mentioned after the name of each grandee depended on the value of their jágírs.

From an incidental remark (*Pádisháhnámah*, I. p. 113), we see that the pay of a Commander of *sihashpah duaspah* troopers was double the pay allowed to a Commander of *yakaspahs.* This agrees with the fact that the former had double the number of men and horses of the latter.

The strength also of Aurangzeb's army, on a statement by Bernier, was conjectured to have been 200,000 cavalry, *vide* Elphinstone's History, Second Edition, p. 546, last line.

Akbar's army must have been smaller. It is impossible to compute the strength of the contingents, which was continually fluctuating, and depended rather on emergencies. We can, however, guess at the

strength of Akbar's *standing* army. At the end of Áín 30, Abulfazl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the Áín

250	Commanders of 100	(Yúzbáshís)
204	60	
260	40	
250	20	
224	10	

As these numbers are very uniform, the regular army could not have been larger than 250 × 100, or 25,000 men (troopers, musketeers, and artillery). The Imperial stables contained 12,000 horses (*vide* p. 132, l. 6 from below), which were under the immediate charge of Mírzá Abdurrahím Khán Khánán, Akbar's Commander-in-Chief. Hence there may have been about 12,000 standing cavalry. The rest were matchlock-bearers and artillery. In Áín 6, Abulfazl states that there were 12,000 matchlock-bearers. The number of Ahadís, of which Sháhjahán had 7000, cannot have been very large. Many of them were on staff employ in the various offices, store-houses, Imperial workshops; others were employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders. They were, at Akbar's time, gentlemen rather than common soldiers, as they had to buy their own horse on joining. Badáoní mentions an Ahadí of the name of Khwájah Ibráhím Husain as one of his friends (II, p. 394). The number of Mançabdárs, which under Sháhjahán amounted to 8000, was also much less. Of the 415 Mançabdárs, whose names are given in Áín 30, about 150 were dead, when Abulfazl wrote it,[1] so that there would be about 250 higher Mançabdárs, to which we have to add 1388 lower Mançabdárs, from the Commanders of 150 downwards; hence altogether about 1600 Mançabdárs.

But Akbar's Mançabdárs, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Mançabdárs of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks (*zát*) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Mançabdárs had even to furnish men with four horses (*chaháraspah*). A *Dahbáshi*, or Commander

[1] The list of grandees in Áín 30 is quoted in Nizám's Tabaqát which do not go beyond A. H. 1002, as the author died in October 1594; but it may be still older, as Nizám assigns to several Mançabdárs a higher rank than the one mentioned by Abulfazl. In fact, the list refers to a time prior to the year 993, when the three princes (*Bad.* II, p. 342) were appointed Commanders of 12000, 9000, and 7000 respectively, whilst in Abulfazl's List, Prince Salím (Jahángír) is still put down as a Commander of 10000, Murád as Commander of 8000, and Dányál as of 7000.

of Ten, had to furnish 10 men with 25 horses; but in later times (*vide* A'ín 5) the *Chahâraspahs* were discontinued, and a *Dahbáshi* furnished 10 men with 18 horses. As the other ranks had to furnish horses in proportion, one of Akbar's Hazárís would have had to bring 1800 horses, whilst a Hazárí at the time of Shahjahán only furnished 650.

Of Non-Commissioned officers a *Mírdahah* is mentioned; *vide* note 1, p. 116. The pay of a Mírdahah of matchlock-bearers varied from 7½ to 6⅓ *R. per mensem.* Common matchlock-bearers received from 6¼ to 2¾ *R.* As they were standing (household) troops, Abulfazl has put them into the first Book of this work (A'íns 36 to 40); and generally, the reader will have to bear in mind that the second book, relating to the army, treats chiefly of the contingents of the Mançabdárs.

Badáoní, in the above extract, p. 243, speaks of a *libás i sipáhí*, or soldier's uniform (armour ?).

The distinctions conferred by the emperor on the Mançabdárs consisted in certain flags (*vide* p. 50, l. 6, from below), and the *gharyál* or gong (*vide* in the beginning of the Fourth Book, *A'ín i Gharyál).*

Table shewing the Establishments and Salaries of the Mançabdárs.[1]

Number.	Commanders of	Horses.						Elephants.					Beasts of Burden and Carts.			Monthly Salaries.		
																Classes.		
		Iráqí.	Mujannas.	Turkí.	Yábú.	Tází.	Janglah.	Shergír.	Sádah.	Manjolah.	Karhah.	P'handurkiya.	Qatárs of Camels.	Qatárs of Mules.	Carts.	First. Rs.	Second. Rs.	Third. Rs.
1	10,000	68	68	136	136	136	136	40	60	40	40	20	160	40	320	60,000	...	...
2	8,000	54	54	108	108	108	108	35	50	36	34	15	130	34	260	50,000	...	...
3	7,000	49	49	98	98	98	98	30	42	29	27	12	110	27	220	45,000	...	...
4	5,000	34	34	68	68	68	68	20	30	20	20	10	80	20	160	30,000	29,000	28,000
5	4,900	33	33	67	67	67	67	20	30	19	19	10	77	19	157	27,600	27,400	27,300
6	4,800	32	32	66	66	65	65	20	29	19	19	9	77	$19\frac{2}{5}$	152	27,600	27,400	27,300
7	4,700	31	31	65	65	63	63	19	29	19	18	9	75	$19\frac{1}{5}$	151	26,800	26,600	26,500
8	4,600	31	31	63	63	62	62	18	28	19	18	9	74	$18\frac{4}{5}$	148	26,400	26,200	26,100
9	4,500	31	30	61	61	61	61	18	28	19	17	8	$72\frac{3}{5}$	$18\frac{3}{5}$	145	26,000	25,800	25,700
10	4,400	30	29	60	60	59	59	18	28	19	16	7	71	$18\frac{1}{5}$	142	25,200	25,000	24,800
11	4,300	29	28	59	59	58	58	17	27	19	16	7	$69\frac{3}{5}$	18	139	24,400	24,200	24,000
12	4,200	28	27	58	58	57	56	16	26	19	16	7	68	$17\frac{3}{5}$	136	23,600	23,400	23,200
13	4,100	27	27	56	56	56	55	16	26	18	16	6	68	$17\frac{2}{5}$	133	22,800	22,400	22,400
14	4,000	27	27	54	54	54	54	16	25	18	15	6	65	17	130	22,000	21,800	21,600
15	3,900	26	26	53	53	52	52	16	24	18	15	6	$63\frac{3}{5}$	$16\frac{4}{5}$	127	21,400	21,200	21,100
16	3,800	26	26	51	51	51	51	16	23	18	15	6	62	$16\frac{2}{5}$	124	20,800	20,600	20,500
17	3,700	25	25	50	50	50	49	16	23	17	15	6	$60\frac{3}{5}$	$16\frac{1}{5}$	121	20,200	20,000	19,900
18	3,600	25	25	49	48	48	47	16	23	17	14	6	59	$15\frac{4}{5}$	118	19,600	19,400	19,300
19	3,500	24	24	47	47	47	46	16	23	17	14	5	$57\frac{3}{5}$	$15\frac{3}{5}$	115	19,000	18,800	18,700
20	3,400	23	23	46	46	46	44	16	22	17	14	5	56	$15\frac{1}{5}$	112	18,300	18,014	18,300
21	3,300	22	22	45	45	44	43	15	22	17	14	5	$54\frac{3}{5}$	15	109	18,200	18,000	17,900
22	3,200	21	21	44	44	42	42	15	21	17	14	5	53	$14\frac{3}{5}$	106	17,800	17,600	17,500
23	3,100	20	20	43	43	41	40	15	20	17	14	5	$51\frac{3}{5}$	$14\frac{2}{5}$	103	17,400	17,200	17,100
24	3,000	20	20	40	40	40	40	15	20	16	14	5	50	14	100	17,000	16,800	16,700
25	2,900	19	19	39	39	39	39	15	19	16	13	4	48	$13\frac{1}{5}$	96	16,400	16,200	16,100
26	2,800	18	18	38	38	38	38	15	18	14	12	3	46	$12\frac{2}{5}$	92	15,800	15,600	15,500
27	2,700	17	17	37	37	37	37	14	17	13	11	3	44	$11\frac{3}{5}$	88	15,200	15,000	14,900
28	2,600	17	17	36	36	35	35	13	15	12	11	3	42	$10\frac{4}{5}$	84	14,600	14,400	14,300
29	2,500	17	17	34	34	35	34	12	14	12	10	2	40	10	80	14,000	13,800	13,700
30	2,400	17	17	33	33	33	33	12	13	11	10	2	38	$9\frac{2}{5}$	76	13,600	13,400	13,300
31	2,300	16	16	33	33	32	32	12	12	10	10	2	36	$8\frac{4}{5}$	72	13,200	13,000	12,900
32	2,200	16	16	32	32	31	31	11	12	9	10	2	34	$8\frac{1}{5}$	68	12,800	12,600	12,500
33	2,100	15	15	31	31	31	31	10	12	9	9	2	32	$7\frac{3}{5}$	64	12,400	12,200	12,100
34	2,000	15	15	30	30	30	30	10	12	9	7	2	30	7	60	12,000	11,900	11,800
35	1,900	14	14	29	29	29	30	10	12	9	7	2	$28\frac{4}{5}$	$6\frac{3}{5}$	58	11,950	11,350	11,450
36	1,800	14	13	28	28	28	29	10	11	9	7	2	$27\frac{3}{5}$	$6\frac{1}{5}$	56	11,400	11,650	11,300
37	1,700	14	13	27	27	27	27	9	11	9	7	2	$26\frac{2}{5}$	$5\frac{4}{5}$	54	11,220	11,000	10,800
38	1,600	13	13	26	26	25	25	9	10	9	7	2	$25\frac{1}{5}$	$5\frac{2}{5}$	52	10,600	10,400	10,200
39	1,500	12	12	24	24	24	24	8	10	8	7	2	24	5	50	10,000	9,800	9,700
40	1,400	12	12	24	24	23	23	8	10	8	7	2	$23\frac{2}{5}$	$4\frac{4}{5}$	49	9,600	9,400	9,300
41	1,300	12	12	23	23	23	22	8	10	7	7	2	23	$4\frac{3}{5}$	48	9,200	9,100	9,050
42	1,200	11	11	22	22	22	22	7	9	7	7	2	22	$4\frac{3}{5}$	46	9,000	8,900	8,800
43	1,100	11	11	22	22	21	21	7	9	7	7	2	22	$4\frac{2}{5}$	44	8,700	8,500	8,400
44	1,000	10	10	21	21	21	21	7	8	7	7	2	21	$4\frac{1}{5}$	42	8,200	8,100	8,000
45	900	10	10	20	20	20	20	7	8	6	7	2	20	4	40	7,700	7,400	7,100
46	800	10	14	17	17	9	3	7	8	5	5	2	17	$3\frac{2}{5}$	34	5,000	4,700	4,400
47	700	6	13	9	13	14	7	5	6	4	4	1	$15\frac{2}{5}$	3	27	4,400	4,000	3,800
48	600	5	7	11	9	4	4	4	3	5	2	1	13	$2\frac{2}{5}$	21	3,500	3,200	3,000
49		4	7	8	8	4	3	4	2	4	2	1	14	2	15	2,800	2,750	2,700

[1] For differences in reading I must refer the reader to my Text edition, p. 185.

Numbers.	Commanders of	Horses.						Elephants					Beasts of Burden and Carts.			Monthly Salaries. Class.		
		Iráqi.	Mujannas.	Turkí.	Yábú.	Tází.	Janglah.	Shergir.	Sádah.	Manjhola.	Karhah.	Phandurkia.	Qatárs of Camels.	Qatárs of Mules.	Carts.	First. Rs.	Second. Rs.	Third. Rs.
50	500	4	6	8	8	4	...	3	4	2	2	1	10	2	15	2,500	2,300	2,100
51	400	3	4	5	6	2	...	2	2	2	2	1	5	...	12	2,000	1,751	1,500
52	350	3	4	4	4	2	...	1	1	2	3	1	$4\frac{2}{5}$	...	11	1,450	1,305	1,350
53	300	3	3	3	4	2	...	1	1	2	2	1	4	..	10	1,400	1,250	1,200
54	250	3	3	3	4	1	..	1	1	2	2	...	$3\frac{2}{5}$	...	8	1,150	1,100	1,000
55	200	2	3	3	3	1	...	1	2	1	2	...	3	...	7	975	950	900
56	150	2	3	3	3	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	6	875	850	800
57	125	2	2	2	3	2	...	..	1	1	2	..	$2\frac{1}{5}$	...	5	780	760	750
58	120	2	2	2	3	2	...	...	1	1	2	...	$2\frac{1}{5}$	...	5	745	740	730
59	100	2	2	2	2	2	..	...	1	1	1	..	2	...	5	700	600	500
60	80	2	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	2	...	2	...	3	410	380	350
61	60	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	$1\frac{2}{5}$	...	2	301	285	270
62	50	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	$1\frac{2}{5}$	...	2	250	240	230
63	40	1	2	2	1	1		...	1	...	...	...	$1\frac{2}{5}$	...	1	223	200	185
64	30	...	1	1	2	1	1	...	..	...	1	...	$1\frac{1}{5}$	...	1	185	165	155
65	20	..	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	$1\frac{1}{5}$	...	1	135	125	115
66	10	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	$82\frac{1}{2}$	75

Áín 4.

THE AHADÍS.

There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a Mançab, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. As it is the aim of His Majesty to confer a spiritual meaning on that which is external, he calls such persons *Ahadís* (from *ahad*, one). They are thus reminded of the *unity* of God.

A new regulation regarding rank was given.

For the sake of the convenience of the Ahadís, a separate Díwán and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great Amírs is their chief. A fit person has also been selected to introduce to His Majesty such as are candidates for Ahadíships. Without partiality or accepting bribes, he takes daily several before His Majesty, who examines them. When they have been approved of, they pass through the *Yáddásht*, the *Ta'líqah*, the descriptive roll, and accounts [*vide* Áín 10]. The paymaster then takes security, and introduces the candidate a second time to His Majesty, who generally

increases his pay from an eighth to three-fourths, or even to more than six-sevenths.[1] Many Ahadís have indeed more than 500 Rupees *per mensem.*[2] He then gets the number *nine* as his brand [*vide* Áín 7]. In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some Ahadís mustered eight horses; but now, the limit is five. On his *sarkhat* [*vide* Áín 11] each receives a *farmánchah* (rank and pay certificate), on which year after year the treasurer makes payments.

Ahadís are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the Díwán and the Bakhshí, which is called now-a-days *Taçhíhah,*[3] the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be countersigned by the principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps, and pays the claim. Before the period (of four months) is over, he gets one month's salary in advance. In the course of the year, he receives cash for ten months, after deducting from it one-twentieth of the sum, the total stoppage being made on account of his horses and other expenses. On joining the service, an Ahadí generally finds his own horse; but afterwards he gets it from the Government; and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called *Saqaṭnámah,*[4] explains the reason why the horse is not forthcoming, he is held indemnified for his dead horse, but does not receive the money for keeping a horse until he gets a new one. But if he has no *Saqaṭnámah* to shew, he is not allowed anything from the time of the last muster. Those who are in want of horses, are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one-half being reckoned as *irmás* money,[5] and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or if the Ahadí be in debt, in eight instalments.

ÁÍN 5.

OTHER KINDS OF TROOPERS.

As I have said something about the Mançabdárs and the Ahadís, I shall give a few details regarding the third class of troopers.

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[1] Or as we would say, by 75 or even 85⅗ *per cent.* *Vide* note 4 p. 88.

[2] This agrees with a statement which I have seen in some historian of Akbar's reign that a senior *Ahadí* was promoted to a *Yúzbáshíship,* as the next step. *Vide* p. 20, note 1.

[3] The *Taçhíhah* corresponds therefore to a 'life certificate.' Arabic infinitives II. take in modern Persian a final ة; thus *ta'líqah* [*vide* below Áín 10], *takhfífah* [*vide* p. 95, note, 1], *&c.*

[4] From *saqaṭa* he fell.

[5] Or *armás* money. The word ارماس may be Inf. IV., or plural of *rams*, a grave. Badáoní evidently reads *irmás*, because in II, p. 202, he explains *irmás* by *zawál i dushman* the burying, or destruction, of the foes, 'which word the grandees used instead of *ṭalab i ajnás*, requesting stores, &c.' Hence *irmás*, a request made for military supplies or for salary.

The horse-dealer fixes the quality of the horses, which are carefully inspected by the Bakhshís. The description of the man is then taken down in writing. If a trooper has more than one horse, they add to his establishment a camel or an ox, for which he gets half the allowance usually given to troopers of a superior class; or if this be not given, he gets an addition of two-fifths.

A *Yakaspah* trooper is paid according to the following rates. If his horse be an 'Iráqí, he gets 30 *R. per mensem;* if *mujannas*, 25 *R.;* if *Turkí*, 20 *R.*; if a *Yábú*, 18 *R.*; if a *Tází*, 15 *R.*; if a *Janglah*, 12 *R.*

The Revenue collectors of domain lands got formerly 25 *R.*, but now only 15 *R.*

Troopers of this kind mustered formerly up to four horses, but now the order is not to exceed three.

Every *Dahbáshí* had to muster 2 *chahár aspah*, 3 *sihaspah*, 3 *duaspah*, and 2 *yakaspah* troopers [*i. e.*, 10 troopers with 25 horses], and the other Mançabdárs in the same proportion. But now a Dahbáshí's contingent consists of 3 *sihaspah*, 4 *duaspah*, and 3 *yakaspah* troopers [*i. e.*, 10 troopers with 18 horses].

ÁÍN 6.

THE INFANTRY.

As I have said something about the Cavalry, I shall make a few remarks on foot soldiers. They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

The writer of these....[1] is the *Awárahnawís*. Inasmuch as they are of importance, they are counted as belonging to the infantry. There are several classes of them. The first class gets 500 *dáms;* the second 400 *d.*; the third, 300 *d.*; the fourth, 240 *d.*

The Bandúqchís or Matchlock-bearers.

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchí*, an honest treasurer, and an active Dárogah. A few *Bandúqchís* are selected for these offices; the others hold the following ranks. Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal, and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these [non-commissioned] officers is of four grades, *first*, 300 *d.*; *second*, 280 *d.*; *third*, 270 *d.*; *fourth*, 260 *d.*

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[1] The text has a word which does not suit.

Common *Bandúqchis* are divided into *five* classes, and each class into three subdivisions. *First class*, 250, 240, and 230 *d.* *Second class*, 220, 210, 200 *d.* *Third class*, 190, 180, and 170 *d.* *Fourth class*, 160, 150, and 140 *d.* *Fifth class*, 130, 120, and 110 *d.*

The Darbáns, or Porters.

A thousand of these active men are employed to guard the palace. The pay of the *Mírdahahs* is fivefold, 200, 160, 140, 130, and 120 *d.* Common *Darbáns* have from 100 to 120 *d.*

The Khidmatiyyahs.

The *Khidmatiyyahs* also belong to the infantry. They guard the environs of the palace, and see that certain orders are carried out. *Panjáhís* to *Bistís* have 200 *d.*; and a *Dahbáshí* gets 180 and 140 *d.* The others get 120, 110, and 100 *d.*

The caste to which they belong was notorious for highway robbery and theft; former rulers were not able to keep them in check. The effective orders of His Majesty have led them to honesty: they are now famous for their trustworthiness. They were formerly called *Máwís.* Their chief has received the title of *Khidmat Rái.* Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called *Khidmatiyyahs.*[1]

The Mewṛahs.[2]

They are natives of Mewáṭ, and are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with zeal anything that may be required. They are excellent spies, and will perform the most intricate duties. There are likewise one thousand of them, ready to carry out orders. Their wages are the same as the preceding.

The Shamsherbáz, or gladiators.

There are several kinds of them, each performing astonishing feats. In fighting they shew much swiftness and agility, and join courage to skill in stooping down and rising up again. Some of them use shields in fighting, others use cudgels. The latter are called *Lakráit.* Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called *yak-hát'h.* The former class come chiefly from the Eastern districts, and use a somewhat smaller shield, which they call *chirwah.* Those who come from the southern districts, make their shields large enough to conceal a horseman. This kind of shield they call *tilwah.*

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[1] They are called in the Tuzuk i Jahángírí *Piyádahá i Khidmatiyyah.* The name of their chief under Jahángír was *Rái Mán.* He once picked up the young Sháh Shujá', who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, p. 303.

[2] "Among the innovations made by Akbar are the *Ḍák-Mewṛahs*, of whom some were stationed at every place." *Kháfí Khán* I, p. 243. Hence the *Mewṛahs* were chiefly postmen.

Another class goes by the name of *P'haráits*. They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a *gaz* broad.

Some again are called *Banáits*. They use a long sword, the handle of which is more than a *gaz* long, and seizing it with both hands, they perform extraordinary feats of skill.

The class which goes by the name of *Bankúlís* are likewise famous. They use a peculiar sword which, though bent towards the point, is straight near the handle. But they do not make use of a shield. The skill which they exhibit passes all description. Others make various kinds of daggers and knives, and perform with them the most extraordinary feats. Each class of these men has a different name; they also differ in their performances. But it is really impossible to give a mere description of them; nor would mere listening to my descriptions be sufficient.

There are more than a hundred thousand of them. At Court one thousand of them are always in readiness. Their *Çadí* (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Ahadí, and even a higher one. Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 *d.*

The Pahluwáns, or Wrestlers.

There are many Persian and Túrání wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers, athletes of Hindústán, clever *Mals* from Gujrát, and many other kinds of fighting men. Their pay varies from 70 to 450 *d.* Every day two well-matched men fight with each other. Many presents are made to them on such occasions. The following belong to the best wrestlers of the age—Mírzá Khán of Gilán; Muhammad Qulí of Tabríz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of *Sher hamlah*, or Lion-attacker; Çádiq of Bukhárá; 'Alí of Tabríz; Murád of Turkistán; Muhammad 'Alí of Túrán; Fúlád of Tabríz; Qásim of Tabríz; Mírzá Kuhnahsuwár of Tabríz; Sháh Qulí of Kurdistán; Hilál of Abyssinia; Sadhú Dayál; 'Alí; Srí Rám; Kanhyá; Mangol; Ganesh; Ánbá; Nánká; Balbhadr; Bajrnát'h.

The Chelahs, or Slaves.

His Majesty, from religious motives, dislikes the name *bandah*, or slave; for he believes that mastership belongs to no one but God. He therefore calls this class of men *Chelahs*, which Hindí term signifies a *faithful disciple*.[1] Through His Majesty's kindness, many of them have chosen the road to happiness.[2]

[1] The word *Chelah* is the same as the Arab. *muríd*, a disciple who places implicit belief in his *murshid* or *pír*, the head of the sect. "And many of His Majesty's special disciples, in 991, called themselves *chelahs* in imitation of the use of this term among Jogís." *Badáoní* II, p. 325.

The author of the pretty Tazkirah, entitled *Kalimátushshu'ará*, which contains biographies of the poets of the eleventh century, was called *Chelah*. His real name is Mírzá Muhammad Afzal; as a poet he is known as *Sarkhush*.

[2] By joining the Divine Faith.

Various meanings attach to the term *slave*. *First*, that which people in general mean by a slave. Some men obtain power over such as do not belong to their sect, and sell and buy them. The wise look upon this as abominable. *Secondly*, he is called a slave, who leaves the path of selfishness, and chooses the road of spiritual obedience.[1] *Thirdly*, one's child. *Fourthly*, one who kills a man, in order to inherit his property. *Fifthly*, a robber who repents and attaches himself to the man whom he had robbed. *Sixthly*, a murderer whose guilt has been atoned by payment of money, in which case the murderer becomes the slave of the man who releases him. *Seventhly*, he who cheerfully and freely prefers to live as a slave.

The pay of Chelahs varies from 1 *R.* to 1 *d. per diem*. His Majesty has divided them into several sections, and has handed them over to active and experienced people, who give them instruction in several things. Thus they acquire knowledge, elevate their position, and learn to perform their duties with propriety.

His Majesty who encourages everything which is excellent, and knows the value of talent, honors people of various classes with appointments in the ranks of the army; and raises them from the position of a common soldier to the dignity of a grandee.

The Kuhárs, or Pálkí bearers.

They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders, and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *pálkis*, *singhásans*, *chauḍols*, and *dúlis*, they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting. There are many in this country; but the best came from the Dak'hin and Bengal. At Court, several thousands of them are kept. The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *d.* Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *d.*

Dákhilí troops.

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Mançabdárs; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nímah suwárán*, or half troopers.

The fourth part of Dákhilí troops are matchlock-bearers; the others carry bows.

Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, pioneers, belong to this class.

A non-commissioned officer of the matchlock-bearers receives 160 *d.*, or 4 *R.*; common matchlock-bearers get 140 *d.* The Mírdahahs of the archers get from 120 to 180 *d.*; common archers from 100 to 120 *d.*

[1] Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his *pír*.

I could say much more on this subject, but I must content myself with having described the principal classes. I have also given some details in speaking of the several workshops and offices of the Household.

Ʌ́IN 7.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE BRANDING OF ANIMALS.

When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright *Bitikchis* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. A Dárogah also was appointed, whose duty it is to see that the men are not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations.

Every one who wishes to join the army, is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence his rank is fixed, after which the clerks make out the *Ta'líqah* [*vide* Ʌ́ín 10].

Dákhilí troops are admitted on the signature of the Mançabdárs.

His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay. His Majesty has the men assembled in an open place, and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers. The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls, and is countersigned by those officers, which serves as a proof, and prevents fraudulent alterations. Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting Dárogah. He takes them in the manner described above [*vide* Ʌ́ín 4.] to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. His Majesty discerns the value of a man by the lineaments of his forehead, and can therefore increase or decrease his pay. He also distinguishes a tradesman by the look of his face from a soldier, so much so that experienced people are astonished, and refer His Majesty's power of discernment to 'hidden knowledge.' When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the *Wáqi'ah Nawís* (Ʌ́ín 10), the *Mír 'Arz*, and the officer commanding the guards. On the strength of this certificate, the Dárogah of the *dágh* (brand) marks the horses.

When the brand was first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter *sín* [*i. e.* like this, ﺳ], and was put on the right side of the neck of the horse. For some time, it was made in shape of two *alifs* intersecting at right angles, the heads of the *alif* being made heavy, as in this

figure , and put on the right thigh. For some time again, it was made like a bow with the string taken off. At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new signs are likewise put on the right thigh. Formerly, each horse on being mustered for the first time, was marked with a 1; the second time with a 2, and so on; but now His Majesty has ordered that separate numerals should be used for the horses of the princes, the Mançabdárs, the governors of the provinces, and all other dignitaries attached to the Court.

The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses; for when a soldier, after the introduction of the system of repeated marks (*vide* next Áín), brought a horse which had been exchanged, he would demand his pay from the time he had last received his pay, whilst the Bakhshí commenced to count from the day he brought his (exchanged) horse. But since the present mark was introduced, the rule was made that each horse with which, instead of with his old one, a trooper came to the muster, should be described, and should get the same mark as the dead one; the Bakhshís, at the subsequent musters held for repeating the marks, were to inspect it and go by the brand. Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones; but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest.

ÁÍN 8.

ON THE REPETITION OF THE MARK.

The servants (Mançabdárs) of His Majesty have their horses every year newly marked, and thus maintain the efficiency of the army, as by their endeavours, unprincipled people learn to choose the path of honesty. If a Mançabdár delays bringing his men to the muster, one-tenth of his jágír (*aqṭá'*)[1] is withheld. Formerly when the mark was repeated, they put the number on the muster of the horse, marking, for example, a horse with a 2, when it was mustered the second time, and so on; but now, as each class of soldiers has a particular mark, the mark is merely repeated at the

[1] Properly *iqṭá'*, Inf. IV. of *qaṭa'a*; but in India the word is mostly pronounced as *aqṭá.'* The king is therefore called *muqṭi'*, one who confers lands on the nobles; abstr. n. *muqṭi'í* the giving of lands to nobles, of which the Moghul Historians accuse Sher Sháh. *Vide* end of Áín 10, Third Book. *Muqṭa'*, past part., one on whom lands have been conferred; so often in the *Táríkh i Fírúz Sháhí*. From the times of Akbar the words *aqṭá'* and *jágír* are used as synonyms; before his time we only find *aqṭá'* used; but *jágír*, or *jáigír*, occurs in its etymological sense. In later Historians the word *aqṭá'* is but rarely met with.

subsequent musters. In the case of Ahadís, the former custom was retained. Some Bitikchís, and near servants of His Majesty who have no leisure to look after jágírs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees whose jágírs are very remote, do not bring their horses to muster before twelve years have elapsed; but when six years have elapsed since the last muster, one-tenth of their income is retrenched. And if a Mançabdár has been promoted to a higher Mançab, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal (ذات) increase of salary, but draws the allowance for the increased number of his men after the first muster. His old and his new men then get their assignments. If at the renewal of the mark at subsequent musters, any soldier brings a superior horse in exchange for his old one, he is taken before His Majesty, who inspects and accepts it.

ÁÍN 9.

RULES ABOUT MOUNTING GUARD.

Mounting guard is called in Hindí *chaukí*. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mançabdár. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as *Mír 'Arz*. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the *Mír 'Arz* and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue. In the evening, the Imperial *Qur* (*vide* p. 110) is taken to the State hall. The mounting guards stand on the right; the ranks of the guards to be relieved are drawn up on the other side. His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers. Both ranks salute His Majesty. If His Majesty be prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties, as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays much attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.

The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts, each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court, and to partake of the liberality of His Majesty. But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact

condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

ÁÍN 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WÁQI'AHNAWÍS.[1]

Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government; it is even necessary for every rank of society. Though a trace of this office may have existed in ancient times, its higher objects were but recognized in the present reign. His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight.[2] Some other suitable men are selected as supernumeraries, each of whom is appointed for one day; and if any of the fourteen be detained by an important business, this additional person acts for him. Hence they are called *kotal* (supernumeraries).

Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; what His Majesty eats and drinks; when he sleeps, and when he rises; the etiquette in the State hall; the time His Majesty spends in the Harem; when he goes to the general and private assemblies; the nature of hunting-parties; the slaying of animals;[3] when he marches, and when he halts; the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; vows made to him; his remarks (*vide* Fifth Book); what books he has read out to him; what alms he bestows; what presents he makes; the daily and monthly exercises[4] which he imposes on himself; appointments to mançabs; contingents of troops; salaries; jágírs; *Irmás* money (*vide* above, p. 250, note 5); *sayúrghál*s (rentfree land); the increase or decrease of taxes; contracts; sales; money transfers; *peshkash* (tribute receipts); despatch; the issue of orders; the

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[1] From *wáqia'h* an event, and *nawís* a writer. Instead of *wáqi'ah nawís* we also find *majlis nawís*.

There was a *Wáqi'ahnawís*, or recorder, in each Çúbah. From several places in the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, we see that the Bakhshís of the Çúbahs often held the posts of *Wáqi'ahnawís* at the same time. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 121, l. 2.; p. 137, l. 1.; p. 171, l. 5.

[2] Hence the arrangement must have been as follows—first day, first and second writers; second day, second and third writers; third day, third and fourth writers, and so on.

[3] Akbar wished to restrict the slaying of animals. *Vide* above, p. 200, l. 9.

[4] Especially fasts.

papers which are signed by His Majesty; the arrival of reports; the minutes thereon; the arrivals of courtiers; their departures; the fixing[1] of periods; the inspection of the guards; battles, victories, and peace; obituaries of well-known persons; animal-fights and the bettings on them; the dying of horses; capital punishments; pardons granted by His Majesty; the proceedings of the general assemblies; marriages, births; *chaugán* games (*vide* Ái'n 29); chaupar, nard, chess, card games, &c.; extraordinary phenomena; the harvests of the year; the reports on events.

After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Parwánchi*, by the *Mír 'Arz*, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called *yáddásht*, or memorandum.

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the *yáddasht* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the *yáddásht*, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the *Wáqi'ahnawís*, and the *Risálahdár*,[2] the *Mír 'Arz*, and the *Dárogah*. The abridgment, thus completed, is called *Ta'líqah*, and the writer is called *Ta'líqahnawís*.

The *Ta'líqah* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State.

His Majesty's object is, that every duty be properly performed; that there be no undue increase, or decrease in any department; that dishonest people be removed, and trustworthy people be held in esteem; and that active servants may work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check.

ÁI'N 11.

ON SANADS.

Every money matter will be satisfactorily settled, when the parties express their minds clearly, then take a pen, and write down the statement in legible handwriting. Every written statement of accounts is called a *sanad*. All classes of men adopt such a practice.

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[1] *Ta'ín i muddat*, the fixing of periodical inspections; opp. *beta'íní ámadan* to come at times not appointed before hand, unexpectedly.

[2] The text has *risálah*, which stands for *risálahdár*, as, in later times, *Çúbah* for *Çúbahdár*.

For *Mír 'Arz* we find in the early Historians *'áriz*.

The *sanad* is the voucher which relieves the treasurer of all responsibility, and on which people receive payment of their claims. Honest experienced officers, upon whose forehead the stamp of correctness shines, write the agreement upon loose pages and leaves, so that the transaction cannot be forgotten. These loose sheets into which all sanads are entered, are called the *Daftar*.[1]

His Majesty has made himself acquainted with this department and brought it into proper working order. He has appointed clever, honest, incorruptible, experienced writers, and entrusts the *daftar* to impartial officers, who are under his immediate control.

The *Daftar* of the empire is divided into three parts:—

1. The *Abwábulmál*, or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the Daftar explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, &c.)

2. The *Arbáb uttaháwíl.*[2] This part explains the manner in which the sums for the Household have been expended; it contains the debits and credits entered on account of the cashkeepers employed at Court; and lastly, contains the accounts of daily expenditure, &c., for things bought or sold.

3. The *Taujíh.*[3] This part contains all entries referring to the pay of the army, and shows the manner in which the pay is given out.

Some *sanads* are merely sealed with the imperial seal. Other *sanads* are first signed and sealed by the ministers of State, and are afterwards laid before His Majesty for signature. Many *sanads*, however, are only signed and sealed by the grandees of the Court. This will be explained in the following.

The Farmán i sabtí.

Farmán i sabtís are issued for three purposes:—

1. For appointments to a Mançab; to the Vakílship; to the post of *Sipahsálár* (governor of a province and Commander-in-Chief); to the tutorship of the princes; to the rank of *Amírulumará* (*vide* p. 240); to a *Náhiatí*, or

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[1] English writers of the last century often refer to this system of keeping all documents in loose sheets, instead of bound books. The sheets were kept together by a string drawn through them. This custom, I am informed, is still in use in Persia; and suits eastern countries, the hot and damp climate of which soon destroys the binding of books. The word *daftar* is the Greek διφθέρα, a tanned hide, parchment. *Çáhib i daftar*, Minister of Finance, the same as *Díwán* and *Vazír*. *Daftarí* means in India a man kept in every office for mending pens, ruling paper and forms, &c.

[2] *The* men *who get transfer receipts on the Treasury.* This part of the Daftar contained all Household accounts, as specified above. Though all MSS. read *Arbáb*, it is probable that *abwáb* is the more usual expression.

[3] Or, *the giving of* wajh (*pay*) *to the army;* hence *taujíh* military accounts. For *taujíh*, some MSS. read *taujíhah*.

districtship; to the post of *Vazír*, or Finance Minister; to the *Bakhshí-ship*, (Pay master and Adjutant General); to the post of a *Çadr*, or a judge.

2. For appointments to *jágírs*, without military service;[1] for taking charge of a newly conquered territory; sometimes....[2]

3. For conferring *Sayúrghâls* (*vide* Áín 19); for grants on account of daily subsistence allowance; and for grants for beneficent purposes.

When the *Ta'líqah* has been made out, the *Díwán i Jágír* (who keeps the Jágír accounts) pays the stipulated grant. If the jágír is given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the *Bakhshís* for inspection, when the following words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—*kháçah, o mardum baráward numáyand; kárgarán i in shughl chihrahnawísí kunand* (this is special; the estimate for the salary may be made out. The proper officers are to prepare the descriptive rolls). When the horses are then branded at the time of the muster, the *Bakhshigeneral* takes the *Ta'líqah*, keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary, duly signed and sealed.

This paper, which the *Bakhshí* grants instead of the *Ta'líqah*, is called *Sarkhaṭ*.

The *Sarkhaṭs* are entered in the daftars of all *Sub-Bakhshís*, and are distinguished by particular marks. The *Díwán* then keeps the *Sarkhaṭ* with himself, prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it, and reports the matter to His Majesty. If His Majesty gives the order to confer a jágír on the person specified in the *Sarkhaṭ*, the following words are entered on the top of the report: *Ta'líqah i tan qalamí numáyand* (they are to write out a *Ta'líqah i tan* (certificate of salary). This order suffices for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Díwán, who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt numáyand* (ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Díwán, the Bakhshí, and the Accountant the Díwán, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Díwán.

The *Çáhib i Taujíh*, or Military accountant, keeps the former *Ta'líqah* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmán*, and seals and signs it. It is

[1] *Jágírs*, to which no military service attaches, appear to be called *bedágh o mahallí*, *i. e.*, the holder had nothing to do with the army and the musters, at which the Mançabdárs drew the salaries of their contingents, nor with the collection of the taxes of the several *Mahalls* or Parganahs. Thus Fathullah of Shíráz (*vide* p. 199) received Basáwar as his jágír *bedágh o mahallí*. *Badáoní*, p. 315. Badáoní also had a jágír of 1000 Bíg'has, at which he often grumbles, calling himself by way of joke *Hazárí*, or Commander of One Thousand.

[2] The text has *jáe* (sometimes ?) *ba 'unwán i mulk* (*milk ?*) *dádan*—which I do not understand.

then inspected by the *Mustaufí*, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the *Názir* and the *Bakhshís* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Díwán, his Accountant, and the *Vakíl* of the State.

If His Majesty's order specifies a cash payment, the *farmán* is made out in the same manner, but is generally called *Barát* (cheque). A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it. After the *Názir*, the *Díwán i Buyútát* signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhshís and the Díwán, it is sealed and signed by the *Khán Sámán*. The receipts and expenditure of the Imperial workshops, the deposits and payments of salaries to the workmen (of whom some draw their pay on [military] descriptive rolls, and others according to the services performed by them, as the men engaged in the Imperial elephant and horse stables, and in the waggon department) are all made by *baráts*. The accountant of each workshop (or stable) writes out annually two *baráts*, one for the six months from *Farwardín* (February—March) to *Shahríwar*, and the other from *Mihr* (September) to *Isfandiyármuz*. He writes down the allowances on account of grain, grass, &c., both in shape of cash and stores, and the salaries of the workmen, and signs the statement. The *Díwán i Buyútát* inspects them, passes the order for payment, enquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin *az tahwíl i fuláni barát nawísand*, 'Let a *barát* be made out shewing the amount to be deposited with such and such a Mushrif.' The Mushrif of the workshop or stable then takes it, writes out an order and the receipt, and seals and signs it. In all cash payments, one-fourth is deducted, as another *sanad* is given for this amount. The *Díwán i Buyútát* then gives the order to have it entered. The Mushrif does so, signs and seals the *barát* and the receipt. It then passes through the hands of the Military Accountant, the Názir, the Díwán i Buyútát, the Díwán i Kul, the Khán Sámán, the Mushrif of the Díwán, and the Vakíl, who sign and seal it. In every case the estimate is sent along with it, so that there may be no mistake. When it has been laid before His Majesty, the Mushrif writes out the receipt, which is then in the same manner entered into the several *daftars*. The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, *viz.* one-fourth is to be paid in gold (*ashrafís*); one-half in silver (*rúpis*) and one part in copper (*dáms*), according to the fixed values of the coins.

The *Farmáns* in favor of Mançabdárs are made out in the same manner; they are, however, never sent to the officers of the workshops and stables.

In case of *Sayúrghals* (*vide* Áín 19), the farmáns, after having been signed by the Mustaufí, are entered in the *daftars* of the *Díwán i Sa'ádat* (*vide* Áín 19); they are then signed and sealed by the *Çadr*, and the *Díwán i Kul*.

Farmáns are sometimes written in *Ṭughrá* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmán is called a *Parwánchah*.

Parwánchahs are made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes; for the stipends of people under the care of the *Díwán i Sa'ádat* (*vide* Áín 19); the salaries of the Ahadís, Chelahs, and of some officers in the workshops; and for the allowances on account of the food of *Bárgír* horses (*vide* p. 139, Áín 54). The treasurer does not annually demand a new *sanad*, but pays the allowances on the mere receipt, signed and sealed by the ministers of the State. The Mushrif (accountant) writes out the receipt, which is signed by the recipient, and is then sent to the Díwán for orders. It is then signed by the Mushrif, the Mustaufí, the Názir i Buyútát, the Díwán i Kul, the Khán-Sámán, the Mushrif of the Díwán. In the *Parwánchahs* given to Ahadís, the signature, seal, and orders of the *Ahadíbáshí*, or Commander of the Ahadís, are required after those of the Mustaufí, the Díwán, and the Bakhshís, because His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these *Parwánchahs* need not be laid before him.

Nor does His Majesty sign *sarkhaṭs*, sale and purchase receipts, price-lists, *'arznámchahs* (statements of sums forwarded to Court by the collectors of the Imperial domains) *qarár námahs* (which specify the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots), and the *muqásá* (statements of account which *Tahwíldárs* take from the Mustaufí, showing that the sums which they had received as deposits, have been correctly expended).

ÁÍN 12.

THE ORDER OF THE SEALS.

Farmáns, Parwánchahs, and Baráts, are made into several folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakíl puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif of the Díwán puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower, comes the seal of the Çadr. But when Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Sulṭán Khwájah were *çadrs* (*vide* note to Áín 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakíl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakíl, as Atkah Khán did at the time of Mun'im Khán, and Adham Khán. The Mír Mál, the Khán Sámán, the Parwánchí, &c., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Díwán, and the Bakhshí do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Díwán i juz, the Bakhshí i juz, and the Díwán i Buyútát put their seals on the third

fold. The Mustaufí puts his seal on the fourth, and the Çáhib i Taujíh on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Ṭughrá* lines on the top of the Farmán, where the princes also put their seals in *Ta'líqahs*.

A'I'N 13.

THE FARMA'N I BAYA'ZI'.

Some matters connected with the Government do not admit of delay, or must not to be known to every one. Such an order receives only the Imperial seal, and is called a *Farmán i Bayází.*[1] The farmán is folded up, and two edges are made to meet, when a knot of paper is put over them, which is sealed up, in such manner, that the contents cannot be seen. The sealing wax is made of the gum of the Kunár, the Baṛ, the Pípal, and other trees. Like wax, it gets warm when exposed to fire, but gets afterwards cool and hard. When thus sealed, the farmán is put into a golden cover; for His Majesty looks upon the use of external signs of grandeur as an act of divine worship. Such farmáns are carried by Mançabdárs, Ahadís, or common foot-soldiers, to the parties concerned.

When an officer receives such an order he proceeds a proper distance to meet it, performs various acts of obeisance, puts it on the crown of his head, makes the *sijdah*, and rewards the messenger according to the favour conferred upon himself, or according to his circumstances. According to His Majesty's wishes, the bags in which reports are sent, are secured in the same manner as a *Farmán i Bayází*, so that no alterations are possible. In consequence of this, much trouble is avoided, and dishonest practices are put a stop to.

A'I'N 14.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH SALARIES ARE PAID.

When any one has the good fortune of joining the army, he receives, on bringing his horses to the muster, a proper *sanad* without delay and without costs. All accounts of salaries are made out in *dáms;* but at the time of making out the estimate, he receives one half in rupees, reckoned at thirty-eight *dáms*[2] each. Half of the remainder is paid in muhurs at nine rupees each, and the last quarter is given in dáms for stores. When the value of the rupee was raised to forty dáms, the soldiers, through His Majesty's kindness, received dáms at the same rate. Every year one month's pay is subtracted on account of the horse, the value of which is

[1] That is, a *blank* farmán.

[2] The MSS. have forty-eight.

raised fifty per cent. above prime cost, and for accoutrements; but as much care is shewn in buying horses, this increase is not productive of any loss for the soldier. Besides, Ahadís are continually employed for affairs of importance, and are permitted to carry the orders of His Majesty; and whatever is given to them as an acknowledgment for their services by the recipients of the orders, is allowed to be kept by the Ahadís as a present, if they bear a good character; but if not, a part of it is reckoned as monthly pay.

With the view of teaching zeal and removing the stamp of laziness, His Majesty fines soldiers for absence from guard: an Ahadí loses fifteen days' pay, and other soldiers one week's.

The Commander of every contingent (*Tábínbáshí*) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses.

A'ÍN 15.

MUSA'ADAT, OR LOANS TO OFFICERS.

Higher Officers, who receive lands or monthly salaries may occasionally come into difficulties when it would be against the rules of the government for them to ask for a present. For this reason His Majesty appointed a treasurer and a separate *Mír 'Arz*, and those who wish to borrow money, may now do so without prejudice to their honour, or annoyance of delay. For the first year, nothing is charged; in the second, the loan is increased by a sixteenth part of it; in the third year, by one-eighth; in the fourth year, by one-fourth; from the fifth to the seventh, by one-half; from the eighth to the tenth year, by three-fourths; from the tenth year and longer, double the original loan is charged, after which there is no further increase.

His Majesty's only object[1] is to teach propriety in transactions; else mutual esteem will never increase among men from the nature of their mercantile affairs.

This regulation brought unprincipled usurers to the proper path, and thus prevented much impropriety.

A'ÍN 16.

ON DONATIONS.

His Majesty, from his knowledge of man's nature, gives donations in various ways. It looks as if he lends, but in his heart, he makes a present;

[1] It is needless to remind the reader that charging interest on loans is against the Muhammadan law. But Akbar was a Hindu in such matters.

or he calls the donation a loan, but never asks it back. The far and near, the rich and poor, share His Majesty's liberality. He gives away elephants, horses, and other valuable articles. The Bakhshís read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything. His Majesty gives them horses. When a soldier has received a horse, he is not recommended to His Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation.

ÁÍN 17.

ON ALMS.

His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries, winning the hearts of all in public or private. Many enjoy daily, monthly, or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting. It is impossible for me to detail the sums which some people receive in consequence of representations having been made of their circumstances by such as stand near the throne; and it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars, or the eating houses which have been established for the poor.[1]

There is a treasurer always in waiting[2] at Court; and every beggar whom His Majesty sees, is sure to find relief.

ÁÍN 18.

THE CEREMONY OF WEIGHING HIS MAJESTY.

From reasons of auspiciousness, and as an opportunity of bestowing presents upon the poor, His Majesty is weighed twice a year. Various articles are put into the scales.

On the first day of the month of Ábán [15th October], which is the solar anniversary of the emperor, His Majesty is weighed twelve times against the following articles: gold, quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, rúh i tútiyá, drugs, g'hí, iron, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain, salt; the order of these articles being determined by their costliness. According to the number of years His Majesty has lived, there is given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls, to people that breed these animals. A great number of small animals are also set at liberty.

His Majesty is weighed a second time on the 5th of Rajab,[3] against eight articles, *viz.*, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables.

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[1] *Vide* p. 200, l. 5 from below.

[2] *Vide* p. 15, l. 1.

[3] The lunar birthday of the emperor. As this was the *Muhammadan* birthday, the articles were of course fewer, and less valuable.

On both occasions the festival of *Sálgirih* (birthday) is celebrated, when donations, or grants of pardon, are bestowed upon people of all ranks.

The Imperial princes, sons, and grandsons of His Majesty, are weighed once in every solar year. They are for the first time weighed, when two years old, but only against one thing. Every year, however, a new additional thing is put on the scales. When grown up, they are generally weighed against seven or eight things, but not against more than twelve. Animals are set free as usual.

A separate treasurer and an accountant are appointed for this purpose, so that the expenditure may be made with every propriety.[1]

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[1] According to the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (p. 163) and *Pádishāhnámah* (I, p. 243), the weighing of the Royal person was introduced by Akbar. It is an old Hindu custom. At first, the weighing took place once a year, on the birthday of the emperor; but with the introduction of Akbar's Divine (solar) Era, we find in the history of every year the record of a *wazn i shamsí*, or *solar* weighing, and a *wazn i qamarí*, or *lunar* weighing. There was, of course, a *jashn*, or feast, on such occasions, and courtiers, on the same day, were promoted to higher Mançabs, or presented their *peshkash*. The feast was of special importance for the Harem. It appears (*vide* Pádishāhnámah, p. 243) that the articles against which the royal person was weighed, were sent from the Harem, or by the mother of the reigning emperor. Jahángír, according to several remarks in the *Tuzuk* (pp. 69, 70, 276, &c.) was even weighed in the palace of his august mother, to whom the *Tuzuk* gives the title of *Maryam Zamání*, the Mary of the age, as Akbar's mother had been styled *Maryam Makání* (*vide* p. 48, note 1). The solar wazn was even retained by Aurangzeb; *vide* 'Álamgírnámah, p. 229.

The birthday of the emperor was of importance for the Harem, as there the string was kept, which numbered as many knots, as the emperor numbered years; hence also *sálgirih* (or *salgirah*, as the word is pronounced all over India) 'the year's knot,' or birthday.

Tying knots, or bits of string or ribbon to the tombs of saints is considered by barren women as a means of obtaining a son, and the tomb of *Salím i Chishtí* in Fathpúr Síkrí, in whose house Jahángír was born, is even now-a-days visited by Hindu and Musalmán women, who tie bits of string to the marble trellice surrounding the tomb. Similar vows are even placed on Akbar's tomb in Sikandrah, near Ágrah.

Akbar's regulation, as given in the above Áín, appears to have been continued under Jahángír. Sháhjahán made some alterations, in as far as he was weighed on each feast first against gold, and silver, and then against other articles. The articles themselves were given away to the courtiers, or to pious men, and beggars, as a means of keeping the royal person from all bodily and mental harm. The gold and the silver against which Jahángír was once weighed, amounted to Rs. 33,000; but according to the *Tuzuk*, the money was distributed among the women of the Harem. On another occasion (*Tuzuk*, p. 163), Jahángír was found to weigh 6514 tolahs. Taking the tolah at 186 grains (Prinsep's useful Tables, by E. Thomas, p. 111), Jahángír, at the age of forty-seven, would have weighed 210⅓ lbs Troy.

Akbar, in accordance with his Hindu tendencies, used to give the money to Brahmins. "On the fifth of Rajab 973, which is the day on which the Emperor was born, the feast of weighing His Majesty was held at Nizámábad, a town belonging to the Sirkár of Jaunpúr; for according to established custom, the emperor is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar birthdays, against gold, silver, &c., which is given as a present to the Brahmins of India, and others. Poets used, and still use, such opportunities for presenting nice poems." *Badáoní*, II, p. 84.

Occasionally, courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Thus Jahángír had once his Court doctor Rúhullah weighed in silver (*Tuzuk*, p. 283), the sum being given him as a fee in addition to three villages, which were bestowed upon him as *jágír*.

A'I'N 19.

ON SAYURGHALS.[1]

His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considers doing so an act of divine worship.

His Majesty, from his desire to promote rank distinctions, confers lands and subsistence allowances on the following four classes of men, *first*, on enquirers after wisdom, who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and daytime in searching after true knowledge; *secondly*, on such as toil and practise self-denial, and while engaged in the struggle with the selfish passions of human nature, have renounced the society of men; *thirdly*, on such as are weak and poor, and have no strength for enquiry; *fourthly*, on honorable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge, are unable to provide for themselves by taking up a trade.

Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazífah;* lands conferred are called *Milk*, or *Madad i ma'ásh*. In this way, krors are given away, and yet the grants are daily increasing in number.

As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called *Çadr*. The *Qázi* and the *Mír 'Adl* are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is now-a-days styled *Díwán i Sa'ádat.*

His Majesty, in his mercy, orders his servants to introduce to him such as are worthy of grants, and a large number receive the assistance they desire.

When His Majesty commenced to enquire into this department, it was discovered that the former *Çadrs* had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaikh 'Abdunnabí to this important office. The lands which were then held by Afgháns and Chaudrís, were taken away, and became domain lands (*khalsah*),[2] whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaikh who enquired into, and certified, their grants. After some time it was reported that those who held grants, had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khálíçah* lands or

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[1] Vide the note at the end of this Áín.
[2] This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian *khálíçah*.

near the jágírs of Mançabdárs, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties. The officers of the government, on receiving this order, told off certain villages for this purpose: those who were weak were protected, and the encroachments of the unprincipled were put a stop to.

But when Time, according to his custom, commenced to tear the veil of secrets, rumours also regarding this *Çadr* ['Abdunnabí] came to the ears of His Majesty. An order was therefore given that all those who held more than five hundred bíg'hahs should lay their *farmáns* personally before His Majesty, and in default, should lose their lands. As, however, the practices of these grant-holders did not come up to the wise counsels of His Majesty, the order was passed, that the excess of all lands above one hundred bíg'hahs, if left unspecified in the farmáns, should be reduced to two-fifths of it, three-fifths of the excess being annexed to the domain lands. Íráni and Túráni women alone were excepted from this rule.

As it was reported that impudent, avaricious people used to leave their old grounds, and take possession of new places, it was ordered that every one who should leave his place, should lose one-fourth of his lands and receive a new grant.

Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qázís were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men [the Qázis], who wear a turban as a sign of respectability, but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense. He examined into the whole matter, and dismissed all Qázís, except those who had been appointed during the *Çadrship* of Sulṭán Khwájah. The Íráni and Túrání women also were convicted of fraud, and the order was passed that every excess of land above one hundred bíg'hahs held by them, should be enquired into, whether it was correctly held or not.

During the *Çadrship* of 'Azaduddaulah [Mír Fathullah of Shíráz] the following order was given:—If any one held a Sayúrghál together with a partner, and the farmán contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the *Çadr* should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further enquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the Crown and remaining domain land, till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty. The new *Çadr* was at the same time prevented from granting, without previous reference to His Majesty, more than fifteen bíg'hahs.

On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the Government

officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for Sayúrghál-holders, to demand revenue taxes; but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with.

Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred bíg'hahs and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mír Çadr Jahán should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr with the concurrence of the writer of this work should either increase or decrease the grants. The rule now followed is this, that all Sayúrghál land should consist of one-half of tilled land, and of one-half of land capable of cultivation; if the latter half be not so [*i. e.*, if the whole be tilled land], one-fourth of the whole should be taken away and a new grant be issued for the remainder.

The revenue derived from each bíg'hah varies in the several districts, but is never less than one rupee.

His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and promoting true piety, pays much attention to this department, and appoints disinterested men as *Çadrs* of districts and *Çadr* of the realm.

Note by the Translator on the Çadrs of Akbar's reign.

In this Áín—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chagatái word *sayúrghál* is translated by the Arabic *madad ul ma'ásh*, in Persian *madad i ma'ásh*, for which we often find in MSS. *madad o ma'ásh*. The latter term signifies 'assistance of livelihood,' and, like its equivalent *milk*, or property, it denotes *lands given for benevolent purposes*, as specified by Abulfazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *jágír* or *tuyúl* lands, which were conferred, for a specified time, on Mançabdárs in lieu of salaries.

This Áín proves that Akbar considerably interfered with *Sayúrghál* lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the domain, or *kháliçah*,[1] lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghán) family. He also completely broke the power of the *Çadr*, whose dignity, especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great. It was the *Çadr*, or as he was then generally styled, *Çadr i Jahán*, whose edict legalized the *julús*, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also, he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (*vide* end of Áín 30). Their power was immense. They were the highest law-officers, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in

[1] Regarding the turning out of *Altamghá* and *Madad i ma'ásh* holders, *vide* Elliot's Glossary, under *Altamghá* p. 18.

charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exercise the powers of High Inquisitors. Thus 'Abdunnabí, during his *Çadr*ship, ordered two men to be killed for heresy (*vide* p. 177, l. 4 from below).

In the times before the Moghuls, the terms *idrárát, wazáif, milk, in'ám i dehhá, in'ám i zamínhá, &c.*, occur for the word *sayúrghál* (or *siyúrgál*, or *sughúrghál*, as some dictionaries spell it.)

Among the former kings, 'Aláuddín i Khiljí is notorious for the disregard with which he cancelled the grants of former rulers. He resumed the greater part of the *madad i ma'ásh* tenures, and made them domain lands. He also lowered the dignity of the *Çadr* by appointing his keybearer to this high office (*Tárikh i Fírúzsháhí*, p. 353). Quṭb-uddín Mubáriksháh, however, during the four years and four months of his reign, reinstated many whom 'Aláuddín had deprived (*T. F.*, p. 382). Fírúz Sháh is still more praised for his liberality in conferring lands (*T. F.*, p. 558).

That Sher Sháh has often been accused by Moghul Historians for his bounty in conferring lands, has been mentioned above (p. 256, note); and this may have been one of the reasons why Akbar shewed such an unexpected severity towards the grant-holders of his time.

Each *Çúbah* had a *Çadr i juz*, or Provincial *Çadr*, who was under the orders of the Chief Çadr (*Çadr i Jahán*, or *Çadr i Kul*, or *Çadr i Çudúr*).

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on in the offices of the *Çadrs*. The land specified in the *farmán* of a holder rarely corresponded in extent to the land which he actually held; or the language of the farmán was ambiguously worded, to enable the holder to take possession of as much as he could, and keep it as long as he bribed the *Qázís* and provincial *Çadrs*. Hence Akbar had every reason, after repeated enquiries, to cancel grants conferred by former rulers. The religious views of the emperor (*vide* p. 167), and the hatred which he shewed to the 'Ulamá, most of whom held lands, furnished him with a personal, and therefore stronger, reason to resume their grants, and drive them away to Bhakkar in Sind, or to Bengal, the climate of which, in those days, was as notorious as, in later days, that of Gombroon. After the fall of 'Abdunnabí—a man whom Akbar used once to honor by holding the slippers before his feet,—Sulṭán Khwájah,

a member of the Divine Faith, (*vide* p. 204) was appointed as *Çadr;* and the Çadrs after him were so limited in conferring lands independently of Akbar, and had so few grants to look after, as to tempt Badáoní to indulge in sarcastical remarks. The following were Akbar's Çadrs:—

1. Shaikh Gadáí, a Shí'ah, appointed at the recommendation of Bairám Khán, till 968.
2. Khwájah Muhammad Çálih, till 971.
3. Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, till 986.
4. Sulṭán Khwájah, till his death in 993.
5. Amír Fathullah of Shíráz, till 997.
6. Çadr Jahán, whose name coincides with the title of his office.

Abulfazl also mentions a *Çadr* Mauláná 'Abdul Báqí; but I do not know when he held office.

I extract a few short passages from Badáoní.

Page 29. Shaikh Gadáí cancelled the *Madad i ma'ásh* lands, and took away the legacies[1] of the *Khánzádahs* (Afgháns), and gave a Sayúrghál to any one that would bear up with humiliating treatment, but not otherwise. Nevertheless, in comparison with the present time, when obstacles are raised to the possession of every *jaríb* of ground, nay, even less, you may call the Shaikh an *'Alambakhsh* (one who gives away a world).

Page 52. After Shaikh Gadáí, Khájagí Muhammad Çálih was, in 968, appointed *Çadr;* but he did not possess such extensive powers in conferring lands as *madad i ma'ásh,* because he was dependent on the Díwáns.

Page 71. In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971, Shaikh 'Abdunnabí was made Çadr. In giving away lands, he was to consult Muzaffar Khán, at that time Vazír and Vakíl. But soon after, the Shaikh acquired such absolute powers, that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistence allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if you place the grants of all former kings of Hindústán in one scale, and those of the Shaikh into the other, his scale would weigh more. But several years later the scale went up, as it had been under former kings, and matters took an adverse turn.

Page 204. In 983, His Majesty gave the order that the *Aimahs* of the whole empire should not be let off by the *kroris* of each Perganah, unless they brought the farmáns in which their grants, subsistence allowances, and pensions were described, to the Çadr for inspection and verification. For this reason, a large number of worthy people, from the eastern districts

[1] *Auqáf.* The text of Badáoní has wrongly *auqát.* For *bár* read *bárah.*

up to Bhakkar on the Indus, came to Court. If any of them had a powerful protector in one of the grandees or near friends of His Majesty, he could manage to have his affair settled; but those who were destitute of such recommendations, had to bribe Sayyid 'Abdurrasúl, the Shaikh's head man, or make presents to his farráshes, darbáns (porters), syces (grooms), and mehters (sweepers), 'in order to get their blanket out of the mire.' Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the *Aimahs*, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the emperor. And when the Shaikh, in all his pride and haughtiness, sat upon his *masnad* (cushion), and influential grandees introduced to him, in his office, scientific or pious men, the Shaikh received them in his filthy way, paid respect to no one,[1] and after much asking, begging, and exaggerating, he allowed, for example, a teacher of the *Hidáyah* (a book on law) and other college books 100 Bíg'hahs, more or less; and though such a man might have been for a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaikh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindus, he gave primitive lands as marks[2] of personal favor. Hence science and scientific men fell in estimation.* * * At no time had a *Çadr*, for so long a time, exercised more tyranical powers.

The fate of Abdunnabí has been related above. Akbar gave him money for the poor of Makkah, and sent him on a pilgrimage. When he came back, he was called to account for the money, was put in prison, and murdered 'by some scoundrel' in 992.

The next *Çadr* was Sulṭán Khwájah. Matters relating to Sayúrghâls now took a very different course. Akbar had rejected the Islám, and the new *Çadr*, who had just returned from Makkah,[3] become a member of the Divine Faith. The systematic persecution of the learned and the lawyers had commenced, and His Majesty enquired personally into all grants (*vide* p. 189, last *para.*). The lands were now steadily withdrawn, and according to Badáoní, who had managed to get 1000

[1] Badáoní says that even in the State hall, when before the time of prayer he washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt water on the grandees standing near him.

[2] For *batafzíl* in the text (p. 205), one MS. of Badáoní reads *zamín i ibtidáí batafazzul az khúd múdád.*

[3] The same happened afterwards to Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah. In fact, several examples are on record that devout pilgrims returned so disappointed and 'fleeced' from Makkah as to assume a hostile position to the Islám. There is a proverb current in the East, *Al-shaiṭán fi-lharamain*, 'The Devil dwells in Makkah and Madínah.'

bíg'hahs, at first to the great disgust of 'Abdunnabí, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined.

In 993, Fathullah of Shíráz (*vide* p. 38) was appointed *Çadr*. As the *Sayúrghál* duties, and with them the dignity of the *Çadr*, had dwindled down to nothing, Fathullah, though *Çadr*, could be spared for missions to the Dak'hin, *Bad.* p. 343.

"His Shírází servant *Kamál* officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Aimahdárs,[1] who had a few spots here and there; for the dignity of the Çadr had approached its *kamál* (perfection). Fathullah had not even the power of conferring five bíg'hahs: in fact he was an imaginary *Çadr*, as all lands had been withdrawn. And yet, the lands which had been withdrawn became the dwelling-places of wild animals, and thus belonged neither to the *Aimahdárs*, nor to farmers. However, of all these oppressions, there is at least a record left in the books of the *Çadr*, though of the office of the *Çadr* the name only is left.

Page 368. Fathullah [the *Çadr* himself] laid before His Majesty a bag containing the sum of Rs. 1,000, which his collector by means of oppression, or under the pretext that an Aimahdár was not forthcoming or dead, had squeezed out of the widows and unfortunate orphans of the Parganah of Basáwar [which was his jágír], and said, "My collectors have this much collected from the *Aimahdárs* as a *kifáyat* (*i. e.* because the collectors thought the Sáyúrghál holders had more than *sufficient* to live upon)." But the emperor allowed him to keep the sum for himself.

The next *Çadr*, Çadr Jahán, was a member of the Divine Faith. Though appointed *Çadr* immediately after the death of Fathullah, Badáoní continues calling him *Mufti i mamálik i mahrúsah*, the Muftí of the empire, which had been his title before. Perhaps it was no longer necessary to have a separate officer for the *Çadr*ship. Çadr Jahán continued to serve under Jahángír.

A great portion of the Sayúrghál lands is specified by Abulfazl in the geographical tables of the Third Book.

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[1] *Maqṭú'ularází*, a pun reminding of *muqṭa'* (past part. IV), one on whom lands have been conferred, and *muqṭi'* (part. act. IV) one who confers lands. Observe that Badáoní uses the word *aimah* not only in the plural sense of *aimahdárs*, but as an equivalent of *those who hold a Sayúrghál*.

Regarding the punishments which grasping Çadrs were subject to, *vide* Elliot's Index, p. 253, note, of which, however, the first para. ought to be expunged as unhistorical.

ÁÍN 20.

ON THE CARRIAGES, &c., INVENTED BY HIS MAJESTY.

His Majesty has invented an extraordinary carriage, which has proved a source of much comfort for various people. When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn.[1]

His Majesty also invented a large cart, which is drawn by one elephant. It is made sufficiently large so as to hold several bath-rooms, and thus serves as a travelling bath. It is also easily drawn by cattle.

Camels and horses also are used for pulling carriages, and thus contribute to the comfort of mankind. Finely built carriages are called *bahals*[2]; if used on even ground, several may sit together and travel on.

Water wheels and carts have also been so constructed, that water may be fetched from far, low places. Two oxen may pull four such wheels at the same time, or one ox two.

Another machine exists which conveys water from a well, and moves at the same time a millstone.

ÁÍN 21.

THE TEN SER TAX (DAHSERÍ).

His Majesty takes from each bíg'hah of tilled land ten sers of grain as a royalty. Storehouses have been constructed in every district. They supply the animals belonging to the State with food, which is never bought in the bázárs. These stores prove at the same time of great use for the people; for poor cultivators may receive grain for sowing purposes, or people may buy cheap grain at the time of famines. But the stores are only used to supply necessities. They are also used for benevolent purposes; for His Majesty has established in his empire many houses[3] for the poor, where indigent people may get something to eat. He also appoints everywhere experienced people to look after these store-houses, and selects for this purpose active Dárogahs and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges.

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[1] This was, according to Nizám's Ṭabaqát, an invention of Fathullah of Shíráz (*vide* p. 38, note). Nizám says, "He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn. He also invented a looking-glass which, whether seen near or at a distance, showed all sorts of curious figures. Also a wheel, which cleaned at once twelve barrels." The last mentioned wheel also is ascribed by Abulfazl to Akbar; *vide* Book I. Áín 38, p. 115.

[2] Regarding English carriages (*rat'h i angrezí*) brought to India under Jahángír, *vide* Tuzuk pp. 167, 168.

[3] *Vide* pp. 200 and 201.

ÁIN 22.

ON FEASTS.

His Majesty enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upen men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus, when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Pársí priests, he adopted them, and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. 1. *The New Year's day feast.*[1] It commences on the day when the Sun in his splendour moves to Aries, and lasts till the nineteenth day of the month [Farwardín]. Two days of this period are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents: the first day of the month of Farwardín, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the *Sharaf.* Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pársís, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month.[2] The follov are the days which have the same name as a month: 19th Farwar 3rd Urdíbihisht; 6th Khúrdád; 13th Tír; 7th Amurdád; 4th Shahrív 16th Mihr; 10th Ábán; 9th Ázar; 8th, 15th, 23rd, Dai: 2nd Bahm 5th Isfandármuz. Feasts, are actually and ideally, held on each of these d. People in their happiness raise the strain of inward joy. In the beginn of each *pahr* the *naqqárahs* (*vide* p. 51, l. 1.) are beaten, when the sing and musicians fall in. On the first of the above feasts coloured lamps used for three nights; on the second for one night, and the joy is gener

I have given a few particulars in the first Book (Áín 18).

ÁIN 23.

THE KHUSHROZ OR DAY OF FANCY BÁZÁRS.

On the third feast-day of every month, His Majesty holds a large assen for the purpose of enquiring into the many wonderful things found in this wo The merchants of the age are eager to attend, and lay out articles from countries. The people of His Majesty's Harem come, and the wome other men also are invited, and buying and selling is quite general.] Majesty uses such days to select any articles which he wishes to buy, or

[1] Badáoní generally calls this day *Nauruz i Jalálí; vide* p. 183, note 2.

[2] Thus *Ábán* was the name of the eighth month (October-November): the tenth day also of every month the same name.

fix the price of things, and thus add to his knowledge. The secrets of the empire, the character of the people, the good and bad qualities of each office and workshop, will then appear. His Majesty gives to such days the name of *Khushrúz*, or the joyful day, as they are a source of much enjoyment.

After the Fancy bázárs for women, bázárs for the men are held. Merchants of all countries then sell their wares. His Majesty watches the transactions, and such as are admitted to Court indulge in the pleasure of buying. Bázár people, on such occasions, may lay their grievances before His Majesty, without being prevented by the mace-bearers, and may use the opportunity of laying out their stores, in order to explain their circumstances. For those who are good, the dawn of success rises, whilst wicked bázár people are called to account.

His Majesty has appointed for this purpose a separate treasurer and an accountant, so that the sellers may get paid without delay. The profit made by tradesmen on such occasions is very great.[1]

ÁÍN 24.

REGULATIONS REGARDING MARRIAGES.

Every care bestowed upon this wonderful tie between men is a means of preserving the stability of the human race, and ensuring the progress of the world; it is a preventive against the outbreak of evil passions, and leads to the establishment of homes. Hence His Majesty, inasmuch as he is benign, watches over great and small, and imbues men with his notions of the spiritual union and the equality of essence which he sees in marriage. He abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruit, and His Majesty thinks them even hurtful; for afterwards, when such a couple ripens into manhood, they dislike having connexion, and their home is desolate.

Here in India, where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed, there are peculiar obstacles; but His Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts.

Marriage between near relations His Majesty thinks highly improper. He says, "The fact that, in ancient times (?) even, a girl was not given to her twin brother, ought to silence those who are fond of historical proofs. Marriage between first cousins, however, does not strike the bigoted

[1] Regarding these Fancy bázárs, *vide* above Badáoní's remarks on p. 204, l. 4.

followers of Muhammad's religion as wrong; for the beginning of a religion resembles, in this regard, the beginning of the creation of mankind."

His Majesty disapproves of high dowries; for as they are rarely ever paid, they are mere sham; but he admits that the fixing of high dowries is a preventive against rash divorces. Nor does His Majesty approve of every one marrying more than one wife; for this ruins a man's health, and disturbs the peace of the home. He censures old women that take young husbands, and says that doing so is against all modesty.

He has also appointed two sober and sensible men, one of whom enquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of *Túibegi*, or masters of marriages. In many cases, the duties are performed by one and the same officer. His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to shew their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Mançabdárs commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 Muhurs; do. from one thousand to five hundred, 4 *M.*; do. to Commanders of one hundred, 2 *M.*; do. to Commanders of forty, 1 *M.*; do. to Commanders of ten, 4 *R.* The latter fee is also paid by rich people. The middle classes pay 1 *R.*, and common people 1 *dám.*[1] In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride.

ÁÍN 25.

REGULATIONS REGARDING EDUCATION.

In every country, but especially in Hindústán, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms.[2] He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken

[1] "The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry, unless they came to the office of the kotwál, and were stared at by the kotwál's men, who had to take down their respective ages; and you may imagine what advantages and fine opportunities the officers thus had, especially the people of the kotwál, and the *khánú i kalál* (?), and their other low assistants outside." *Bad.* II, p. 391. *Vide* also Third Book, Áín 5.

[2] Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copyslips (*qiṭ'ahs*).

that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought especially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the *ṭabíʿí*, *riyází*, and *iláhí*, sciences,[1] and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayákaran, Niyáí, Bedanta, and Pátanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires.

These regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Madrasahs.

ÁÍN 26.

THE ADMIRALTY.

This department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general; it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provides for agriculture, and His Majesty's household. His Majesty, in fostering this source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

First.—The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses and dromedaries, and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe. In every part of His Majesty's empire, ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmír, and T'hat'hah (Sind) they are the pivot of all commerce. His Majesty had the sterns of the boats made in shape of wonderful animals, and thus combines terror with amusement. Turrets and pleasing kiosks, markets, and beautiful flower-beds, have likewise been constructed on the rivers. Along

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[1] This is the three-fold division of sciences. *Iláhí*, or *divine*, sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God. *Riyází* sciences treat of quantity, and comprise mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics. *Ṭabíʿí* sciences comprehend physical sciences.

Some dictionaries call the last class of sciences *ṭabaʿí*, instead of *ṭabíʿí*.

the coasts of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Iláhábás and Láhor, and are then sent to the coast. In Kashmír, a model of a ship was made which was much admired.

Secondly.—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the tides, the depths of the ocean, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shallows and banks. Besides, a seaman must be hale and strong, a good swimmer, kind hearted, hard working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient; in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen come from Malíbár (Malabar).

Boatmen also bring men and their things from one side of the river to the other.

The number of sailors in a ship varies according to the size of the vessel. In large ships there are twelve classes. 1. The *Nákhudá*, or owner of the ship. This word is evidently a short form of *Návkhudá*. He fixes the course of the ship. 2. The *Mu'allim*, or Captain. He must be acquainted with the depths and the shallow places of the ocean, and must know astronomy. It is he who guides the ship to her destination, and prevents her from falling into dangers. 3. The *Tandíl*, or chief of the *khaláçís*, or sailors. Sailors, in seamen's language, are called *khaláçís* or *khárwahs*. 4. The *Nákhudá-khashab*. He supplies the passengers with firewood and straw, and assists in shipping and unlading the cargo. 5. The *Sarhang*, or mate, superintends the docking and landing of the ship, and often acts for the *Mu'allim*. 6. The *Bhandárí* has the charge of the stores. 7. The *Karrání*[1] is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers. 8. The *Sukkángír*, or helmsman. He steers the ship according to the orders of the *Mu'allim*. Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty. 9. The *Panjarí* looks out from the top of the mast, and gives notice when he sees land, or a ship, or a coming storm, &c. 10. The *Gunmtí* belongs to the class of *khaláçís*. He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship. 11. The *Topandáz*, or gunner, is required in naval fights; their number depends on the size of the ship. 12. The *Khárwah*, or common sailor. They set and furl the sails. Some of them perform the duty of divers, and stop leaks, or set the anchor free when it sticks fast. The amount of their wages varies, and depends on the voyage, or *kúsh*, as seamen call it. In the harbour of *Sátgánw* (*Húghlí*) a *Nákhudá* gets 400 *R.*; besides

[1] This word is now-a-days pronounced *Kiránî*, and is applied to any clerk. The word is often used contemptuously.

he is allowed four *malikh*, or cabins, which he fills with wares for his own profit. Every ship is divided into several divisions, for the accommodation of passengers and the stowage of goods, each of the divisions being called a *malikh*. The *Mu'allim* gets 200 *R.* and two *malikhs*; the *Tandil*, 120*R.*; the *Karrání*, 50 *R.* and one *malikh*; the *Nákhudá khashab*, 30 *R.*; the *Sarhang*, 25 *R.*; the *Sukkángír*, *Pánjarí* and *Bhandárí*, each 15 *R.*; each *Khárwah*, or common sailor, 40 *R.*, and his daily food in addition; the *Degandáz*, or gunner, 12 *R.*

In *Kambháyat* (Cambay), a *Nákhudá* gets 800 *R.*, and the other men in the same proportion.

In *Láharí*, a nákhudá gets 300 *R.*, and the rest in proportion.

In *Achín* he gets half as much again as in southern harbours; in Portugal, two and a half as much again; and in Malacca, twice as much again. In Pegu, and Dahnasarí, he gets half as much again as in Cambay. All these rates vary according to the place and the length of the voyage. But it would take me too long to give more details.

Boatmen on rivers have wages varying from 100 to 500 *d. per mensem.*

Thirdly, an experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers. He must be an imposing and fearless man, must have a loud voice, must be capable of bearing fatigue, active, zealous, kind, fond of travelling, a good swimmer. As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers which a ferry may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and sees that poor people are passed over *gratis.* He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night, unless in cases of necessity.

Fourthly, the remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the revenue of a whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The state takes certain taxes in harbour places; but they never exceed two and a half *per cent.*, which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, that merchants look upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

The following sums are levied as river tolls. For every boat, 1 *R. per kos* at the rate of 1000 *mans*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is 1 *R.* for every 2½ *kos.* At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10 *d.* for crossing; a laden cart, 4 *d.*; do. empty, 2 *d.*; a laden camel, 1 *d.*; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, ½ *d.*; do. empty, ¼ *d.* Other beasts of burden pay $\frac{1}{16}$ *d.*, which

includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1 *d.* for crossing; but they are often taken *gratis*.

The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the State (the other half goes to the boatmen).

Merchants are therefore well treated, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.

Á'ÍN 27.

OF HUNTING.

Superficial, worldly observers see in killing an animal a sort of pleasure, and in their ignorance stride about, as if senseless, on the field of their passions. But deep enquirers see in hunting a means of acquisition of knowledge, and the temple of their worship derives from it a peculiar lustre. This is the case with His Majesty. He always makes hunting a means of increasing his knowledge, and besides, uses hunting parties as occasions to enquire, without having first given notice of his coming, into the condition of the people and the army. He travels *incognito*, and examines into matters referring to taxation, or to *Sayúrghál* lands, or to affairs connected with the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. On account of these higher reasons His Majesty indulges in the chase, and shews himself quite enamoured of it. Short-sighted and shallow observers think that His Majesty has no other object in view but hunting; but the wise and experienced know that he pursues higher aims.

When His Majesty starts on a hunting party, active *Qaráwals* [men employed by the *Mír Shikár*, or Master of Hunting] surround the hunting ground, the *Qur* (p. 110) remaining at a distance of about five *kos* from it. Near the *Qur*, the grandees and other people await the arrival of His Majesty. The men who look after the things sit down and watch. About a yard behind them the *Mír Tozak* stands ready for service, and about a *kos* and one-half behind them stand some of the *Khidmatiyyah* (p. 225) and other servants of His Majesty. The *Khidmatiyyah* are told off to watch at that place. At about the same distance, there stands a vigilant officer with some of His Majesty's servants. He advances very slowly, and guards the private hunting ground. Behind them an experienced officer is stationed to superintend the whole. Several near servants of His Majesty have admission to this place; but generally only such are allowed to come as are required to render services at the chase.

When a certain distance has been passed over, His Majesty selects a few to accompany him, and then moves on; and after having gone over

another distance, he generally goes alone, or accompanied by one or two. When the hour of rest comes, both parties which had been left behind, again join His Majesty.

As I have stated the views of His Majesty regarding the chase, and have written down some remarks on the arrangements which are made during hunting parties, I shall give a few particulars as to the several modes of chasing, and the wonderful contrivances which people have recourse to.

1. *Tiger hunting.*

They make a large cage, and having fastened it (on the ground) with strong iron ties, they put it in places frequented by tigers. The door is left open; but it is arranged in such a manner that the slightest shaking will cause it to close. Within the cage they put a goat, which is protected by a screen so constructed that the tiger can see the goat, but not get hold of it. Hunger will lead the tiger to the cage. As soon as he enters, he is caught.

Another method. They put a poisoned arrow on a bow, painted green, in such a manner that a slight movement will cause the arrow to go off. The bow is hung upon a tree, and when the tiger passes, and shakes it a little, the arrow will hit the animal and kill it.

Another method. They tie a sheep to a place in a road frequented by tigers, putting round about the sheep on the ground small stalks of hay covered with glue. The tiger comes rushing forward, and gets his claws full of the glue. The more he tries to get rid of it, the more will the glue stick to his feet, and when he is quite senseless and exhausted, the hunters come from the ambush and kill him. Or they catch him alive, and tame him.

His Majesty, from his straightforwardness, dislikes having recourse to such tricks, and prefers with bows or matchlocks openly to attack this brute, which destroys so many lives.

Another method. An intrepid experienced hunter gets on the back of a male buffalo, and makes it attack the tiger. The buffalo will quickly get hold of the tiger with its horns, and fling him violently upwards, so that he dies. It is impossible to describe the excitement of this manner of hunting the tiger. One does not know what to admire more, the courage of the rider, or his skill in standing firm on the slippery back of the buffalo.

One day, notice was given that a man-eating tiger had made its appearance in the district of Bárí. His Majesty got on the elephant *Náhir Khán*, and went into the jungle. The brute was stirred up; and striking its claws into the forehead of the elephant, it pulled the head of the animal to the ground, when the tiger was killed by the men. This occurrence astonished the most intrepid and experienced hunters.

On another occasion, His Majesty hunted near Todah. The tiger had

stretched one of the party to the ground. His Majesty aimed at the brute, killed it, and thus saved the life of the man.

Once during a *qamarghah*[1] chase, a large tiger was stirred up. The animal attacked His Majesty, when he shot it in time through the head, and killed it.

Once a tiger struck his claws into a man. All who witnessed it, despaired of his life. His Majesty shot the brute right through the body, and released the unfortunate man.

A remarkable scene took place in the forest of Mut'hra. Shujá'at Khán (*vide* Áín 30, No. 51), who had advanced very far, got suddenly timid. His Majesty remained standing where he was, and looked furiously at the tiger. The brute cowered[2] down before that divine glance, and turned right about trembling all over. In a short time it was killed.

The feats of His Majesty are too numerous to be imagined; much less can a Hindustání, as I am, describe them in a dignified style.

He slays lions, but would not hurt an ant.
He girds himself for the fray; but the lion drops his claws from fear.[3]

Elephant-hunts.

There are several modes of hunting elephants.

1. *K'hedah.*[4] The hunters are both on horseback and on foot. They go during summer to the grazing places of this wonderful animal, and commence to beat drums and blow the pipes, the noise of which makes the elephants quite frightened. They commence to rush about, till from their heaviness and exertions no strength is left in them. They are then sure to run under a tree for shade, when some experienced hunters throw a rope, made of hemp or bark, round their feet or necks, and thus tie them to the trees. They are afterwards led off in company with some trained elephants, and gradually get tame. One-fourth of the value of an elephant thus caught is given to the hunters as wages.

2. *Chor k'hedah.* They take a tame female elephant to the grazing place of wild elephants, the driver stretching himself on the back of the elephant, without moving or giving any other sign of his presence. The elephants then commence to fight, when the driver manages to secure one by throwing a rope round the foot.

3. *Gád.* A deep pit is constructed in a place frequented by elephants, which is covered up with grass. As soon as the elephants come near it,

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[1] *Qamarghah* is a chase for which drivers are employed.
[2] This is one of Akbar's miracles.
[3] These two verses are taken from Faizí's *Nal Daman; vide* p. 106, note 4.
[4] Hence our elephant *kheddas*.

the hunters from their ambush commence to make a great noise. The elephants get confused, and losing their habitual cautiousness, they fall rapidly and noisily into the hole. They are then starved and kept without water, when they soon get tame.

4. *Bár.* They dig a ditch round the resting place of elephants, leaving only one road open, before which they put up a door, which is fastened with ropes. The door is left open, but closes when the rope is cut. The hunters then put both inside and outside the door such food as elephants like. The elephants eat it up greedily; their voraciousness makes them forget all cautiousness, and without fear they enter at the door. A fearless hunter, who has been lying concealed, then cuts the rope, and the door closes. The elephants start up, and in their fury try to break the door. They are all in commotion. The hunters then kindle fires and make much noise. The elephants run about till they get tired, and no strength is left in them. Tame females are then brought to the place, by whose means the wild elephants are caught. They soon get tame.

From times of old, people have enjoyed elephant hunts by any of the above modes; His Majesty has invented a new manner, which admits of remarkable *finesse*. In fact, all excellent modes of hunting are inventions of His Majesty. A wild herd of elephants is surrounded on three sides by drivers, one side alone being left open. At it several female elephants are stationed. From all sides, male elephants will approach to cover the females. The latter then go gradually into an enclosure, whither the males follow. They are now caught as shewn above.[1]

Leopard hunting.

Leopards, when wild, select three places. In one part of the country they hunt; in another part they rest and sleep; and in a third district they play and amuse themselves. They mostly sleep on the top of a hill. The shade of a tree is sufficient for the leopard. He rubs himself against

[1] "A large number of people had surrounded the whole jungle, outside of which, on a small empty space, a throne made of wood had been put on a tree, as a seat for the emperor [Jahángír], and on the neighbouring trees beams had been put, upon which the courtiers were to sit and enjoy the sight. About two hundred male elephants with strong nooses, and many females were in readiness. Upon each elephant there sat two men of the *Jhariyyah* caste, who chiefly occupy themselves in this part of India [Gujrát] with elephant hunting. The plan was to drive the wild elephants from all parts of the jungle near the place where the emperor sat, so that he might enjoy the sight of this exciting scene. When the drivers closed up from all sides of the jungle, their ring unfortunately broke on account of the density and impenetrability of the wood, and the arrangements of the drivers partially failed. The wild elephants ran about as if mad; but twelve male and female elephants were caught before the eyes of the emperor." *Iqbálnámah*, p. 113.

the trunk. Round about the tree, they deposit their excrements, which are called in Hindí *ák'har*.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass. These pits were called *odí*. The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom; but they often broke their feet in pieces, or managed by jumping to get out again. Nor could you catch more than one in each pit. His Majesty therefore invented a new method, which has astonished the most experienced hunters. He made a pit only two or three *gaz* deep, and constructed a peculiar trapdoor, which closes when the leopard falls into the hole. The animal is thus never hurt. Sometimes more than one go into the trap. On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught. At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her. Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other,—a nice scene, indeed.

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at.

Another method is to fasten nooses to the foot of the above mentioned tree. When the animal comes to scratch itself, it gets entangled.

His Majesty generally hunts leopards thirty or forty *kos* from Ágrah, especially in the districts of Bárí, Símáwalí, Alápúr, Sunnám, Bhaṭindah, Bhaṭnír, Paṭan in the Panjáb, Fathpúr, Jhinjhanú, Nágor, Mírt'ha, Jodhpúr, Jaisalmír, Amrsarnáyin; but several other more remote spots have been selected as hunting grounds. His Majesty used often to go to the first mentioned places, take out the leopards that had fallen into a pit, and hand them over to the keepers. He would often travel over great distances, and was perhaps just on the point of resting a little; but before he had done so, good news were brought from some other hunting ground, when he hastened away on a fleet courser.

In former times, people managed to train a newly caught leopard for the chase in the space of three months, or if they exerted themselves, in two months. From the attention which His Majesty pays to this animal, leopards are now trained, in an excellent manner, in the short space of eighteen days. Old and active keepers were surprised at such results, and extolled the charm of His Majesty's knowledge. From good motives, and from a desire to add splendour to his court, His Majesty used to take it upon himself to keep and train leopards, astonishing the most experienced by his success.

A rather remarkable case is the following. Once a leopard had been caught, and without previous training, on a mere hint by His Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards. Those who were present had

their eyes opened to truth, and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty.[1]

Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain, and like a sensible human being, obeyed every command, and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test.

There are two hundred keepers in charge of the *kháçah* leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

ÁÍN 28.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO LEOPARDS. THE WAGES OF THE KEEPERS.

First class leopards get 5 *s.* of meat every day; second class, 4½ *s.*; third class, 4 *s.*; fourth class, 3¾ *s.*; fifth class, 3½ *s.*; sixth class, 3¼ *s.*; seventh class, 3 *s.*; eighth class, 2¾ *s.* The meat is given in a lump; and as on Sundays no animals are killed,[2] double the daily portion is given on Saturdays.

Formerly every six months, but now annually, four *sers* of butter and one-tenth of a *ser* of brimstone are given as ointment, which prevents itch. Four men also were appointed to train and look after each leopard; but now there are three men told off for such leopards as sit on horses when taken to the hunting ground, and only two for such as sit on carts and on doolies. The wages of the keepers vary from 30 *R.* to 5 *R. per mensem;* but they have at the same time to look after the cattle which draw the leopard carts. The servants who look after the cattle, are divided into seniors and juniors, each class being subdivided into five divisions. The seniors get 300 *d.*, 260 *d.*, 220 *d.*, 200 *d.*, and 180 *d.*, which is the lowest allowance; the juniors get 160 *d.*, 140 *d.*, 120 *d.*, 110 *d.*, and 100 *d.* For the sake of show, the leopards get brocaded saddle cloths, chains studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and *Gushkání*[3] carpets to sit on. Grandees of the court also are appointed to superintend the keepers of each leopard; they are to take care that the animals are nicely dressed, and that new ones are added to the establishment. Each leopard has a name which indicates some of his qualities. Every ten leopards form a *Misl* or *Ṭaraf* (set); they are also divided according to their rank as follows.

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[1] Two more miracles of Akbar's.

[2] According to the order mentioned on p. 200, l. 10.

[3] In my text edition, p.208, l. 8. كشكاني. This should perhaps be گشكاني or گوشكاني *goskhání*, Goshkán, (in Arabic *Joshqán*), being a town in Írán, famous for its carpets.

One thousand[1] leopards are kept in His Majesty's park, and an interesting encampment they form. The three first sets are *kháçah;* they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (*mihaffah*) are hung over the back of an elephant, one litter on each side. On each litter one leopard sits, looking out for a prey. Litters are also put on camels, horses, and mules. Carts even are made for the leopards, and are drawn by horses or cattle; or they are made to sit on horses; and sometimes they are carried by men in doolies. The best leopard which His Majesty has, goes by the name of *Samand mánik;* he is carried on a *Chaudol*, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants, fully equipped, run at his side; the *naqqárah* (a large drum) is beaten in front, and sometimes he is carried by two men on horseback, the two ends of the pole of the *Chaudol* resting on the necks of their horses. Formerly two horses were kept for every leopard; but now three horses are given to two leopards. Others have a dooly, or a cart drawn by four oxen. Many travel alone on one and the same dooly. A tame, trained leopard has the dooly carried by three men, others by two.

Skill exhibited by hunting leopards.

Leopards will go against the wind, and thus they get scent of a prey, or come to hear its voice. They then plan an attack, and give the hunters notice where the prey is. The hunters keep the animal near themselves, and proceed to catch the prey. This is done in three ways.

1. *Uparg'haṭí.* The hunters let off the leopard to the right from the place where the deer was seen. The leopard swiftly seizes it with his claws. 2. *Rig'hni.* The leopard lies concealed, and is shewn the deer from a distance. The collar is then taken off, when the leopard, with perfect skill, will dash off, jumping from ambush to ambush till he catches the deer. 3. *Muhárí.* The leopard is put in an ambush, having the wind towards himself. The cart is then taken away to the opposite direction. This perplexes the deer, when the leopard will suddenly make his way near it, and catch it.

It is impossible to describe the wonderful feats of this animal; language

[1] "Among the curious events which happened during the present [Jahángir's] reign, I must mention that a leopard in captivity covered a female leopard, which gave birth to three cubs. The late emperor [Akbar], during his youth, was passionately fond of leopards and hunting with leopards. He had about 9000 leopards collected during his reign, and tried much to pair them, so as to get cubs, but in vain. He even allowed some leopards to run about in the gardens without collars, letting them walk about and hunt after their fashion: but they would not pair. During this year a male leopard broke its collar, and covered a female, which after a space of two months and a half gave birth to three cubs. They went on well, and grew big." *Iqbálnámah*, p. 70.

fails to express his skill and cunning. Thus he will raise up the dust with his forefeet and hind legs, in order to conceal himself; or he will lie down so flat, that you cannot distinguish him from the surface of the ground.

Formerly a leopard would not kill more than three deer at one and the same chase; but now he will hunt as many as twelve.

His Majesty has also invented a method called *chatrmandal*. The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer, and commence the chase from this place, as if it was a *qamarghah* hunt (in which drivers are used). The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer are thus caught.

The men employed to train and keep the imperial leopards, receive presents on all occasions when the animals exhibit skill, as an encouragement to further exertions. A special present has been fixed for each animal, but I cannot specify this.

Once, from the kindness shewn by His Majesty, a deer made friendship with a leopard. They lived together and enjoyed each other's company. The most remarkable thing was this, that the leopard when let off against other deer, would pounce upon them as any other leopard.

In former times leopards were never allowed to remain loose towards the close of the day; for people were afraid of their stubbornness and anxiety to run away. But now, in consequence of the practical rules made by His Majesty, they are let loose in the evenings, and yet remain obedient. Formerly leopards were also kept blind-folded, except at the time of the chase; for the leopards used to get brisk and run about as if mad. But now-a-days they are kept without covers for their heads. The Grandees of the court are allowed to bet on forty *kháçah* leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his *Doriyah*[1] gets five rupees from his equals. The Grandee in charge of the kháçah leopards, Sayyid Ahmad of Bárha,[2] gets one muhur from each bet, by which he makes a good deal of money. As often as a Grandee lays before His Majesty twenty pair of deer horns,[3] he takes an *Ashrafí* from each of his equals. So also do the *Ṭarafdárs* and *Qaráwals*[4] bet; in fact every

[1] The man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened.

[2] He was a *Duhazárí; vide Áín* 30, No. 91.

[3] Akbar required the horns of deer. "In this year (981), His Majesty built several edifices and castles on the road from Ágrah to Ajmír. The reason was this. He thought it incumbent upon him once a year to make a pilgrimage to the tomb (*dargáh*) of Mu'ín i Chishtí at Ajmír; he therefore had houses built at every stage on the road to that town. He also erected at every *kos* a tower (*manárah*), and had a well made near it. The towers were studded with several hundred thousand horns of deer which His Majesty had killed during his lifetime. The words *míl i shákh* contain the *Táríkh* (981). I wished His Majesty had made gardens and *saráís* for travellers instead." *Badáoní*, II, p. 173. *Vide* also Elliot's Index, p. 243, note.

[4] *Ṭarafdárs*, the men in charge of a *ṭaraf*, which word Abulfazl above used in the same sense as *misl*, or set. *Ṭarafdár* means also a Zamíndár. A *Qaráwal* is a driver.

one shews his zeal in trying to get as many deer as possible. The skins of the deer are often given to poor people as part of money presents.

It is remarkable that His Majesty can at once tell by seeing a hide to what hunting ground the deer belonged.

His Majesty, in fulfilment of a vow made by him before the birth of the eldest prince, never hunts on Fridays.[1]

The Siyágosh.[2]

His Majesty is very fond of using this plucky little animal for hunting purposes. In former times it would attack a hare or a fox; but now it kills black deer. It eats daily 1 *s.* of meat. Each has a separate keeper, who gets 100 *d. per mensem.*

Dogs.

His Majesty likes this animal very much for his excellent qualities, and imports dogs from all countries. Excellent dogs come from Kábul, especially from the Hazárah district [north of Ráúl Pindí]. They even ornament dogs, and give them names.[3] Dogs will attack every kind of animals, and more remarkable still, they will attack a tiger. Several also will join, and hunt down the enemy. *Kháçah* dogs get daily 2 *s.* of meat; others get $1\frac{1}{4}$ *s.* There is one keeper for every two *Túsí* (hunting) dogs; their wages are 100 *d. per mensem.*

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[1] "It was at this time, [1027 A. H. or A. D. 1618] that Sháhzádah Shujá', son of Sháhjahán, fell ill, and as I am so much attached to him, and the doctors could not cure him of the insensibility in which he had lain for several days, I humbly prayed to God, and asked Him a favor. During the prayer, it occurred to me that I had already made a contract with my God and had promised Him to give up hunting after reaching the age of fifty, not to touch after that an arrow or a gun, and never again to slay an animal with my own hands; and I thought that if I should carry into effect my former vow from the present time, which would prevent so many animals from being killed, God might grant my prayer for the prince's recovery. I then made this contract with God, and promised, in all singleness of intention and true belief, never again to harm an animal with my own hand. Through God's mercy the sufferings of the prince were entirely allayed. When I was in the womb of my mother, it happened one day that I did not quicken as usual. The servants of the Harem grew alarmed, and reported the fact to my august father [Akbar]. In those days my father was continually hunting with leopards. That day happened to be Friday. My father then, with a view of making God inclined to preserve me, made a vow never again, to the end of his life, to hunt on Fridays. I have followed the practice of my father, and have never hunted with leopards on a Friday." *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, p. 249.

Jahángír's self-denial was not great; for when the prince was sick, Jahángír was fifty years of age!

[2] Or *black ear*, the Persian translation of the Turkish *qara-qolaq*, whence our *Felis caracal.*

[3] This would not strike us as something worth mentioning. But as dogs are considered unclean animals by Muhammadans, they are not looked upon as domestic. Now-a-days we hear occasionally names, as *kallú, bachhú;* or English names as *fení* (Fanny), *buldág* (bull dog), &c.

European bloodhounds were early imported by the Portuguese. Jahángír once said to Roe 'I only desire you to help me to a horse of the greatest size, and a male and female of mastiffes, and the tall Irish greyhounds, and such other dogges as hunt in your lands.' Regarding European dogs in India, *vide* also *Tuzuk*, p. 138, l. 3 from below.

Hunting Deer with Deer.

This timid animal also may be tamed and trained. They put a net over his horns, and let it off against wild deer, which from fear will fight with them. During the struggle, the horn, or the foot, or the ears of the wild deer will get entangled in the net; the hunters, who have been lying in ambush, will then run up to it, and catch it. The deer thus caught passes through a course of instruction, and gets tame. If the net should break, or the deer get tired during the struggle, it will return to the keeper, who either puts a new net on it, or sends out a fresh deer.

Sulṭán Fírúz i Khiljí used to indulge in this sport; but His Majesty reduced this manner of hunting to a proper system.

Sometimes it happens that a wild deer will carry on the struggle from morning till evening, defeating as many as four tamed deer; but at last it will succumb to the fifth. Deer are now-a-days rendered so perfectly obedient as to hunt at night; of their own accord they will return to their keepers, should the net break, or the wild deer run away; on hearing the call, they will discontinue a fight, come back, and then again engage, if ordered to do so.

In former times deer were never let loose at night time; for people were afraid, lest they should run away. Hence they attached a heavy ball to one of their feet, when the deer were let loose.

Many stories are related of the sagacity and faithfulness of trained deer.

Only lately a deer created much sensation. It had run away from Iláhábád, and after bravely crossing rivers and plains, returned to the Panjáb, its home, and rejoined its former keeper.

In former times, two persons at most enjoyed together the pleasures of deer hunting. They would even, from fear of the timidity of the deer, alter the style of their dress, and lie concealed among shrubs. Nor would they employ other than wild deer; they caught them somehow, and taught them to hunt. His Majesty has introduced a new way, according to which more than two hundred may at the same time go deer hunting. They drive slowly about forty cattle towards a place where deer are; the hunters are thus concealed, and when arrived enjoy the chase.

There are now-a-days also deer-studs; the deer born in captivity are employed as hunting deer.

The keepers will also bend forward, and allow the trained deer to jump on them from behind. Wild deer, on seeing this, will think that they are in the act of copulation, and come near to fight. This way of hunting is disapproved of by His Majesty, who uses female deer as a means of making wild deer fight.

Once a deer caught a leopard, whose foot had got entangled in the net. Both were brought together from Gujrát, as mentioned above (?).

G'hanṭaherah is the name given to the following mode of hunting. The hunter takes a shield, or a basket, the concave side being turned from him. He then lights a lamp, which being put in the concavity of the shield, will conceal him, and commences to ring bells. Other hunters lie at the same time in wait. The light of the lamp, and the sound of the bells, will attract the animals towards the place, when they are shot by the hunters in ambush. The sound of musical instruments will so enchant deer, that they are easily caught; or sometimes hunters will charm them with a song, and when the deer approach, will rise up, and cruelly slay them. From a long time His Majesty has disapproved of these two methods.

T'hángí. The hunter manages to get opposite a wild deer; and bareheaded, from a distance, he commences to throw himself into odd attitudes. The deer then mistakes him for a mad man, and from curiosity will approach him. At this moment the hunters come from the ambush and kill it.

Baukárah. The hunters lie in ambush, against the scent, at a good distance from each other. Some others drive the deer towards them, each of the drivers swinging a white sheet above his head. The deer naturally will take fright, and run towards the hunters in ambush, who kill them.

Ḍaḍáwan. Two good shots, dressed in green, place themselves as before, and have the deer driven towards themselves. This manner of hunting yields much amusement, as the deer get quite perplexed.

Ajórah. The hunters tie green twigs round their bodies from head to foot, and similarly conceal their bows and arrows. They then move boldly to a place where deer generally pass, and enjoy the chase. Or they make ropes of deer skin, and attach them to trees, or let them hang down from poles all round about the place where wild deer sleep. They then lay down some nooses at a place situate against the wind. When the hunters shew themselves from the side, the deer are compelled to run towards the spot where the nooses lie, and thus get caught. Sometimes the hunter will take his place behind a tree, and imitate the voice of deer. As soon as deer approach him, he kills them. Or, they tie a female deer to a place in a plain, or they let a trained deer go to the pasture place of wild deer. The latter will soon come near it, and get entangled with their feet.

T'hagí. The hunter....[1] walks about bareheaded as if mad; his clothes are stained all over with *pán* juice, and the man himself acts as if he

[1] The text has *dar khánah i zín,* in the hollow of a saddle (?).

were wounded. Wild animals and others will soon gather round him, waiting for his death; but their greediness and desire lead them to destruction.

Buffalo Hunts.

At a place where buffaloes sleep, a rope is laid in the ground; but the end forming a loop is left outside. Another long rope is attached to it. To this they tie a female buffalo that wants the male. A courageous active man lies in ambush. As soon as a wild male buffalo comes to the spot, and covers the female, the hunter makes use of the opportunity, and fastens the foot of the male; but it frequently happens that the man loses courage, and has to pay for the attempt with his life.

Another mode of catching them is to go near the ponds which they frequent. They put snares round the ponds; and sitting on tame buffaloes, the hunters go into the water with spears in their hands. Some buffaloes are then killed with spears, others are caught in the snares. A similar method may be adopted, when buffaloes are attacked on their pastures.

On Hunting with Hawks.

His Majesty is very fond of these remarkable animals, and often uses them for hunting purposes. Though he trains the *báz*, *sháhín*, *shunqár*, and *burkat* falcons, and makes them perform wonderful deeds, His Majesty prefers the *báshah*, to which class of hawks he gives various names.

As I am compelled to hurry on, and must restrict myself to summary accounts, it is impossible to say much about this matter, or about the skill of the several birds, especially as I know little about it, being by nature averse to destroying life. I shall, however, give a few details, and lead enquirers to the retired spot of knowledge.

In the middle of spring the birds are inspected; after this they are allowed to moult, and are sent into the country. As soon as the time of moulting is over, they are again inspected. The commencement is made with the *kháçah* falcons (*báz*), which are inspected in the order in which they have been bought. The precedence of *jurrahs* is determined by the number of game killed by them. Then come the *báshahs*, the *sháhíns*, the *k'helahs*, the *chappak báshahs*, the *bahrís*, the young *bahrís*, the *shikarahs*, the *chappak shikarahs*, the *turmatís*, the *rekís*, the *besrahs*, the *dhotís*, the *charghs*, the *chargílahs*, the *lagars*, and the *jhagars* (which His Majesty calls the *chappak* kind of the *lagar*). The *Molchíns* also are inspected—the *molchín* is an animal resembling the sparrow, of yellowish plumage, like the *sháhín*; it will kill a *kulang* crane. People say that, whilst flying, it will break the wing of the *kulang*, and others maintain that it pierces its eyes;

but this cannot be proved. *Odhpapars*[1] also are brought from Kashmír. This bird has a bluish (*sabz*) colour and is smaller than a parrot; its beak is red, straight, and long; its tail is rather elongated. It brings down small birds, and returns to the hand of the keeper.

Many other birds can be trained for the chase, though I cannot specify all. Thus the crow, the sparrow, the *bodnah*, and the *sárú* will learn to attack.

His Majesty, from motives of generosity and from a wish to add splendour to his Court, is fond of hunting with falcons, though superficial observers think that merely hunting is his object.

In this department many Mançabdárs, Ahadís, and other soldiers are employed. The footmen are mostly Kashmírís or Hindústánís. Their pay is as follows. *First class* of the former, first grade, 7½ *R.*; second, 7 *R.*; third, 6¾ *R.* *Second class*, first grade, 6½ *R*; second, 6¼ *R.*; third, 5¾ *R.* *Third class*, first grade, 5½ *R.*; second, 5 *R.*; third, 4½ *R.* *First class* of the latter (Hindústání), first grade, 5 *R*; second 4¾ *R.*; third, 4½ *R.* *Second class*, first grade, 4¼ *R.*; second, 4 *R.*; third 3¾ *R.* *Third class*, first grade, 3½ *R.*; second, 3¼ *R.*; third, 3 *R.*

Allowance of Food.

In Kashmír and in the aviaries of Indian amateurs, the birds are generally fed once a day; but at Court they are fed twice. A *báz* falcon gets a quantity of meat weighing 7 *dáms;* the *jurrah*, 6 *d.*; the *bahrí*, *láchín*, and *k'helah*, 5 *d.*; the *báshah*, 3 *d.*; the *chappak báshah*, *shikarah*, *chappak shikarah*, *besrah*, *dhotís*, &c., 2 *d.* Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the *báz*, *jurrah*, and *bahrí*, get each seven; the *láchín*, five; the *báshah*, three; others, two. *Charghs* and *lagars* get at the same time meat. *Shunqárs*, *sháhbázes*, *burkats*, get one *ser*. On the hunting grounds they feed them on the game they take.

Prices of Falcons.

From eagerness to purchase, and from inexperience, people pay high sums for falcons. His Majesty allows dealers every reasonable profit; but from motives of equity, he has limited the prices. The dealers are to get their gain, but buyers ought not to be cheated. In purchasing falcons people should see to which of the following three classes birds belong. First, *khánah kuríz* birds; they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers. Second, *choz* birds; they have not yet moulted. Third, *Tarínák* birds; they have moulted before they were

[1] The name of this bird is doubtful. It is not to be found among the names of *Kashmírí* birds given in the *Iqbálnámah*, p. 159.

captured. *First class*, a superior *báz* costs 12 *muhurs;* second grade do., 9 *M.*; third do., 6 *M.* *Second class*, first, 10 *M.*; second, 7 *M.*; third, 4 *M.* A *third class báz* is somewhat cheaper than second class ones.

Jurrahs. First class, 8 5, 2, 1 *M.* Second class, 6, 4, 1½, 1 *M.*, 5 *R.*

Báshahs. First class, 3, 2, 1 *M.*, 4 *R.* Second class, 2, 1 *M.*, 5 *R.*

Sháhíns of both kinds, 3, 2, 1 *M.*

Bahrís, 2, 1½, 1 *M.* Young *Bahrís* a little less.

K'helahs, 1½, 1, ½ *M.*

Charghs, 2½ *R.*, 2, 1½ *R.*

Chappak báshahs, 1 *R.*; ½, ¼ *R.*

Shikarahs, 1½ *R.*, 1, ½ *R.*

Besrahs, 2 *R.*, 1½, 1 *R.*

Chappak shikarahs, lagars, jhagars, turmatís, rekís, 1 *R.*, ½, ¼ *R.* Their prices are not classified.

His Majesty rewards the *Mir Shikárs* (superintendents of the chase) according to their ranks, with suitable presents. There are also fixed donations for each game brought in, varying from 1 *M.* to 1 *d.* If the falcons bring the game alive or dead, attention is paid to the skill which it exhibited, and to the size of the prey. The man who keeps the falcon gets one-half of the allowance. If His Majesty hunts himself, fifty *per cent.* of the donation is stopped. If birds are received by the Imperial aviary as *peshkash* (tribute), the *Qushbegí* (Superintendent of the Aviary) gets for every *báz* 1½ *R.*, and the accountant, ½ *R.* For *jurrahs*, the Qushbegí gets 1 *R.*; the accountant, ¼ *R.*; for *báshahs*, the former receives ¼ *R.*; the latter, ⅛ *R.*; for every *láchín*, *chargh*, *chargílah*, *k'helah*, *bahrí bachchah*, the former gets ⅛ *R.*, the latter $\frac{1}{10}$ *R.*; for every *chhappak*, *báshah*, *dhotí*, &c., the former receives $\frac{1}{10}$, the other $\frac{1}{20}$ *R.* (*súkí*).

The minimum number of *báz* and *sháhín* falcons, kept at Court, is forty; of *jurrahs*, thirty; of *báshahs*, one hundred; of *bahrís*, *charghs*, twenty; of *lagars*, and *shikarahs*, ten.

Waterfowls.

Hunting waterfowls affords much amusement. A rather curious way of catching them is the following. They make an artificial bird of the skin of a waterfowl with the wings, the beak, and the tail on it. Two holes are made in the skin for looking through. The body is hollow. The hunter puts his head into it, and stands in the water up to his neck. He then gets carefully near the birds, and pulls them one after the other below the water. But sometimes they are cunning, and fly away.

In Kashmír they teach *báz* falcons to seize the birds whilst swimming about, and to return with them to the boat of the hunter. Or the hawk will keep a waterfowl down, and sit on it [till the man in the boat comes].

Another method is to let water buffaloes go into the water, between which the hunter conceals himself, and thus catches the birds.

Durráj hunting. There are various methods. Some get a young one and train it till it obeys every call. It will fight with other birds. They put it into a cage, and place hair-nets round about it. At the signal of the fowler, the bird commences to sing, when wild ones come near it either from friendship, or a desire to fight, and get entangled in the snares.

Bodnahs. The hunter makes a clay pot with a narrow neck and, at night time, blows into it, which produces a noise like an owl's cry. The *bodnahs*, frightened by the noise, come together. Another man then lights a bundle of straw, and swings it about, so that the eyes of the birds get dazzled. The fowlers thereupon seize the birds, and put them into cages.

Lagars. They resemble *charghs:* in body they are as large *jurrahs.* They hang nets (about the body of a trained *lagar*), and put birds' feathers into its claws. It is then allowed to fly up. The birds think that it has got hold of a prey, and when they get entangled in the nets, they commence to fight, and fall to the ground.

Ghaughái. They fasten together on a cross-stick an owl and a *ghaughái*, and hang hair nets round about them. The owl will soon get restless; the birds think that the owl wishes to fight, and commence to cry out. Other *ghaughális* and owls will come to their assistance; and get entangled in the nets.

Frogs.

Frogs also may be trained to catch sparrows. This looks very funny.

His Majesty, from curiosity, likes to see spiders fight, and amuses himself in watching the attempts of the flies to escape, their jumps, and combats with their foe.

I am in the power of love; and if I have thousands of wishes, it is no crime;
And if my passionate heart has an (unlawful) desire, it is no crime.

And in truth, His Majesty's fondness for leopards is an example of the power of love,[1] and an instance of his wonderful insight.

It would take me too long to give more details. It is impossible to enumerate all particulars; hence it is better to go to another subject.

[1] The Historian may thank Abulfazl for having preserved this little trait of Akbar's character. In several places of the Áín, Abulfazl tries hard to ascribe to His Majesty higher motives, in order to bring the emperor's passion for hunting in harmony with his character as the spiritual guide of the nation. But as 'higher motives' were insufficient to explain the fancy which Akbar took in frog and spider fights, Abulfazl has to recognize the fact that peculiar leanings will lead even a sensible man to oddities and to actions opposed to the general tenor of his character.

ÁÍN 29.

ON AMUSEMENTS.

His Majesty devises means of amusement, and makes his pleasures a means of testing the character of men.

There are several kinds of amusements, of which I shall give a few details.

The game of Chaugán (hockey).[1]

Superficial observers look upon this game as a mere amusement, and consider it mere play; but men of more exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision. It tests the value of a man, and strengthens bonds of friendship. Strong men learn in playing this game the art of riding; and the animals learn to perform feats of agility and to obey the reins. Hence His Majesty is very fond of this game. Externally, the game adds to the splendour of the Court; but viewed from a higher point, it reveals concealed talents.

When His Majesty goes to the *maidán* (open field), in order to play this game, he selects an opponent and some active and clever players, who are only filled with one thought, namely, to shew their skill against the opponent of His Majesty. From motives of kindness, His Majesty never orders any one to be a player; but chooses the pairs by the cast of the die. There are not more than ten players; but many more keep themselves in readiness. When one *g'har̲í* (20 minutes) has passed, two players take rest, and two others supply their place.

The game itself is played in two ways. The first way is to get hold of the ball with the crooked end of the *chaugán* stick, and to move it slowly from the middle to the *hál.*[2] This manner is called in Hindí *rol.* The other way consists in taking deliberate aim, and forcibly hitting the ball with the *chaugán* stick out of the middle; the player then gallops after it, quicker than the others, and throws the ball back. This mode is called *belah,* and may be performed in various ways. The player may either strike the ball with the stick in his right hand, and send it to the right forwards or backwards; or he may do so with his left hand; or he may send the ball in front of the horse to the right or to the left. The ball may be thrown in

[1] There is scarcely a Muhammadan Historian that does not allude to this game. Bábar says, it is played all over Thibet. In the East of India, the people of Munnipore (Assam) are looked upon as clever hockey-players. *Vide* Vigni's Travels in Cashmir, II, p. 289.

Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán, son of Mír Khwándah, was Akbar's *chaugánbegí,* or Superintendent of the game of *chaugán; vide* Bad. II, p. 368. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, after 970, G'haríwalí, which lies a *farsang* from Ágrah, was the favorite spot for *chaugán* playing. Bad. II. p. 70.

[2] The pillars which mark the end of the playground.

the same direction from behind the feet of the horse or from below its body; or the rider may spit it, when the ball is in front of the horse; or he may lift himself upon the back leather of the horse and propel the ball from between the feet of the animal.

His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shews in the various ways of hitting the ball; he often manages to strike the ball while in the air, and astonishes all. When a ball is driven to the *hál*, they beat the *naqqárah*, so that all that are far and near may hear it. In order to increase the excitement, betting is allowed. The players win from each other, and he who brought the ball to the *hál* wins most. If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (*míl*), the game is looked upon as *burd* (drawn). At such times, the players will engage in a regular fight about the ball, and perform admirable feats of skill.

His Majesty also plays at *chaugán* in dark nights, which caused much astonishment even among clever players. The balls which are used at night, are set on fire.[1] For this purpose, *palás* wood is used which is very light, and burns for a long time. For the sake of adding splendour to the games, which is necessary in worldly matters, His Majesty has knobs of gold and silver fixed to the tops of the *chaugán* sticks. If one of them breaks, any player that gets hold of the pieces may keep them.

It is impossible to describe the excellency of this game. Ignorant as I am, I can say but little about it.

'Ishqbází (pigeon-flying).

His Majesty calls pigeon flying *'ishqbází* (love-play). This occupation affords the ordinary run of people a dull kind of amusement; but His Majesty, in his wisdom, makes it a study. He even uses the occupation as a way of reducing unsettled, worldly-minded men to obedience, and avails himself of it as a means productive of harmony and friendship. The amusement which His Majesty derives from the tumbling and flying of the pigeons reminds of the ecstacy and transport of enthusiastic dervishes: he praises God for the wonders of creation. It is therefore from higher motives that he pays so much attention to this amusement.

The pigeons of the present age have reached a high state of perfection. Presents of pigeons are sent by the kings of Írán and Túrán; but merchants also bring very excellent ones in large numbers.

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[1] "In the beginning of 974 (July 1566), the emperor returned (from Jaunpur) to Ágrah, and passed his time in amusements. He went to *Nagarchín*, a new town which he had built near Ágrah, and enjoyed the *chaugán* game, dog-hunting, and pigeon-flying. He also invented a fire ball with which he could play at *chaugán* during dark nights." *Bad.* II, p. 48.

The town of *Nagarchín* was subsequently deserted.

When His Majesty was very young, he was fond of this amusement; but afterwards, when he grew older and wiser, he discontinued pigeon-flying altogether. But since then, on mature consideration, he has again taken it up.

A well trained pigeon of bluish colour, formerly belonging to the Khán i A'zam Kokaltásh ('Azíz, Akbar's foster-brother) fell into His Majesty's hands. From the care which was bestowed upon it by His Majesty, it has since become the chief of the imperial pigeons, and is known under the name of *Mohanah*. From it descended several excellent pigeons as *Ashkí* (the weeper), *Parízád* (the fairy), *Almás* (the diamond), and *Sháh 'údí* (Aloe Royal). Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of 'Umar Shaikh Mírzá (father of Bábar), Sulṭán Husain Mírzá (*vide* p. 101, note 4) into oblivion. Such improvement, in fact, has been made in the art of training, as to astonish the amateurs of Írán and Túrán, who had to learn the art from the beginning.

In former times pigeons of all kinds were allowed to couple; but His Majesty thinks equality in gracefulness and performance a necessary condition in coupling, and has thus bred choice pigeons. The custom is to keep a male and a female pigeon, if not acquainted with each other, for five or six days together, when they become so familiar, that even after a long separation, they will again recognize each other. The hen generally lays her eggs from eight to twelve days after coupling, or more if she be small or sickly. Pigeons couple in *Mihrmáh* (September—October), and separate in *Farwardín* (February—March). A hen lays two eggs, but sometimes only one. The cock will sit upon the eggs by daytime, and the hen during the night, and thus they keep them warm and soft. In winter they hatch for twenty-one days; but if the air be warm, they only take seventeen or eighteen. For about six days, the pigeons feed their young ones with *falak*, which means grain reduced to pap in the crops of the old ones. Afterwards they feed them from the grain in their crops, which they bring up before it is fully digested. This they continue for about a month, and as soon as they see that the young ones can pick up their own grain, the old ones will go away. Eggs, or even young ones, are sometimes given to other pigeons to take care of. Home bred young ones are trained. Some are kept in a *tor* (?) till they get stronger, and get acquainted with the place. As soon as these two things have been attained, the pigeons only get one-third or one-fourth of their daily allowance of food. When they have got a little accustomed to hunger, they are gradually allowed to take flights. They take daily about forty *hawás* (air), *i. e.* forty flights. At, this period, the trainers pay no regard to what is called *charkh* and *bázi*

(*vide* below). Of feathers, they count ten, and if eight of them have fallen out, the keepers no longer allow the pigeons to fly, but keep them at rest (*khábánídan*). After two months, the pigeons get new feathers, and become very strong. They are then again let off. This is the best time for shewing their skill. As soon as the pigeons learn to perform the *bází* and the *charkh*, they are sent to His Majesty for inspection, and are kept for four months in readiness, to exhibit their skill. *Charkh* is a lusty movement ending with the pigeon throwing itself over in a full circle. If this circular turn be not completely carried out, the movement is called *katif* (shoulder), and is held in no esteem. *Bází* is the same as *mu'allaq zadan* (lying on the back with the feet upwards, and quickly turning round, in Hind. *Kalá*). Some thought that the two wings (*katif*) meet, which appears to the observer as if it were a *mu'allaq;* but His Majesty had one wing of a pigeon blackened, when the erroneousness of that opinion became evident. Some pigeons get confused during the *bází* and *charkh*, and come stupified to the ground. This is called *gulúlah*, and is disliked. Sometimes pigeons hurt themselves and fall down; but often they get all right again when they come near the ground; and taking courage and collecting their strength, they fly up again. A pigeon of the *kháçah* pigeon cots will perform fifteen *charkhs* and seventy *bázís*, a feat which will certainly astonish the spectators. In former times, they let eleven or twenty-one pigeons fly at a time; but now-a-days they let off as many as one hundred and one. From the attention which His Majesty has bestowed upon pigeons, they are now so carefully trained as to be let fly at night, even to great heights.

At the time of departure and the breaking up of the camp, the pigeons will follow, the cots being carried by bearers (*kuhár*). Sometimes they will alight and take rest for a while, and then rise again.

It would be difficult to count the pigeons at Court; but there are more than twenty thousand. Five hundred of them are *kháçah.* They have a great reputation, and remarkable stories are told of their skill.

Pigeon trainers of former times, in order to determine the value of a pigeon, used to twist the foot, or looked to the slit of the eyes, or the openings on the top of the bill; but they failed to discover more signs of the value of a breed. His Majesty has discovered many more; and fixing the value of a pigeon, in former times a matter of great difficulty, has now become very easy. *First.* His Majesty subdivided the three signs of former trainers as follows: the two eyes, and their upper and lower signs; the eight claws; the two sides of the beak, above and below. The mutual comparison of these signs has led to many additional means of fixing the value of a pigeon. *Secondly.* His Majesty looks to the variety and the colour of the annular protuberances on the feet of pigeons. A book has been made, in which

the systematic order of these signs has been laid down. According to them, His Majesty distinguishes ten classes, for each of which separate aviaries have been constructed. The price of pigeons in the first house has not been limited. Many a poor man anxious to make his way, has found in the training of superior pigeons a means of getting rich. A pair of second class pigeons has a value of 3 *R.*; third class, 2½ *R.*; fourth class, 2 *R.*; fifth class, 1½ *R.*; sixth class, 1 *R.*; seventh class, ¾ *R.*; eighth class, ½ *R.*; ninth and tenth classes, ⅜ *R.*

When inspections are held, the stock of *Mohanah* first pass in review; then the young ones of *Ashkí*. Though the latter belong to the former, they are now separately counted. Then come the four *zirihí* pigeons; they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Hájí 'Alí, of Samarqand, which coupled with an *'Udí* hen, of which I do not know the owner; their stock has become famous. The precedence of all other pigeons is determined by their age or the time they were bought.

The Colours of Kháçah Pigeons.

Magasí (fly-bitten); *zirihí* (steelblue); *amírí* (?); *zamírí* (a colour between *zirihí* and *amírí*; His Majesty invented this name); *chíní* (porcelain blue); *naftí* (grey like *naphta*); *shafaqí* (violet); *'udí* (aloewood coloured); *surmaí* (dark grey, like powder of antimony); *kishmishí* (dark brown, like currants); *halwáí* (light-brown like *Halwá* sweetmeat); *çandalí* (light-brown, like sandelwood); *jigarí* (brown); *nabátí* (greyish white); *dúghí* (bluish-white, like sour milk); *wushkí* (of the same colour as the gum called *wushk*;) *jíláni* (*chíláni?*); *kúraí* (brown, like a new earthen pot?); *nílúfarí* (bluish-white); *azraq* (a colour between yellow and brown; His Majesty applies this name in this sense); *átashí* (black brown); *shaftálú* (peach coloured); *gul i gaz* coloured (?); yellow; *kághizí* (yellowish, like native paper); *zágh* (grey like a crow); *agrí* (a colour between white and brown); *muharraqí* (a dirty black); *khizrí* (a colour between greenish and *'údí*); *ábí* (water coloured); *surmag* (a name invented by His Majesty to express a colour between *surmaí* and *magasí*).

Pigeons of these colours have often different names, as *gulsar* (whose head resembles a flower); *dumgházah* (stumptail); *yakrang* (of one colour); *halqúmsafíd* (white throat); *parsafíd* (white wing); *kallah* (big head); *ghazghazh* (wild chick); *mágh* (name of an aquatic bird); *bábarí* (?); *álpar* (red wing?); *kaltah par* (short wing); *máhdum* (moontail); *ţauqdár* (ring-bearer); *marwáridsar* (pearl head); *mash'alahdum* (torchtail); &c.

Some trainers of the present age gave pigeons such names as indicate their colours. His Majesty rather calls them according to their qualities, as *bughur* (?), *qarapilk* (with black eyelids); *abyárí*; *palangnigárí*; *rekhtah pilk.*

There are also many pigeons which do not perform *charkhs* and *bázís*, but are distinguished by their colours, or by peculiar tricks. Thus the *Kokah* pigeon, the voice of which sounds like the call to prayer. 2. The *Baghah*, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning, to wake up people. 3. The *Luqqán*, which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail. 4. The *Loṭan*. They turn it about, and let it off on the ground, when it will go through all the motions which a half killed fowl goes through. Some pigeons will do so when the keeper strikes his hand against the ground, and others will shew the same restlessness, when on leaving the cage their beak is made to touch the ground. 5. The *K'herní*. The cock shews a remarkable attachment to the hen. Though he fly up so high as to be no longer visible, if the hen be exposed in a cage, he will get restless and drop himself instantly down to join her. This is very remarkable. Some of them come down with both wings spread, others close one; some close both; or they change alternately the wing which they close in flying. 6. The *Raṭ'h* pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances. 7. The *Nisháwarí* pigeon will fly up, and follow its cage to whatever place it be taken. It will fly out of sight, and stay away for a day or two, when it comes down, and remains in its cage. 8. The *Parpá* (having feet covered with feathers) will inhale air (?) and act as if it sighed.

Some pigeons are merely kept for the beauty of their plumage, the colours of which receive peculiar names. Thus some are called *shírází*, *shústarí*, *káshání*, *jogiyah*, *rezahdahan*, *magasí*, and *qumrí*. Wild pigeons are called *golah*. If some of them are caught, they will be joined by a thousand others; they soon get domesticated. They return daily to the fields, and get on their return salt water to drink. This makes them vomit the grain which they had eaten on the fields. The grain is collected and given as food to other pigeons.

People say that pigeons will but rarely live above thirty years.

Four *sers* of grain will be sufficient for one hundred of such pigeons as are made to fly; but for other pigeons, five *sers* are required; or seven and a half, if they pair. But flying pigeons get millet, not mixed with other grain; the others get a mixture of the seven kinds of grain, *viz.*, rice, *dál i nukhúd* (gram), *múng dál*, millet, *karar*, *lahdarah*, *juwár*, (*vide* p. 63). Though most servants of His Majesty keep pigeons and shew much skill in training them, there are a few that have risen to eminence, as Qul 'Alí of Bukhárá, Mastí of Samarqand, Mullázádah, Púr i Mullá Ahmad Chand, Muqbil Khán Chelah, Khwájah Çandal Chelah, Múmín of Harát, 'Abdullaṭíf of Bukhárá, Hájí Qásim of Balkh, Habíb of Shahrsabz, Sikandar Chelah, Máltú, Maqçúd of Samarqand, Khwájah P'húl, Chelah Híránand.

The servants attached to the pigeon houses draw their pay on the list of the army. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 2 *R.* to 48 *R. per mensem.*

The game of Chaupar.

From times of old, the people of Hindústán have been fond of this game. It is played with sixteen pieces of the same shape; but every four of them must have the same colour. The pieces all move in the same direction. The players use three dice. Four of the six sides of each dice are greater than the remaining two, the four long sides being marked with one, two, five, and six dots respectively. The players draw two sets of two parallel lines, of which one set bisects the other at right angles. These parallel lines are of equal length. The small square which is formed by the intersection of the two sets in the centre of the figure is left as it is; but the four rectangles adjoining the sides of the square are each divided into twenty-four equal spaces in three rows, each of eight equal spaces, as shewn in figure (XVII). The game is generally played by four players, of whom two play against the other two. Each player has four pieces, of which he puts two in the sixth and seventh spaces of the middle row of the parallellogram before him, and the other two in the seventh and eighth spaces of the right row. The left row remains empty. Each player moves his pieces, according to his throw, in the outer row, always keeping to the right, till he arrives at the outer left row of the parallelogram from which he started; and from there he moves to the middle row. When arrived at the latter place, he is *pukhtah* (ripe), and from here, he must throw for each of his pieces the exact number which will carry them to the empty square in the centre of the figure. He is now *rasídah*, or arrived.

When a player is *pukhtah* or *rasídah*, he may commence to play from the beginning, which leads to amusing combinations. As long as a player keeps two of his pieces together, the adversary cannot throw them out. If a player throws a double six, he can move two pieces over twelve spaces, provided the two pieces stand together on one field; but he is allowed to move them only six fields onwards, should he prefer doing so. A similar rule holds for double fives, &c. A throw consisting of a six, a five, and a one, is called *khám* (raw); and in this case, two pieces, provided they are together on the same field, may each be moved six fields forwards, and every single piece twelve fields. If a player throws three sixes, and three of his four pieces happen to stand on one field, he may move each of them over twelve fields. A similar rule holds, if a player throw three twos, or three ones. There are many other rules for particular cases. If a player has brought his four pieces into the central square, he throws, when his turn comes, for his companion, to get him out too. Formerly the custom

was that when a piece had come to the last row, and....[1]. His Majesty thinks it proper to do so from the very eighth field. If the throws of two players are the same as the throw of the preceding players, His Majesty counts them as *qáim*, or standing. Formerly he did not allow such equal throws. If the four pieces of an opponent are *pukhtah*, and he yet lose his bet, the other players are entitled to double the amount of the bet. Should any of the players leave the game for some reason, he may appoint anyone to play for him; but he will have to be responsible for the betting of his substitute. Of all winnings, the substitute is entitled to two *per cent;* if a player loses a bet, his substitute has to pay one *per cent.* If a player drops one of his pieces, or any of the players be late or inattentive, he is fined one rupee. But a fine of a muhur is exacted if any one prompts the other, or moves his pieces over too many fields, or tries to get two throws.

Formerly many grandees took part in this game; there were often as many as two hundred players, and no one was allowed to go home before he had finished sixteen games, which in some cases lasted three months. If any of them lost his patience and got restless, he had to drink a cup of wine.

Superficially considered, all this is mere play; but His Majesty has higher aims: he weighs the talents of a man, and teaches kindness.

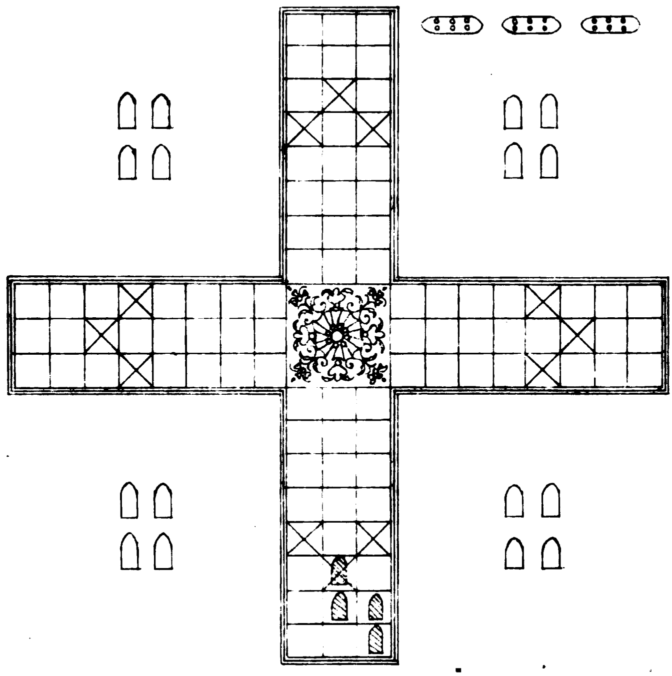
The game of Chandal Mandal.

This game was invented by His Majesty. The figure, or board, which is required, consists of sixteen parallelograms, arranged in a circular form round a centre. Each parallelogram is divided into twenty-four fields, every eight of which form a row; *vide* Figure XVIII. The number of pieces is sixty-four, and four dice are used, of which the four longer sides are marked with one, two, ten, and twelve points respectively. The number of players is sixteen. Each gets four pieces, which are placed in the middle. As in *Chaupar*, the pieces are moved to the right, and pass through the whole circle. The player who is out first, is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from the other fifteen players; the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on. The first player, therefore, wins most, and the last loses most; the other players both lose and win. His Majesty plays this game in several ways; one way in which the pieces are moved as if the fields were squares of a chess board, is very often played. I shall give a few particulars and directions how to play the different kinds of this game.

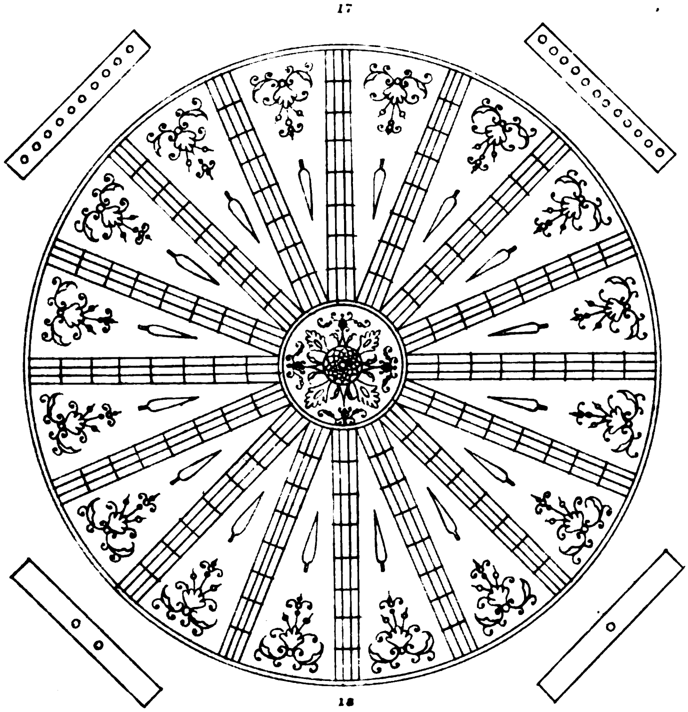
First kind, no piece can throw out another piece, but moves on by itself. *Second* way, single pieces may be thrown out. Each player whose piece has

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[1] The MSS. have *az khánah i hashtum páyán shawad, hangám i khám shudan ámádah gardad,* which words are not clear to me.



17



18

thus been thrown out, commences again from his starting point. *Third* way, at each throw two pieces are moved at a time, either with or without the permission of throwing out pieces. *Fourth* way, the preceding rule is applied to three or four pieces at a time. *Fifth* way, the dice are thrown four times, and four pieces are moved at each throw. These different ways may, moreover, be varied by some players playing to the right, others to the left, or all in the same direction. *Sixth* way, a player is out when he comes to the place from which the player opposite to him commenced to play, moving from the middle row of his opponent into the empty space in the centre of the board. Or the game ends when each player arrives at the place from which his left hand neighbour commenced to play. *Seventh* way, each player puts his pieces before himself, and has three throws. At the first throw, he moves two of his pieces; at the second, one of his own pieces and one belonging to his right hand neighbour; at the third throw, he moves any piece of his own, and allows his left hand neighbour to move one of his pieces. In this way of playing, no player throws out the pieces of his neighbours; and when the game is in full swing, he allows each piece which happens to come into the row in which he is, to move according to his own throw, as a sort of compliment to a guest. *Eighth* way, two pieces when together may throw out another set of two pieces; but single pieces do not throw out each other. *Ninth* way, four pieces together may throw out three together; three together, sets of two; and two together, single ones; but single pieces do not throw out each other. *Tenth* way, each player moves his pieces according to the number of points which he throws; but at the same time, the player who sits opposite to him moves his pieces according to the number of points on the reverse sides of the dice, whilst the two players to the right and left of the player who threw the dice, move their pieces according to the number of points on the right and left sides of the dice. *Eleventh* way, the players use five dice and four pieces. Each player, in his turn, throws the five dice, and moves his pieces according to the sum of the two highest points of his throw. The next highest point is taken by his *vis-à-vis*, and the two lowest points by his right and left hand neighbours. *Twelfth* way, the players have each five dice and five pieces. At every throw, he gives the points of one die to his right hand neighbour, and uses the others for himself. Sometimes the thrower mentions beforehand the names of four players to whom he wishes to give the points of four dice, he himself taking the points of the fifth die. And when a player requires only a few points, to get *pukhtah*, he must give the remaining points to those near whom the dice fall.

The game may also be played by fifteen or less players, the figure being lessened accordingly. So also may the number of the dice be increased or decreased.

Cards.

This is a well known game. His Majesty has made some alterations in the cards. Ancient sages took the number twelve as the basis, and made the suit to consist of twelve cards; but they forgot that the twelve kings should be of twelve different kinds. His Majesty plays with the following suits of cards. 1*st*, *Ashwapati*, the lord of horses. The highest card represents a king on horseback, resembling the king of Dihlí, with the umbrella (*chatr*), the standard (*'alam*), and other imperial ensigns. The second highest card of the same suit represents a *vazír* on horseback; and after this card come ten others of the same suit with pictures of horses, from one to ten. 2*nd*, *Gajpati*, the king whose power lies in the number of his elephants, as the ruler of Oṛísah. The other eleven cards represent, as befóre, the vazír, and elephants from ten to one. 3*rd*, *Narpati*, a king whose power lies in his infantry, as is the case with the rulers of Bíjápúr. The card represents a king sitting on his throne in imperial splendour; the vazír sits on a foot stool (*çandalí*), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4*th*, *Gaḍhpati*. The card shews a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the vazír sits on a *çandalí* over a fort; and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before. 5*th*, *Dhanpati*, the lord of treasures. The first card of this suit shews a man, sitting on a throne, and gold and silver heaps; the vazír sits upon a *çandalí*, as if he took account of the Treasury, and the remaining cards shew ja rs full of gold and silver, from one to ten. 6*th*, *Dalpati*, the hero of battle. The first card of this suit shews a king in armour, sitting on his throne and surrounded by warriors in coats of mail. The vazír sits on a *çandalí*, and wears a *jaibah* (breast armour); the ten other cards shew individuals clad in armour. 7*th*, *Nawápati*, the lord of the fleet. The card shews a man sitting on a throne in a ship; the vazír sits, as usual, on a *çandalí*, and the other ten cards have boats from one to ten. 8*th*, *Típati*, a queen sitting on the throne, surrounded by her maids. The second card shews a woman as *vazír* on a *çandalí*, and the other ten cards have pictures of women, from one to ten. 9*th*, *Surapati*, the king of the divinities (*deotah*), also called *Indar*, on a throne. The vazír sits on a *çandalí*, and the ten other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten. 10*th*, *Asrpati*, the lord of genii (*deo*). The card represents Sulaimán, son of Dáúd, on the throne. The vazír sits on a *çandalí*, and the other ten cards have genii. 11*th*, *Banpati*, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (*sher*) with some other animals. The vazír is drawn in the shape of a leopard (*palang*) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. 12*th*, *Ahipati*, the king of snakes. The first card shews a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the vazír is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind. The remaining ten cards shew serpents, from one to ten.

The first six of these twelve suits are called *bishbar* (powerful), and the six last, *kambar* (weak).

His Majesty has also made some suitable alterations in the cards. Thus the *Dhanpati*, or lord of treasures, is represented as a man distributing money. The vazír sits on a *çandalí*, and inspects the Treasury; but the ten other cards of this suit are representations of the ten classes of workmen employed in the Treasury, *viz.*, the jeweller, the melter, the piece-cutter (*muṭallas-sáz*), the weighman, the coiner, the *muhur* counter, the *bitikchí* (writer) of *dhan* pieces (*vide* p. 30, No. 17), the *bitikchí* of *man* pieces (*vide* p. 30, No. 20), the dealer, the *qurçgar* (*vide* p. 23, No. 15). His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects *farmáns*, grants, and the leaves of the *daftar* (*vide* p. 260); the vazír sits on a *çandalí* with the *daftar* before him; the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the *misṭar* maker (*vide* p. 52, Note 5), the clerk who makes the entries in the *Daftar*, the illuminator (*muçawwir*), the *naqqásh* (who ornaments the pages), the *jadwalkash* (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the *farmán* writer, the *mujallid* (bookbinder), the *rangrez*[1] (who stains the paper with different colours). The *Pádisháh i qimásh* also, or king of manufactures, is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Thibetan yaks, silk, silken stuffs. The vazír sits near him on a *çandalí*, enquiring into former proceedings. The other ten cards represent beasts of burden. Again, the *Pádisháh i Chang*, or lord of the lyre, is painted sitting on a throne, and listening to music; the vazír sits before him, enquiring into the circumstances of the performers, of whom pictures are given on the remaining cards. Next, the *Pádisháh i zar i safíd*, or king of silver, who is painted distributing rupees and other silver coins; the vazír sits on a *çandalí*, and makes enquiries regarding donations. On the other cards, the workmen of the silver mint are depicted, as before those of the gold mint. Then comes the *Pádisháh i shamsher*, or king of the sword, who is painted trying the steel of a sword. The vazír sits upon a *çandalí*, and inspects the arsenal; the other cards contain pictures of armourers, polishers, &c. After him comes the *Pádisháh i Táj*,[2] or king of the diadem. He confers royal insignia, and the *çandalí* upon which the vazír sits, is the last of the insignia. The ten other cards contain pictures of workmen, as tailors, quilters, &c. Lastly, the *Pádisháh i Ghulámán*, or king of the slaves, sits on an elephant, and the vazír on a cart. The other cards are representations of servants, some

[1] This is the Hindústání corruption of the Persian *rangraz*.

[2] *Táj* is often translated by *a crown*; but *táj* is a *cap* worn by oriental kings instead of the crown of occidental kings. Hence the word *diadem* does not express the meaning of *táj* either.

of whom sit, some lie on the ground in worship, some are drunk, others sober, &c.

Besides these ordinary games of cards, His Majesty also plays chess, four-handed and two-handed. His chief object is to test the value of men, and to establish harmony and good fellow-feeling at Court.

ÁIN 30.

THE GRANDEES OF THE EMPIRE.[1]

At first I intended, in speaking of the Grandees of the Court, to record the deeds which raised them to their exalted positions, to describe their qualities, and to say something of their experience. But I am unwilling to bestow mere praise; in fact, it does not become the encomiast of His Majesty to praise others, and I should act against my sense of truthfulness, were I but to mention that which is praiseworthy, and to pass in silence over that which cannot be approved of. I shall therefore merely record, in form of a table, their names and the titles which have been conferred upon them.

I. Commanders of Ten Thousand.

1. Shah'za'dah Sulta'n Sali'm, eldest son of His Majesty.

II. Commanders of Eight Thousand.

2. Sha'hz'adah Sulta'n Mura'd, second son of His Majesty.

III. Commanders of Seven Thousand.

3. Sha'hza'dah Sulta'n Da'nya'l, third son of His Majesty.

Akbar had *five* sons—

1. Hasan }
2. Husain } twins, born 3rd Rabí' I, 972. They only lived one month.
3. Sulṭán Salím [**Jahangir**],
4. Sulṭán Murád.
5. Sulṭán Dányál.

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(*a.*) Sháhzádah Khánum, born three months after Salím, in 977. (*b.*) Shukrunnisá Begum, who in 1001 was married to

[1] From the fact that Abulfazl mentions in his list of Grandees Prince Khusrau, (*vide* No. 4) who was born in 995, but not Prince Parwíz, who was born in 997, we might conclude that the table was compiled prior to 997. But from my note to p. 246, it would appear that the beginning of the list refers to a time prior to 993, and Abulfazl may have afterward added Khusrau's name, though it is difficult to say why he did not add the names of Parwíz and Sháhjahán, both of whom were born before the Áín was completed.

Again, Mírzá Sháhrukh (No. 7) and Mírzá Muzaffar Husain (No. 8) are mentioned as a Commanders of Five Thousand, though they were appointed in 1001 and 1003 respectively, *i. e.*, a short time before the Áín was completed.

The biographical notices which I have given after the names of the more illustrious grandees are chiefly taken from a MS. copy of the *Maásir ul Umará* (No. 77 of the MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal), the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, the *Ṭabaqat i Akbarí*, *Badáoní*, and the *Akbarnámah*. For the convenience of the student of Indian History, I have added a genealogical table of the House of Tímúr, and would refer the reader to a more detailed article on the Chronology of Tímúr and his Descendants, published by me in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for August, 1869.

Mírzá Sháhrukh (No. 7, below, p. 312); and (*c.*) Árám Bánú Begum; both born after Sulṭán Dányál. Regarding the death of the last Begum, *vide* Tuzuk, p. 386.

Of Akbar's wives the following are mentioned:—1. Sulṭán Raqiyah Begum (a daughter of Mírzá Hindál), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumáda I, 1035, (*Tuzuk*, p. 401). She was Akbar's first wife (*zan i kalán*), but had no child by him. She tended Sháhjahán. Núr Jahán (Jahángír's wife) also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Afkan. 2. Sulṭán Salímah Begum. She was a daughter of Gulrukh (?) Begum[1] (a daughter of Bábar) and Mírzá Núruddín Muhammad. Humáyún had destined her for Bairám Khán, who married her in the beginning of Akbar's reign. After the death of Bairám, Akbar, in 968, married her. She died 10th Zí Qa'dah, 1021. As a poetess, she is known under the name *Makhfí* (concealed), and must not be confounded with Zebunnisá[2] (a daughter of Aurangzeb's), who has the same poetical name. 3. The daughter of Rájah Bihárí Mal and sister of Rájah Bhagawán Dás. Akbar married her in 968, at Sáṉbbar. 4. The beautiful wife of 'Abdulwási', married in 970, (*vide* Bad. II, 61). 5. Jodh Bái, or Princess of Jodhpúr, the mother of Jahángír. Her name is not mentioned by any Muhammadan historian. As Akbar's mother had the title of *Maryam Makání*, so was Jodh Bái called *Maryam uzzamání*. She died in the month of Rajab 1032, A. H. (*Tuzuk*, p. 361). The *Tuzuk* expresses a hope 'that God will receive her in His mercy; for Jahángír's mother, though a Hindú, could not well 'be sent to hell.' 6. Bíbí Daulat Shád, mother of (*b.*) and (*c.*); *vide* Tuzuk, p. 16. 7. A daughter of 'Abdullah Khán Mughul (964). 8. A daughter of Mírán Mubárik Sháh of Khandes; *vide* p. 13, note.

Sulṭán Salím. Title as Emperor, Jahángír. Title after death, *Jannatmakání*. Born at Fathpúr Síkṛí, on Wednesday, 17th Rabí' I, 977, or 18th Shahríwar of the 14th year of Akbar's Era. He was called *Salím*, because he was born in the house of Shaikh Salím i Chishtí. Akbar used to call him *Shaikhú Bábá* (*vide* Tuzuk, p. 1). For his wives and children, *vide* below, No. 4. Jahángír died on the 28th Çafar 1037 (28th October, 1627) near Rájor on the Kashmír frontier. *Vide* my article on Jahángír in the Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Sulṭán Murád, Akbar's fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muharram, 978, and died of *delirium tremens* in 1006, at Jalnápúr in Barár (Tuzuk, p. 15; Akbarnámah II, p. 443; Kháfí Khán, p. 212). He was nicknamed *Paháṛí* (Bad. II, 378). He was *sabzrang* (of a livid complexion), thin, and tall (*Tuzuk*). A daughter of his was married to Prince Parwíz, Jahángír's son (*Tuzuk*), p. 38.)

Sulṭán Dányál was born at Ajmír, on the 10th Jumáda I., 979, and died of *delirium tremens*, A. H. 1013. Kháfí Khán, I. p. 232, says, the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014. He was called Dányál in remembrance of Shaikh Dányál, a follower of Mu'ín i Chishtí, to whose tomb at Ajmír Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages. Dányál married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Qulij Khán (No. 42), and towards the end of 1006, Jánán Begum, a daughter of Mírzá 'Abdurrahím Khán Khánán (Kháfí Khán, p. 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibráhím 'Ádilsháh of Bíjápúr; but he died before the

[1] Regarding her, *vide* Journal, A. S. of Bengal for 1869, p. 136, note.

[2] Her charming Díwán was lithographed at Lucknow, A. H. 1284. She was the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb and was born in 1048, A. H.

marriage was consummated. He had three sons :—1. Ṭahmúras, who was married to Sulṭán Bahár Begum, a daughter of Jahángír. 2. Báyasanghar (بايسنغر). 3. Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand Bánú Begum, a daughter of Khusrau. Besides, he had four daughters whose names are not mentioned. One of them, Buláqí Begum, was married to Mírzá Wálí (*Tuz.*, p. 272). Ṭahmúras and Hoshang were killed by Áçaf Khán after the death of Jahángír (*vide* Proceedings, As. Society of Bengal, for August 1869). Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Báyasanghar. *Vide* Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Dányál is represented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindústaní poems.

IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.

4. Sulta'n Khusrau, eldest son of Prince Salím [Jahángír].

Jahángír's wives (*Tuzuk*, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6). A daughter of Rájah Bhagawán Dás, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Sulṭánunnisá Begum [*Kháfí Khán*, Sulṭán Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusrau. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusrau and her younger brother Madhú Singh, in 1011 (Kháfí Khán, p. 227). 2. A daughter of Rái Rái Singh, son of Rái Kalyan Mal of Bíkánír, married 19th Rajab 994. Bad. II, p. 353. She is not mentioned in the Tuzuk among Jahángír's wives. 3. A daughter of Odai Singh, [Mot'h Rájah], son of Rájah Máldeo, married in 994. The *Tuzuk* (p. 5) calls her Jagat Gosáyiní. She is the mother of Sháhjahán, and died in 1028, (Tuzuk, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khwájah Hasan, the uncle of Zain Khán Kokah. She is the mother of Prince Parwíz. She died 15th Tír, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rájah Keshú Dás of Rát'hor. She is the mother of Bahár Bánú Begum (born 23rd Shahríwar 998). 6. and 7. The mothers of Jahándár and Shahryár. 8. A daughter of 'Alí Rái, ruler of little Thibet (*Bad.* II, 376), married in 999. 9. A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rájah Mán Singh (*Tuzuk*, p. 68). 10. Mihrunnisá Khánum, the widow of Sher Afkan. On her marriage with Jahángír she received the title of Núr Mahall, and was later called Núr Jahán. (*Tuz.* p. 156). Jahángír does not appear to have had children by Núr Jahán.

Jahángír's children. 1. Sulṭán Khusrau. 2. Sulṭán Parwíz. 3. Sulṭán Khurram (Sháhjahán). 4. Sulṭán Jahándár. 5. Sulṭán Shahryár. Two daughters are mentioned :—(*a.*) Sulṭán Nisár Begum ; (*b.*) Sulṭán Bahár Bánú Begum. There were 'several children' after Parwíz; but the *Tuzuk* (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died soon after their birth.

Sulṭán Khusrau was born on the 24th Amurdád 995, (*Tuzuk*, Preface) ; but Kháfí Khán says 997. He was married to a daughter of A'zam Khán Kokah. His sons—1. Baland Akhtar, who died when young, *Tuzuk*, p. 73. 2. Dáwar Bakhsh, (also called *Buláqí*)* whose daughter, Hoshmand Bánú Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dányál. 3. Garshasp.

Khusrau died on the 18th Isfandiyármuz, 1031. He lies buried in the Khusrau Gardens in Allahabad. Dáwar Bakhsh was proclaimed Emperor by Áçaf Khán after

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* The MSS. spell this name بلاقي and بولاقي.

the death of Jahángír; but at the order of Sháhjahán, he was killed, together with his brother Garshasp, by Áçaf Khán.

Sulṭán Parwíz, born 19th Ábán, 997. He was married to a daughter of Mírzá Rustam i Çafawí (No. 9) and had a son who died when young (Tuz. p. 282). A daughter of Parwíz was married to Dárá Shikoh. Parwíz died of *delirium tremens* in 1036.

Sulṭán Khurram [Sháhjahán] was born at Láhor on the 30th Rabí' I, 1000 A. H. Regarding his family, *vide* Proceedings A. S. of Bengal, for August 1869, p. 219. He was Akbar's favorite.

Sulṭán Jahándár had no children. He and *Sulṭán Shahryár* were born about the same time, a few months before Akbar's death (*Tuz.* Preface, p. 17). Shahryár was married, in the 16th year of Jahángír, to Mihrunnisá, the daughter of Núr Jahán by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzáuí Begum (*Tuzuk*, p. 370). The *Iqbálnámah* (p. 306) calls her لاڑلي بيگم. From his want of abilities, he got the nickname *Náshudaní* (fit for nothing). Khusrau, Parwíz, and Jahándár died before their father.

Shahryár, at the instigation of Núr Jahán, proclaimed himself Emperor at Láhor a few days after the death of Jahángír. He was killed either at the order of Dáwar Bakhsh or of Áçaf Khán; *vide* Proceedings A. S. Bengal for August 1869, p. 218.

5. **Mi'rza' Sulaima'n,** son of Khán Mírzá, son of Sulṭán Mahmúd, son of Abú Sa'íd.

6. **Mi'rza' Ibra'him,** son of Mírzá Sulaimán (No. 5.)

Mírzá Sulaimán was born in 920, and died at Láhor in 997. He is generally called *Wálí i Badakhshán*. As grandson of Abú Sa'íd Mírzá, he is the sixth descendant from Tímúr. Abú Sa'íd killed Sulṭán Muhammad of Badakhshán, the last of a series of kings who traced their descent to Alexander the Great, and took possession of Badakhshán, which after his death fell to his son, Sultán Mahmúd, who had three sons, Báyasanghar Mírzá, 'Alí Mírzá,[1] Khán Mírzá. When Mahmúd died, Amír Khusrau Khán, one of his nobles, blinded Báyasanghar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Bábar in 910. When Bábar took Qandahár, in 912, from Sháh Beg Arghún, he sent Khán Mírzá as governor to Badakhshán. Mírzá Sulaimán is the son of this Khán Mírzá.[2]

After the death of Khán Mírzá, Badakhshán was governed for Bábar by Prince Humáyún, Sultán Uwais (Mírzá Sulaimán's father-in-law), Prince Hindál, and lastly, by Mírzá Sulaimán, who held Badakhshán till 17 Jumáda II, 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mírzá Ibráhím, to Prince Kámrán. They were released by Humáyún in 952, and took again possession of Badakhshán. When Humáyún had taken Kábul, he made war upon and defeated Mírzá Sulaimán who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kámrán from Sind obliged Humáyún to go to Kábul, he reinstated the Mírzá, who held Badakhshán till 983. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Balkh, but had to return. His son, Mírzá Ibráhím, was killed in battle.[3]

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[1] The *Maásir ul Umará* calls the second son, Mírzá Mas'úd.

[2] The *Maásir* says, Khán Mírzá died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mírzá Sulaimán was born in 920, the *Táríkh* of his birth being the word يخشي.

[3] Hence he never was a grandee of Akbar's Court, and has been put on the list according to the rules of etiquette.

In the eighth year when Mírzá Muhammad Hakím's (Akbar's brother) mother had been killed by Sháh Abul Ma'ání, Mírzá S. went to Kábul, and had Abul Ma'álí hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Hakím, and appointed Umed 'Alí, a Badakhshán noble, M. M. Hakím's Vakíl (970). But M. M. Hakím did not go on well with Mírzá Sulaimán, who returned next year to Kábul with hostile intentions; but M. M. Hakím fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mírzá S., though he had taken Jalálábád, had to return to Badakhshán. He returned to Kábul in 973, when Akbar's troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute.

Mírzá Sulaimán's wife was Khurram Begum, of the Qibchák tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enemy was Muhtarim Khánum, the widow of Prince Kámrán. M. Sulaimán wanted to marry her; but Khurram Begum got her married, against her will, to Mírzá Ibráhím, by whom she had a son, Mírzá Sháhrukh (No. 7). When Mírzá Ibráhím fell in the war with Balkh, Khurram Begum wanted to send the Khánum to her father, Sháh Muhammad of Káshgar; but she refused to go. As soon as Sháhrukh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshí nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M. Sulaimán. This he did, alternately rebelling and again making peace. Khurram Begum then died. Sháhrukh took away those parts of Badakhshán which his father had held, and found so many adherents, that M. Sulaimán, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshán for Kábul, and crossing the Níláb went to India (983). Khán Jahán, governor of the Panjáb, received orders to invade Badakhshán, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Mun'ím Khán had died and Mírzá Sulaimán did not care for the governorship of Bengal, which Akbar had given him.

M. Sulaimán then went to Ismá'íl II. of Persia. When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he had just received, he went to Muzaffar Husain Mírzá (No. 8) at Qandahár, and then to M. M. Hakím at Kábul. Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kábul, he made for the frontier of Badakhshán, and luckily finding some adherents, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between *Táiqán* and the Hindú Kush. Soon after Muhtarim Khánum died. Being again pressed by Sháhrukh, M. Sulaimán applied for help to 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, king of Túrán, who had long wished to annex Badakhshán. He invaded and took the country in 992; Sháhrukh fled to Hindústán, and M. Sulaimán to Kábul. As he could not recover Badakhshán, and rendered destitute by the death of M. M. Hakím, he followed the example of his grandson, and repaired to the court of Akbar who made him a Commander of six thousand.

A few years later, he died at Láhor, at the age of seventy-seven.

7. Mi'rza' Sha'hrukh, son of Mírzá Ibráhím.

Vide Nos. 5 and 6. Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukrunnisá Begum, and made him governor of Málwah, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dak'hin. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his *Mançab* by Jahángír.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, *Kábulí Begum*, was a daughter of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím. She wanted to take his body to Madínah, but was robbed by the Badawís; and after handing over the body to some 'scoundrels,' she went to Baçrah, and then to Shíráz. In 1022, Sháh 'Abbás married her to Mírzá Sulṭán 'Alí, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.

Sháhrukh's Children. 1. Hasan and Husain, twins. Hasan fled with Khusrau and was imprisoned by Jahángír. 2. Badí'uzzamán (or Mírzá Fathpúrí), 'a bundle of wicked bones,' murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrát). 3. *Mírzá Shujá'* rose to honours under Sháhjahán, who called him Najábat Khán. 4. Mírzá Muhammad Zamán. He held a town in Badakhshán, and fell against the Uzbaks. 5. Mírzá Sulṭán, a favorite of Jahángír. He had many wives, and Jahángír would have given him his own daughter in marriage, if he had not perjured himself in trying to conceal the number of his wives. He fell in disgrace, was appointed governor of Gh※ázípúr, where he died. 6. Mírzá Mughul, who did not distinguish himself either. The *Tuzuk* (p. 65) says that after the death of Sháhrukh, Jahángír took charge of four of his sons, and three of his daughters, 'whom Akbar had not known.' 'Sháhrukh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindí.'

8. Mirza Muzaffar Husain, son of Bahrám Mírzá, son of Sháh Ismá'íl i Çafawí.

In 965, Sháh Ṭahmásp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahár, which was given, together with Dáwar and Garmsír as far as the river Hírmand, to Sulṭán Husain Mírzá, his nephew. Sulṭán Husain M. died in 984, when Sháh Ismá'íl II (984 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muhammad Husain Mírzá, Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, Rustam Mírzá, Abú Sa'íd Mírzá, and Sanjar Mírzá. The first was killed by Sháh Ismá'íl in Írán. The other four in Qandahár had also been doomed; but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Sháh saved their lives. The new Sháh, Khudábandah, gave Qandahár to Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, and Dáwar as far as the Hírmand to Rustam Mírzá, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakíl being Hamzah Beg Zul Qadr, or Kor Hamzah, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakíl caused Muzaffar Husain Mírzá to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Muzaffar had the Vakíl murdered. This led to fights between Muzaffar and Mírzá Rustam who, however, returned to Dáwar.

Not long after, the invasion of Khurásán by the Uzbaks under Dín Muhammad Sulṭán and Báqí Sulṭán (a sister's son of 'Abdullah Khán of Túrán) took place, and the Qandahár territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most Qizilbásh grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Sháh of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none; Mírzá Rustam who had gone to Hindústán, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Láhor, and kept Qandahár in anxiety; and Muzaffar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahár to Akbar, though 'Abdullah Khán of Túrán advised him not to join the Chagatái kings (the Mughuls of India). At that time Qará Beg (an old servant of Muzaffar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed *Farráshbegí* by Akbar) returned to Qandahár, and prevailed upon Muzaffar's mother and eldest son to bring about the annexation of Qandahár to India.

Akbar sent Beg Khán Arghún, Governor of Bangish, to take prompt possession of Qandahár, and though, as in all his undertakings, Muzaffar wavered the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khán, in 1003, to go to Akbar. He received the title of *Farzand* (son), was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhal as Jágír, "which is more worth than all Qandahár."

But the ryots of his jágír preferred complaints against his grasping collectors, and Muzaffar, annoyed at this, applied to go to Makkah. No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Muzaffar repented. He was reinstated, but as new complaints were preferred, Akbar took away the jágír, and paid him a salary in cash (1005). Muzaffar then went to Makkah, but returned after reaching the first stage, which displeased Akbar so much, that he refused to have anything to do with him.

Muzaffar found everything in India bad, and sometimes resolved to go to Persia, and sometimes to Makkah. From grief and disappointment, and a bodily hurt, he died in 1008.

His daughter, called *Qandahár Mahall*, was in 1018 married to Sháhjahán, and gave birth, in 1020, to Nawáb Parhez Bánú Begum.

Three sons of his remained in India, Bahrám Mírzá, Haidar Mírzá, (who rose to dignity under Sháhjahán, and died in 1041), and Ismá'íl Mírzá. The *Maásir* mentions two other sons, Alqás Mírzá and Ṭahmás Mírzá.

Muzaffar's younger brothers, Mírzá Abú Sa'íd, and Mírzá Sanjar, died in 1005. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (*Vide* Nos. 271 and 272.)

9. Mirza Rustam.—He is the younger, but more talented brother of the preceding. As the revenue of Dáwar was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers, he made war on Malik Mahmúd, ruler of Sístán. Muzaffar Husain assisted him at first, but having married Malik Mahmúd's daughter, he turned against Rustam. This caused a rupture between the brothers. Assisted by Lallah (guardian) Hamzah Beg, M. Rustam invaded Qandahár, but without result. During the invasion of the Uzbaks into Khurásán, he conquered the town of Faráh, and bravely held his own. Some time after, he again attacked Malik Mahmúd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him, and killed him, when Jaláluddín, Mahmúd's son, took up arms. Rustam was defeated, and hearing that his brother Muzaffar had occupied Dáwar, he quickly took the town of Qalát. Being once absent on a hunting expedition, he nearly lost the town, and though he took revenge on the conspirators who had also killed his mother, he felt himself so insecure, that he resolved to join Akbar. Accompanied by his brother, Sanjar Mírzá, and his own four sons Murád, Sháhrukh, Hasan, and Ibráhím, he went in 1001 to India. Akbar made him a *Panjhazárí*, and gave him Multán as jágír, "which is more than Qandahár." His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1003, wished to give him Chítor, but recalled him from Sarhind, gave him Pat'hán as *tuyúl*, and sent him, together with A'çaf Khán against Rajah Bású. But as both did not get on well together, Akbar called M. Rustam to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Rajah Mán Singh, in his stead. In 1006, M. Rustam got Ráisín as jágír. He then served under Prince Dányál in the Dak'hin. In 1021, Jahángír appointed him Governor of T'hat'hah, but recalled him as he ill-treated the Arghúns. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwíz, Jahángír made him *Shashhazárí*, and appointed him Governor of Alláhábád. He held the fort against 'Abdullah Khán whom Sháhjahán, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihár, had sent against Alláhábád, and forced 'Abdullah to retire to Jhosí. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihár, but was pensioned off as too old by Sháhjahán at 120000 Rs. *per annum*, and retired to A'grah. In the sixth year, M. Rustam married his daughter to Prince Dárá Shikoh. He died, in 1051, at Agrah, 72 years old.

As a poet he is known under the *takhalluç* of *Fidái.* He was a man of the world and understood the spirit of the age. All his sons held subsequently posts of distinction.

His first son *Murád* got from Jahángír the title of *Iltifát Khán.* He was married to a daughter of 'Abdurrahím Khán Khánán. Murád's son, Mírzá Mukram Khán, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son *Mírzá Hasan i Çafawí*, a *Hazár o pançadí* under Jahángír, was Governor of *Kúch;* died 1059. Hasan's son, *Mírzá Çafshikan*, was Faujdár of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. Çafshikan's son, *Saifuddín i Çafawí*, accepted the title of Khán under Aurangzeb.

10. Bairam Khan, the fifth in descent from Mír 'Alí Shukr Beg Bahárlü.

Bahárlü is the name of a principal clan of the Qaráqúilü Turks. During the time of their ascendancy, under Qará Yúsuf, and his sons Qará Sikandar and Mírzá Jahán Sháh, rulers of 'Iráq i 'Arab and Ázarbáiján, 'Alí Shukr Beg held Dainúr, Hamadán, and Kurdistán, "which tracts are still called the territory of 'Alí Shukr." His son Pír 'Alí Beg stayed some time with Sultán Mahmúd Mírzá, and attacked afterwards the Governor of Shíráz, but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amírs of Sultán Husain Mírzá. Pír Alí Beg's son, in the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl i Çafawí, left 'Iráq, settled in Badakhshán, and entered the service of Amír Khusrau Sháh (*vide* p. 311, l. 26) at Qunduz. He then joined, with his son Saif 'Alí Beg, Bábar's army as Amír Khusrau had been deposed. Saif 'Alí Beg is Bairám's father.

Bairám Khán was born at Badakhshán. After the death of his father he went to Balkh to study. When sixteen years old, he entered Humáyún's army, fought in the battle of Qanauj (10th Muharram, 947), and fled to the Rájah of Lak'hnor (Sambhal). Sher Sháh met Bairám in Málwah, and tried to win him over. But Bairám fled from Barhámpúr with Abul Qásim, governor of Gwáliár, to Gujrát. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of Sher Sháh who just returned from Gujrát. Abul Qásim, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bairám, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, "I am Bairám." "No," said Abul Qásim, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off." Abul Qásim was then killed, and Bairám escaped to Sultán Mahmúd of Gujrát. Under the pretext of sailing for Makkah, Bairám embarked at Súrat for Sindh. He joined Humáyún on the 7th Muharram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Rajah Máldeo, was pressed by the Arghúns at Jon. On the march to Persia, he proved the most faithful attendant. The King of Persia also liked him, and made him a Khán. On Humayún's return, Bairám was sent on a mission to Prince Kámrán. When Humáyún marched to Kábul, he took Qandahár by force and treachery from the Qizilbáshes, and making Bairám governor of the district, he informed the Sháh that he had done so as Bairám was 'a faithful servant of both.' Subsequently rumours regarding Bairám's duplicity reached Humáyún; but when in 961, the Emperor returned to Qandahár, the rumours turned out false.

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairám. He gained the battle of Máchhíwárah, and received Sambhal as jágír. In 963, he was appointed *atálíq* (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjáb against Sikandar Khán. On Akbar's accession (2nd Rabí 'II, 963) at Kalánúr, he was appointed *Wakíl* and

Khán Khánán, and received the title of *Khán Bábá*. On the second of Shawwál, 964, shortly after the surrender of Mánkoṭ, when Akbar returned to Láhor, an imperial elephant ran against Bairám's tent, and Bairám blamed Atgah Khán (No. 15), who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Atgah, after arrival at Láhor, went with his whole family to Bairám, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qorán.[1] In 965, Bairám married Salímah Sulṭán Begum *(p. 309, note,)* and soon after, the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Badáoní (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bairám to the illtreatment of Pír Muhammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adham Khán, and his mother Máhum Anagah (Akbar's nurse), Çiddiq Muhammad Khán, Shihábuddín Ahmad, &c., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jágírs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bairám Khán's friends lived in affluence. The *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí* says that no less than twenty-five of Bairám's friends reached the dignity of Panjhazárís—rather a proof of Bairám's gift of selecting proper men. Bairám's fall is known from the Histories. "Akbar's trick resembles exactly that which Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd i Mughul adopted towards his minister Amír Chaubán. *(Bad.)*

On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reigns of the government, Bairám left Ágrah, and sent his friends who had advised him to go to Akbar, to Court. He himself went under the pretext of going to Makkah to Mewát and Nágor, from where he returned his *insignia*, which reached Akbar at Jhujhar; for Akbar was on his way to the Panjáb, which Bairám, as it was said, wished to invade. The *insignia* were conferred on Pír Muhammad Khán, Bairám's old *protégé*; and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah. Bairám felt much irritated at this; and finding the road to Gujrát occupied by Rájah Máldeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bíkánír to his friend Kalyán Mal (No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) to Sher Muhammad Díwánah, his adopted son and jágír holder of Tabarhindah, and broke out in

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[1] So *Bad.* II, 19. The story in Elphinstone (Fifth edition), p. 497, does not agree with the sources. The Akbarnámah says, Bairám was on board a ship on the Jamnah, when one of Akbar's elephants ran into the water and nearly upset the boat. Abulfazl, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the *Sawánih i Akbarí* has a fine critical note on Abulfazl's account. I would remark here that as long we have no translation of *all* the sources for a history of Akbar's reign, European Historians should make the *Sawánih i Akbarí* the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amír Haidar of Belgrám from the Akbarnámah, the Ṭabaqát, Badáoní, Firishtah, *the Akbarnámah by Shaikh Iláhdád of Sarhind* (poetically called *Faizí; vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, p. 10) and *Abulfazl's letters*, of which the compiler had *four* books. The sources in *italics* have never been used by preceding historians. This work is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native, and confirms an opinion which I have elsewhere expressed, that those portions of Indian History for which we have several sources, are full of the most astounding discrepancies as to details.

Belgrám was a great seat of Muhammadan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the *literati* of the town *vide* the Tazkirah by Ghulám 'Ali Ázád, entitled *Sarw i Ázád*.

The author of the *Sawánih i Akbarí* states that Abulfazl does not shew much friendliness to Bairám, whilst Erskine (Elphinstone, p. 495, note) represents Abulfazl as "Bairám's warm panegyrist."

open rebellion. At Dípálpúr, on his way to the Panjáb, he heard that Díwánah had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Muzaffar 'Alí (whom Bairám had despatched to Díwánah to settle matters) to Court a prisoner. Mortified at this, Bairám resolved to take Jálindhar. Akbar now moved against him; but before he reached him, he heard that Bairám had been defeated[1] by Atgah Khán (No. 15). Bairám fled to Fort Tilwárah on the banks of the Bayáh, followed by Akbar. Fighting ensued. In the very beginning, Sulṭán Husain Jaláir was killed; and when his head was brought to Bairám,[2] he was so sorry, that he sent to Akbar and asked forgiveness. This was granted, and Bairám, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar's tent, and was pardoned. After staying for two days longer with Mun'im Khán, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah. The whole camp made a collection *(chandogh)*. Hájí Muhammad of Sístán (No. 55) accompanied Bairám over Nágor to Patan (Nahrwálah) in Gujrát, where he was hospitably received by Músá Khán Fúládí, the governor. On Friday, 14th Jumáda I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahansa Lang Tank, Bairám was stabbed by a Loháni Afghán of the name of Mubárik, whose father had been killed in the battle of Máchhíwarah. "With an *Alláhu Akbar* on his lips, he died." The motive of Mubárik Khán is said to have merely been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmírí wife of Salím Sháh with her daughter had attached herself to Bairám's suite, in order to go to Hijáz, and it had been settled that Bairám's son should be betrothed to her, which annoyed the Afghâns. Some beggars lifted up Bairám's body, and took it to the tomb of Shaikh Husámuddín. Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mashhad.

Akbar took charge of 'Abdurrahím, Bairám's son (*vide* No. 29), and married soon after Salímah Sultán Begum, Bairám's widow.

For بيرام *Bairám*, we often find the spelling بيرم *Bairam*. Firishtah generally calls him Bairám Khán Turkmán. Bairám was a Shí'ah, and a poet of no mean pretensions (*vide* Badáoní III, p. 190).

11. **Mun'im Khan,** son of Bairam[3] Beg.

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father. Mun'im Khán was a grandee of Humáyún's Court, as also his brother Fazíl Beg. When Humáyún, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mírzá Sháh Husain of T'hat'hah, one grandee after another went quietly away. M. and Fazil Beg also were on the point of doing so, when Humáyún made them prisoners, as he had done from motives of prudence and policy with several other nobles. M. did not, however, accompany Humáyún to Persia. He rejoined him immediately on his return, and rose at once to high dignity. He rejected the governorship of Qandahár, which was given to Bairám Khán. In 961, he was appointed *atálíq* of Prince Akbar; and when Humáyún invaded India, M. was left as governor of Kábul in charge of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, then about

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[1] Near كوناجور (or كوناچور) in the Parganah دكهدار [Bad.; دكدار *Maásir*; دكدهار *Sawánih*] near Jálindhar. For كوناجور, Bad. (II, 40) has كنورپهلور. Firishtah says (Lucknow edit., p. 249) the fight took place outside of Máchhíwárah.

[2] The *Maásir* mentions this fact without giving the source.

[3] Some MSS. read *Míram*; but *Bairam* is the preferable reading.

a year old. In Kábul M. remained till Bairám fell into disgrace. He joined Akbar, in Zí Ḥajjah, 967, at Lúdhiánah, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bairám. M. was then appointed *Khán Khánán* and *Vakíl*.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khán (No. 19) killed Atgah Khán (No. 15), Mun'im who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkár of Qanauj) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Mahmúd Khán of Bárha (No. 75). Akbar restored M. to his former honors.

Mun'im Khán's son, Ghaní Khán, whom his father had left in charge of Kábul, caused disturbances from want of tact. Máh Júјak Begum, Prince M. Muhammad Hakím's mother, advised by Fazíl Beg and his son 'Abdulfath, who hated Ghaní Khán, closed the doors of Kábul, when Ghaní Khán was once temporarily absent at Fáliz. Ghaní Khán, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India. Máh Júјak Begum then appointed Fazíl Beg as Vakíl and 'Abdul Fath as *Náib;* but being dissatisfied with them, she killed them both, at the advice of Sháh Walí, one of her nobles. On account of these disturbances, Akbar, in the eighth year, sent M. to Kábul. Thinking he could rely on the Kábulís, M. left before his contingent was quite ready. He was attacked near Jalálábád by Máh Júјak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Sháh Walí and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Haidar Qásim Koh-bar, whom she had made *Vakíl*) and defeated. M. fled to the Ghak'hars, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Fort of Agrah.

In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khán Zamán (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jágírs in Jaunpúr (Bad. II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaimán Kararání of Bengal, who promised to read the Khuṭbah and strike coins in Akbar's name.

In 982, Akbar, at M.'s request, went with a flotilla from Agrah to Bihár, and took Hájípúr and Patna from Dáúd, Sulaimán's son. M. was then appointed Governor of Bihár, and was ordered to follow Dáúd into Bengal. M. moved to Ṭánḍah (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Todar Mall, left Ṭánḍah, and followed up Dáúd, who after his defeat at بجهوره, submitted at Katak. In Çafar 983, M. returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengal, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M. soon after died of fever.

The great bridge of Jaunpúr was built by Mun'im Khán in 981. Its *táríkh* is صراط المستقيم. M.'s son, Ghaní Khán, went to 'Adilsháh of Bíjápúr, where he died.

12. Tardi Beg Khan, of Turkistán.

A noble of Humáyún's Court. After the conquest of Gujrát, he was made Governor of Champánír (Páwangaṛh). On Mírzá 'Askarí's defeat by Sulṭán Bahádur, Tardí Beg also succumbed to him and retreated to Humáyún. During the emperor's flight from India, Tardí Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless[1] companions. When passing through the territory of Rájah Máldeo, he even refused Humáyún a horse, and at Amarkoṭ, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of

[1] Elphinstone, p. 452 note, says Tardí Beg was one of the most *faithful* followers of Humáyún, a statement which is contradicted by all native historians.

the wealth he had collected while at court. Hence Rái Parsád advised H. to imprison some of his nobles and take away part of their property by force. H. however returned afterwards most of it. In Qandahár, Tardí Beg left the emperor and joined Mírzá 'Askarí. But Mírzá 'Askarí put most of them on the rack, and forced also Tardí Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humáyún's return from 'Iráq, Tardí Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 955, after the death of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, son of Mírzá Sulṭán, to Dáwar. During the conquest of India, T. distinguished himself and received Mewát at Jágír. In 963, when Humáyún died (7th Rabí' I), T. read the *Khuṭbah* in Akbar's name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abúl Qásim, son of Prince Kámrán, to Akbar in the Panjáb. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand and appointed him governor of Dihlí. T. drove away Hájí Khán, an officer of Sher Sháh, from Narnaul. On Hemú's approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Dihlí, and joined Akbar at Sarhind. Bairám Khán, who did not like T. from envy and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar "a sort of permission" (Bad. II, 14) had him murdered (end of 963). Akbar was displeased. Bairám's hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chagatái nobles looked upon him. Tardí Beg was a Sunní.

13. Kha'n Zama'n i Shaiba'ni'.

His father Haidar Sulṭán Uzbak i Shaibání had been made an Amír in the Jám war with the Qizilbáshes. When Humáyún returned from Persia, Haidar joined him, together with his two sons 'Alí Qulí Khán [Khán Zamán] and Bahádur Khán (No. 22,) and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandahár. On the march to Kábul, an epidemic broke out in Humáyún's camp, during which Haidar Sulṭán died.

'Alí Qulí Khán distinguished himself in Kábul and in the conquest of Hindústán, was made Amír and sent to the Duáb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghâns. At the time of Akbar's accession 'Alí Qulí Khán fought with Shádí Khán, an Afghán noble; but when he heard that Hemú had gone to Dihlí, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before 'Alí Qulí arrived at Dihlí, Tardí Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and A. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. 'Alí Qulí was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemú near Pánípat and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bairám were near, they took no part in this battle. 'Alí Qulí received the title of *Khán Zamán*. Next to Bairám, the restoration of the Mughul Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. Khán Zamán then got Sambhal again as jágír, cleared the whole north of India up to Lak'hnau of the Afgháns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder. In 964, he held Jaunpúr as *Qáim maqám* for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mánkoṭ. In the third year of Akbar's reign, Khán Zamán became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Sháham Beg, a page of Humáyún, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khán Zamán's *tuyúls*, which led him to rebel. Bairám from generosity did not interfere; but when Pír Muhammad, Khán Zamán's enemy, had been appointed Vakíl, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his *mahalls*, and had him appointed commander against the Afgháns who threatened the Jaunpúr District. Pír Muhammad had also Burj 'Alí thrown from the walls of Fírúzábád, whom Khán Zamán had sent to him to settle matters. Khán Zamán now thought, it was high time to send away Sháham

Beg, went to Jaunpúr, and drove away the Afgháns. Upon the fall of Bairám, they appeared again under Sher Sháh, son of 'Adlí, with a large army and 500 elephants. Khán Zamán, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpúr, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Zí Qa'dah of the 6th year, Akbar moved personally against him; but at Karah (on the Ganges,) Khán Zamán and his brother Bahádur submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpúr. Soon after, he defeated the Afgháns, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Khán Zamán rebelled again in concert with the Uzbaks, and attacked the Tuyúldárs of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Gházípúr, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpúr sent Mun'im Khán against him. Being a friend of Khán Zamán, he induced him to submit, which he did. But a body of imperial troops under Mu'izzulmulk and Rájah Todar Mall having been defeated by Bahádur and Iskandar Uzbak, (No. 48) the rebellion continued, though repeated attempts were made to bring about a conciliation. Having at last sworn to be faithful, Khán Zamán was left in possession of his jágírs, and Akbar returned to A'grah. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumáda I, 974, marched against M. Muhammad Hakím' Khán Zamán rebelled again, read the *Khutbah* at Jaunpúr in M. Muhammad Hakím's name, and marched against Shergarh (Qanauj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Panjáb, 12th Ramazán 974, and A'grah on the 26th Shawwál. At Sakít, east of A'grah, Akbar heard that Khán Zamán had fled from Shergarh to Mánikpúr where Bahádur was, and from there marching along the Ganges, had over-bridged the river near the frontier of Singror (Nawábganj, between Mánikpúr and Alláhábád). Akbar sent a detachment of 6000 troopers under Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás and Todar Mall to Audh to oppose Iskandar Khán Uzbak, and marched over Rái Barelí to Mánikpúr, crossed the Ganges with about 100 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance from Khán Zamán's camp, who must have gone from Nawábganj back again on the right side of the river to Karah. Next morning, 1st Zí Hajjah, 974, Akbar with some reinforcements attacked Khán Zamán. Bahádur was captured, and brought to Akbar, and he had scarcely been despatched, when Khán Zamán's head was brought in. He had been half killed by an elephant whose driver was called Somnát, when a soldier cut off his head; for Akbar had promised a muhur for every Mughul's head. But another soldier snatched away the head and took it to Akbar. The fight took place *dar 'arçah i Sakráwal* [in Badáoní, *Mungarwál*] "which place has since been called *Fathpúr*. The Trig. S. maps shew a small village Fathpúr about 10 or 12 miles south-east of Karah, not far from the river.

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached Alláhábád.

Khán Zamán as a poet styled himself Sultán *(vide* Proceedings Asiatic Society, September 1868.) *Zamániyá* (now a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. Though an Uzbak, Khán Zamán, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shí'ah. Khán Zamán must not be confounded with No. 124.

14. 'Abdullah Khan Uzbak.

A noble of Humáyún's Court. After the defeat of Hemu, he received the title of

Shujá'at Khán, got Kálpí as *tuyúl*, and served under Adham Khán (No. 19) in Gujrát. When Báz Bahádur, after the death of Pír Muhammad, had taken possession of Málwah, 'Abdullah was made a *Panjhazárí*, and was sent to Málwah with almost unlimited authority. He re-conquered the province, and 'reigned in Mandú like a king.' Akbar found it necessary to move against him. 'Abdullah, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujrát, pursued by Qásim Khán of Níshápúr (No. 40). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changíz Khán, an officer of Sulṭán Mahmúd of Gujrát. Hakím 'Ainulmulk was despatched to Changíz with the request to deliver up 'Abdullah, or to dismiss him. Changíz Khán did the latter. 'Abdullah again appeared in Málwah, and was hotly pursued by Shihábuddín Ahmad Khán (No. 26), who nearly captured him. With great difficulties he eluded his pursuers, and managed to reach Jaunpúr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khán Zamán (No. 13).

15. Shamsuddi'n Muhammad Atgah Kha'n.

Son of Mír Yár Muhammad of Ghazní, a simple farmer. Shamsuddín, when about twenty years old, once dreamed that he held the moon under his arm, which dream was justified by the unparalleled luck which he owed to a little deed of kindness. Shamsuddín entered Prince Kámrán's service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qanauj (10th Muharram, 947). Humáyún, after the defeat, crossed the river 'on an elephant,' and dismounted on the other side, where a soldier who had escaped death in the current, stretched out his hand to assist the emperor to jump on the high bank. This soldier was Shamsuddín. Humáyún attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse *(anagah)* to Prince Akbar at Amarkoṭ, conferring upon her the title of *Jí Jí Anagah*. Shamsuddín remained with the young prince, whilst Humáyún was in Persia, and received after the emperor's restoration the title of *Atgah* (foster father) *Khán*. Humáyún sent him to Hiçár, which Sirkár had been set aside for Prince Akbar's maintenance.

After Akbar's accession, Atgah Khán was despatched to Kábul to bring to India the Empress mother and the other Begums. Soon after, on the march from Mankoṭ to Láhor, the elephant affair took place, which has been related under *Bairám Khán*, p. 316. He held Khusháb in the Panjáb as jágír, and received, after Bairám's fall, the *insignia* of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjáb. He defeated Bairám Khán near Jálindhar, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honored him with the title of A'zam Khán. In the sixth year, he came from Láhor to the Court, and acted as Vakíl either in supersession of Mun'im Khán, or by 'usurpation,' at which Akbar connived. Mun'im Khán and Shiháb Khán (No. 26) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (*vide* No. 19) to kill Atgah Khán,[1] 12th Ramazán, 969.

For Atgah Khán's brothers *vide* Nos. 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos. 18 and 21. The family is often called in Histories *Atgah Khail*, 'the foster father battalion.'

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[1] He stabbed at the *Atgah*, and ordered one of his own servants, an Uzbak, of the name of Khusham Beg, to kill him. *Badáoní* (p. 52) and Elphinstone (p. 502, l. 1), say that Adham himself killed Atgah.

16. Kha'n i Kala'n, Mir Muhammad, elder brother of Atgah Khán.

He served under Kámrán and Humáyún, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. Whilst Governor of the Panjáb, where most of the *Atgahs* (*Atgah Khail*) had jágírs, he distinguished himself in the war with the G'hakkars, the extirpation of Sulṭán A'dam, and in keeping down Kamál Khán. In the ninth year he assisted Mírzá Muhammad Hakím against Mírzá Sulaimán (No. 5), restored him to the throne of Kábul, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under his brother Qutbuddín (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter *Atálíq* of the Prince. But Khán i Kalán did not get on well with M. M. Hakím, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhrunnisá Begum (a daughter of Humáyún by Júják Begum, and widow of Mír Sháh 'Abdul Ma'álí) to Khwájah Hasan Naqshbandí in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khán i Kalán left one night Kábul and returned to Láhor.

In the 13th year (976), the *Atgah Khail* was removed from the Panjáb, and ordered to repair to A'grah. Khán i Kalán received Sambhal as Jágír, whilst Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24) was appointed to the Panjáb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrát (Bad. II, 165). On the march, near Sarohí (Ajmír), he was wounded by a Rájpút, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwálah). He died at Patan in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluç* of 'Ghaznawí,' in allusion to his birthplace. Badáoní (III, 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fázil Khán (No. 156) was a *Hazárí*, and was killed when Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21), was shut up in Ahmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khán (No. 232) was a *Panjçadí*. Nothing else is known of him.

17. Mi'rza' Sharafuddin Husai'n, son of Khwájah Mu'ín.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khwájah Mu'ín was the son of Kháwind Mahmúd, second son of Khwájah Kalán (known as Khwájagán Khwájah), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwájah Náçiruddín 'Ubaidullah Ahrár. Hence Mírzá Sharafuddín Husain is generally called *Ahrárí*.

His grandfather, Kháwind Mahmúd went to India, was honorably received by Humáyún, and died at Kábul.

His father, Khwájah Mu'ín, was a rich, but avaricious man; he held the tract of land, called 'Rúdkhánah i Nasheb,' and served under 'Abdullah Khán, ruler of Káshghar. He was married to Kíjak Begum, daughter of Mír 'Aláulmulk of Tirmiz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahán Begum, daughter of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd Mírzá. 'Hence the blood of Tímúr also flowed in the veins of Mírzá Sharafuddín Husain.' As the son did not get on well with his father, he went to Akbar. Through the powerful influence of Máhum, Akbar's nurse, and Adham Khán, her son (No. 19), Mírzá Sharaf was appointed *Panjhazárí*. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhshí Bánú Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmír and Nágor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmír, Mírzá Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mírt'ha, which was defended by Jagmal and Devídás, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 970, Mírzá Sharaf's father came to A'grah and was received with great honors by Akbar. In the same year, Mírzá Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from

A'grah over the frontier, pursued by Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24) and other grandees. His father, ashamed of his son's behaviour, left for Hijáz, but died at Cambay. The ship on which his body was, foundered. Mírzá Sharaf stayed for some time with Changiz Khán, a Gujrát noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mírzás. When Gujrát was conquered, he fled to the Dak'hin, and passing through Baglánah, was captured by the Zamíndár of the place, who after the conquest of Súrat handed him over to Akbar. To frighten him, Akbar ordered him to be put under the feet of a tame elephant, and after having kept him for some time imprisoned, he sent him to Muzaffar Khán, Governor of Bengal (No. 37), who was to give him a jágír, should he find that the Mírzá shewed signs of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. Muzaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off, when Mír Ma'çúm i Kábulí rebelled in Bihár. Joined by Bábá Khán Qáqshál, the rebels besieged Muzaffar Khán in Ṭánḍah and overpowered him. Mírzá Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Muzaffar. But subsequently he became Ma'çúm's enemy. One was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other. Ma'çúm at last bribed a boy of the name of Mahmúd, whom Mírzá Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned. Mírzá Sharaf's death took place in 988. He is wrongly called *Siefuddeen* in Stewart's History of Bengal (p. 108).

18. Yu'suf Muhammad Kha'n, eldest son of Atgah Khán (No. 15).

He was Akbar's foster brother (*kokah* or *kúkaltásh*). When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Bairám (p. 317, l. 5,) and was made Khán. When his father had been killed by Adham Khán (No. 19), Akbar took care of him and his younger brother, 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21). He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khán Zamán (No. 13).

He died from excessive drinking in 973. *Bad.* II, p. 84.

19. Adham Kha'n,[1] son of Máhum Anagah.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard. His mother Máhum was one of Akbar's nurses (*anagah*[2]), and attended on Akbar 'from the cradle till after his accession.' She appears to have had unbounded influence in the Harem and over Akbar himself, and Mun'im Khán (No. 11), who after Bairám's fall had been appointed *Vakíl*, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Bairám's fall; *Bad.* II, p. 36.

Adham Khán was a *Panjhazárí*, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mánkoṭ.[3] Bairám Khán, in the third year, gave him Hatkánt'h,[4] South-East of A'grah, as jágír, to

[1] Generally called in European histories A'dam Khán; but his name is ادهم, not آدم.

[2] This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chagatái Dictionary. Misled by the printed editions of Badáoní, Firishtah, Kháfí Khán, &c., I put on p. 223 of my Text edition of the A'ín, *Máhum Atgah*, as if it was the name of a man. *Vide* Kháfí Khán I, p. 132, l. 6 from below.

[3] The *Maásir* gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the Akbarnámah.

[4] Hatkánt'h was held by Rájpúts of the Bhadauriyah clan. *Vide* Beames's edition of Elliot's Glossary, II, p. 86, and I, 27, where the word لهاور is doubtful, though it is certainly not *Lahore;* for the old spelling 'Luháwar,' for 'Láhor,' had ceased when the author of the *Makhzan i Afghání* wrote. Besides, a place in Gwáliár is meant, not far from the Sindh river. For هاور the two edi-

check the rebels of the Bhadauriyah clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bairám of partiality in bestowing bad jágírs upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadauriyahs. After Bairám's fall, he was sent, in 968, together with Pír Muhammad Khán, to Málwah, defeated Báz Bahádur near Sárangpúr, and took possession of Bahádur's treasures and dancing girls. His sudden fortune made him refractory; he did not send the booty to A'grah, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Máhum Anagah found means to bring her son to his senses. Akbar left after four days. On his departure, Adham prevailed on his mother to send back two beautiful dancing girls; but when Akbar heard of it, Adham turned them away. They were captured, and killed by Máhum's orders. Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it. On his return to A'grah, however, he recalled Adham, and appointed Pír Muhammad governor of Málwah.

At Court, Adham met again Atgah Khán, whom both he and Mun'im Khán envied and hated. On the 12th Ramazán 969, when Mun'ím Khán, Atgah Khán, and several other grandees, had a nightly meeting in the state hall at A'grah, Adham Khán with some followers, suddenly entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atgah with his dagger, and told one of his companions (*vide* p. 321 note), to kill him. He then went with the dagger in his hand towards the sleeping apartments of Akbar, who had been awakened by the noise in the state hall. Looking out from a window, he saw what had happened, rushed forward sword in hand, and met Adham on a high archway (*aiwán*) near the harem. "Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch?" (*bachah i ládah*), cried Akbar. "Stop a moment, majesty," replied Adham, seizing Akbar's arms, "first inquire." Akbar drew away his hands and struck Adham a blow in the face, which sent him "spinning" to the ground. "What are you standing here gaping," said Akbar to one of his attendants of the name of Farhat Khán, "bind this man." This was done, and at Akbar's orders Adham Khán was twice thrown down from the dais (*çuffah*) of the *Aiwán* to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atgah were then sent to Dihlí.

Máhum Anagah heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Dihlí to A'grah. On seeing her, Akbar said, "He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life." "Your Majesty has done well," replied Máhum, turning pale, and left the hall. Forty days after, she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Dihlí in a tomb which Akbar had built for them. For Adham's brother, *vide* No. 60.

20. Pi'r Muhammad Kha'n of Shírwán.[1]

Nothing is known of his father. Pír Muhammad was a Mullá, and attached himself to Bairám in Qandahár. Through Bairám's influence he was raised to the

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tions of Badáoní have لهایر; Dorn has بهایر Behair; Briggs has *Yehar;* the Lucknow edition of Firishtah has بهار. There is a town and Parganah of the name of لهاود in Sirkár Rantanbhúr.

The passage in the Akbarnámah regarding Adham Khán quoted by Elliot may be found among the events of the *third* year.

Another nest of robbers was the eight villages, called A't'hgah, near Sakít, in the Sirkár of Qanauj.

[1] In my Text edition, p. 223, No. 20, *dele* پسر. Shírwán is also the birth-place of Kháqání. The spelling *Sharwán* given in the Mu'jam, does not appear to be usual.

dignity of Amír on Akbar's accession. He distinguished himself in the war with Hemú, and received subsequently the title of *Náçirulmulk*. His pride offended the Chagatái nobles and, at last, Bairám himself, to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick.

Bairám subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shaikh Gadáí (*vide* p. 272) to the Fort of Biyánah, and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujrát, Pír Muhammad received letters from Adham Khán (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantanbhúr; but being pursued by Bairám's men, he continued his journey to Gujrát. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bairám's fall. Whilst in Gujrát, P. M. heard of Bairám's disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khán. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khán to conquer Málwah, of which he was made sole governor after Adham's recall. In 969, he defeated Báz Bahádur who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bíjágaṛh from I'timád Khán, Báz Bahádur's general. He then made a raid into Khandes, which was governed by Mírán Muhammad Sháh, sacked the capital Burhánpúr, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Báz Bahádur and defeated. Arriving at night on his flight at the bank of the Narbaddah, he insisted on crossing it, and perished in the river.

21. Kha'n i A'zam Mi'rza' 'Azi'z Kokah, son of Atgah Khán (No. 15).

His mother was Jí Jí Anagah (*vide* p. 321). He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would but rarely punish him; he used to say, "Between me and 'Azíz is a river of milk which I cannot cross."

On the removal of the *Atgah Khail* (p. 321, l. l.) from the Panjáb, he retained Dípálpúr, where he was visited by Akbar in the 16th year (978) on his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Faríd i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhan (Pák Patan, or Patan i Panjáb).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Ahmadábád, Mírzá 'Azíz was appointed governor of Gujrát as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Súrat. Muhammad Husain Mírzá and Sháh Mírzá, joined by Sher Khán Fúládí, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mírzá 'Azíz and Quṭbuddín. 'Azíz then returned to Ahmadábád. When Akbar, on the 2nd Çafar 981, returned to Fathpúr Síkrí, Ikhtiyárulmulk, a Gujrátí noble, occupied Ídar, and then moved against 'Azíz in Ahmadábád. Muhammad Husain Mírzá also came from the Dak'hin, and after attacking Kambháyit (Cambay), they besieged Ahmadábád. 'Azíz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels[1] near Patan. During the fight Muhammad Husain Mírzá and Ikhtiyár ulmulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. 'Azíz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Ikhtiyárulmulk.

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[1] Akbar left Ágrah on the 4th Rabí' I., and attacked the Mírzás on the ninth day after his departure. The distance between Ágrah and Patan being 400 *kos*, Akbar's forced march has often been admired. Briggs, II, p. 241.

In the 20th year Akbar introduced the *Dágh* (Áín 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amírs. Mírzá 'Azíz especially shewed himself so disobedient, that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank.

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M. 'Azíz remained unemployed till the 25th year (988), when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihár (*vide* Muzaffar Khán, No. 37). 'Azíz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of A'zam Khán, and was despatched with a large army to quell the rebellion. His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihár. Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kábul to Fathpúr Síkrí. During 'Azíz's absence from Bihár, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hájípúr, opposite Patna; and 'Azíz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihár, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tuyúldárs of Iláhábád, Audh, and Bihár, he occupied Gaṛhí, the 'key' of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Ma'çúm i Kábulí, and Majnún Khán Qáqshál, 'Azíz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Ma'çúm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qatlú, a Loháni Afghán, who during these disturbances had occupied Orissa and a portion of Bengal. 'Azíz, however, took ill, and handing over the command to Shahbáz Khán i Kambú, returned to his lands in Bihár. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Iláhábád, and was transferred to Gaṛha and Ráisín (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. 'Azíz was appointed to the Dak'hin; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shihábuddín Ahmad (No. 26) and other grandees, 'Azíz withdrew, plundered Ilichpúr in Barár, and then retreated to Gujrát, where the Khán Khánán was (Briggs, II, 257).

In the 32nd year, Prince Murád married a daughter of M. 'Azíz. Towards the end of the 34th year, 'Azíz was appointed Governor of Gujrát in succession to the Khán Khánán. In the 36th year, he moved against Sulṭán Muzaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jám and other zamíndárs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somnát and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Júnágaṛh also, the capital of the ruler of Súrat, submitted to him (5th Zí Qa'dah 999), and Miyán Khán and Táj Khán, sons of Daulat Khán ibn i Amín Khán i Ghorí, joined the Mughuls. 'Azíz gave both of them jágírs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sulṭán Muzaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamíndár of Dwárká. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muzaffar fled to Kachh, followed by 'Azíz. There also the Zamíndárs submitted, and soon after delivered Sulṭán Muzaffar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought to the Mírzá than he asked for permission to step aside to perform a call of nature, and cut his throat with a razor.

In the 39th year Akbar recalled M. 'Azíz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mírzá dreading the religious innovations at Court,[1] marched against Diu under the pretext of conquering it. He made, however, peace with the 'Firingí' and embarked for Hijáz at Baláwal, a harbour town near Somnát,

[1] M. 'Azíz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the 'Divine Faith.' He used to call Faizí and Abulfazl '*Usmán* and '*Alí*. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahángír, as related below.

accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, 'Abdullah, 'Abdullaṭíf Murtazá, 'Abdulghafúr), six daughters, and about one hundred attendants. Akbar felt sorry for his sudden departure, and with his usual magnanimity, promoted the two eldest sons of the Mírzá (M. Shamsí and M. Shádmán).

M. 'Azíz spent a great deal of money in Makkah; in fact he was so 'fleeced,' that his attachment to Islám was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Baláwal, and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003. He now became a member of the 'Divine Faith' (*vide* p. 208, l. 4,) was appointed Governor of Bihár, was made *Vakíl* in 1004, and received Multán as Jágír.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to A'sír. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mírzá, Bahádur Khán, ruler of Khandes, ceded A'sír to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khusrau married one of 'Azíz's daughters.

At Akbar's death, Mán Singh and M. 'Azíz were anxious to proclaim Khusrau successor; but the attempt failed, as Shaikh Faríd i Bukhárí and others had proclaimed Jahángír before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mán Singh left the Fort of A'grah with Khusrau, in order to go to Bengal. 'Azíz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Rájah, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch. He countenanced Khusrau's rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers, and of Salímah Sulṭán Begum and other princesses of Akbar's Harem. Not long after, Khwájah Abul Hasan laid before Jahángír a letter written some years ago by 'Azíz to Rájah 'Alí Khán of Khandes, in which 'Azíz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahángír gave 'Azíz the letter and asked him to read it, before the whole Court, which he did without the slightest hesitation, thus incurring the blame of all the courtiers present. Jahángír deprived him of his honours and lands, and imprisoned him.

In the 3rd year of Jahángír's reign (1017), M. 'Azíz was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrát, his eldest son, Jahángír Qulí Khán, being his *náib*. In the 5th year, when matters did not go on well in the Dak'hin, he was sent there with 10,000 men. In the 8th year (1022), Jahángír went to Ajmír, and appointed, at the request of 'Azíz, Sháhjahán to the command of the Dak'hin forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Sháhjahán did not like M. 'Azíz on account of his partiality for Khusrau, and Mahábat Khán was despatched from Court to accompany 'Azíz from Udaipúr to A'grah. In the 9th year, 'Azíz was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of A'çaf Khán in the Fort of Gwáliár (Tuzuk, p. 127). He was set free a year later, and soon after restored to his rank. In the 18th year, he was appointed *Atáliq* to Prince Dáwar Bakhsh, who had been made Governor of Gujrát. M. 'Azíz died in the 19th year (1033) at Ahmadábád.

'Azíz was remarkable for ease of address, intelligence, and his knowledge of history. He also wrote poems. Historians quote the following aphorism from his 'pithy' sayings. 'A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to; a Khurásání woman, for his housework; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children; and a woman from Máwarránnahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three'. *Vide* Iqbálnámah, p. 230.

Kokah means 'foster brother,' and is the same as the Turkish *Kúkaldásh* or *Kúkaltash.*

Mírzá 'Azíz's sons. 1. *Mírzá Shamsí* (No. 163). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahángír he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahángír Qulí Khán.

2. *Mírzá Shádmán* (No. 233). He received the title of Shád Khán. *Tuzuk*, p. 99.

3. *Mírzá Khurrum* (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Júnágaṛh in Gujrát, received the title of Kámil Khán under Jahángír, and accompanied Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán) to the Dak'hin.

4. *Mírzá 'Abdullah* (No. 257) received under Jahángír the title of Sardár Khán. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwáliár.

5. *Mírzá Anwar* (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commanderships of Five and Two Thousands. Azíz's other sons have been mentioned above.

A sister of M. 'Azíz, Máh Bánú, was married to 'Abdurrahím Khan Khánán. (No. 29.)

22. Baha'dur Kha'n i Shaiba'ni', (younger) brother of Khán Zamán. (No. 13.)

His real name is Muhammad Sa'íd. Humáyún on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dáwar. He then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahár, which was commanded by Sháh Muhammad Khán of Qalát (No. 95.) The latter, however, fortified the town and applied to the king of Persia for help, as he could not expect Humáyún to send him assistance. A party of Qizilbáshes attacked Bahádur, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mánkoṭ, Bahádur, at the request of Bairám Khán, was pardoned, and received Multán as jágír. In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Málwah. After Bairám's fall, through the influence of Máhum Anagah (*vide* p. 323), he was made *Vakíl*, and was soon after appointed to Iṭáwah (Sirkár of Ágrah).

Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (*vide* p. 320). After his capture, Shahbáz Khán i Kambú (No. 80) killed him at Akbar's order.

Like his brother he was a man of letters (*Bad.* III, 239).

23. Ra'jah Biha'ri' Mall, son of Prit'hiráj Kachhwáhah.

In some historical MSS. he is called *Bihárá Mall.* There were two kinds of Kachhwáhas, Rájáwat and Shaikháwat, to the former of which Bihárí Mall belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Çúbah of Ajmír. Though not so extensive as Maṛwáṛ, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihárí Mall was the first Rájpút that joined Akbar's Court. The flight[1] of Humáyún from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Hájí Khán, a servant of Sher

[1] The 'flight' of Humáyún from India was a delicate subject for Mughul Historians. Abulfazl generally uses euphemisms, as *án wáqi'ah i náguzír*, 'that unavoidable event,' or *rihlat* (departure); or *ámadan i Sher Khán*, the coming of Sher Khán (*not* Sher Sháh), &c.

Khán, had attacked Nárnaul, the jágír of Majnún Khán Qáqshál (No. 50), who happened to be a friend of the Rájah's. Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement; and Majnún Khán, after the defeat of Hemú, (963) brought Bihárí Mall's services to the notice of the emperor. The Rájah was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of the first year of Akbar's reign. At the interview Akbar was seated on a wild (*mast*) elephant, and as the animal got restive and ran about, the people made way; only Bihárí Mall's Rájpút attendants, to the surprise of Akbar, stood firm.

In the 6th year of his reign (969), Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mu'ín i Chishtí at Ajmír, and at Kalálí, Chaghtá Khán reported to the Emperor, that the Rájah had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17), Governor of Málwah, had made war upon him, chiefly at the instigation of Sojá, son of Púran Mall, elder brother of the Rájah. Sharafuddín had also got hold of Jagnát'h (No. 69), son of the Rájah, Ráj Singh (No. 147), son of Askaran, and Kangár, son of Jagmall (No. 134), his chief object being to get possession of Amber itself. At Deosah, 40 miles east of Jaipúr, Jaimall, son of Rúpsí (No. 118), Bihárí Mall's brother who was the chief of the country, joined Akbar, and brought afterwards, at the request of the emperor, his father Rúpsí. At Sankánír, at last, Bihárí Mall with his whole family, attended, and was most honorably received. His request to enter into Akbar's service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance was granted. On his return from Ajmír, Akbar received the Rájah's daughter at Sambhar, and was joined, at Ratan, by the Rájah himself, and his son Bhagawant Dás, and his grandson Kuṉwar Mán Singh. They accompanied Akbar to Ágrah, where Biharí Mall was made a Commander of Five Thousand. Soon after, Bihárí Mall returned to Amber. He died at Ágrah (Ṭabaqát).

Amber is said to have been founded A. D. 967 by Dholá Rái, son of Sorá, of whom Bihárí Mall was the 18th descendant.[1]

The Akbernámah mentions the names of four brothers of Bihárí Mall. 1. Púran Mall; 2. Rupsí (No. 118); 3. Askaran (*vide* No. 174); 4. Jagmall (No. 134). Bihárí Mall is said to have been younger than Púran Mall, but older than the other three.

Three sons of Bihárí Mall were in Akbar's service—1. Bhagwán Dás (No. 27); 2. Jagannát'h (No. 69); and 3. Salhadí (No. 267).

24. Kha'n Jaha'n Husain Quli' Kha'n,[2] son of Walí Beg Zulqadr.

He is the son of Bairám Khán's sister. His father Walí Beg Zulqadr was much attached to Bairám, and was captured in the fight in the Parganah of دكدار (Jálindhar, *vide* p. 317, l. 5,) but died immediately afterwards from the wounds received in battle. Akbar looked upon him as the chief instigator of Bairám's rebellion, and ordered his head to cut off, which was sent all over Hindústán. When it was brought to Iṭáwah, Bahádur Khán (No. 22) killed the foot soldiers (*tawáchís*) that carried it. Khán Jahán had brought Bairám's *insignia* from Mewát to Akbar, and as he was a near

[1] The present Mahárájah of Jaipúr is the 34th descendant; *vide* Selections Government of India, No. LXV, 1868. Amber was deserted in 1728, when Jai Singh II. founded the modern Jaipúr.

[2] Husain Qulí Beg. *Maásir.*

relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of A'çaf Khán 'Abdulmajíd, Commander of Dihlí. When Bairám had been pardoned, Khán Jahán was released. He attached himself henceforth to Akbar.

In the 8th year (end of 971), he was made a Khán, and received orders to follow up Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17). Ajmír and Nágor were given him as *tuyúl*. He took the Fort of Jodhpúr from Chandar Sen, son of Rái Máldeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Udai Singh during the siege of Chítor.

In the 13th year (976), he was transferred to the Panjáb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantanbhúr.

In the 17th year, he was ordered to take Nagarkoṭ, which had belonged to Rájah Jai Chand. Badáoní says (II, p. 161), that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bír Baṛ with a jágír. Akbar had Jai Chand imprisoned, and Budí Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khán Jahán, on his way, conquered Fort Kotlah, reached Nagarkoṭ in the beginning of Rajab 980, and took the famous Bhawan temple outside of the Fort. The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibráhím Husain Mírzá and Mas'úd Mírzá had invaded the Panjáb. Khán Jahán therefore accepted a payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a Masjid in front of Jai Chand's palace in the Fort, and to have read the *Khuṭbah* in Akbar's name (Friday, middle of Shawwál 980).

Accompanied by Ismá'íl Qulí Khán and Mírzá Yúsuf Khán i Rizawí (No. 35), Khán Jahán marched against the Mírzás, surprised them in the Parganah of Talbanah, 40 *kos* from Multán, and defeated them. Ibráhím Husain Mírzá escaped to Multán, but Mas'úd Husain and several other Mírzás of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981), when Akbar returned to A'grah after the conquest of Gujrát, he invited his Amírs to meet him, and Khán Jahán also came with his prisoners, whom he had put into cow skins with horns on, with their eyelashes sewn together. Akbar had their eyes immediately opened, and even pardoned some of the prisoners. The victorious general received the title of Khán Jahán, 'a title in reputation next to that of Khán Khánán.' About the same time Sulaimán, ruler of Badakhshán (p. 312) had come to India, driven away by his grandson Sháhrukh (No. 7), and Khán Jahán was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Mun'im Khán Khánán died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khán Jahán was recalled from the Panjáb, before he had moved into Badakhshán, and was appointed to Bengal, Rájah Todar Mall being second in command. At Bhágalpúr, Khán Jahán was met by the Amírs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghtái nobles, he had, as Qizilbásh, to contend with the same difficulties as Bairám Khán had had. He repulsed the Afgháns who had come up as far as Gaṛhí and Ṭánḍah; but he met with more decided opposition at A'k Mahall, where Dáúd Khán had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afgháns. Khán Jahán complained of the wilful neglect of his Amírs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwájah 'Abdullah Naqshbandí, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muzaffar Khán, Governor of Bihár (No. 37) to collect his Jágírdárs and join Khán Jahán (984). The fights near A'k Mahall were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junaid i Kararání,

Dáúd's cousin,[1] which led to a general battle (15th Rabí' II, 984). The right wing of the Afgháns, commanded by Kálá Pahár, gave way, when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Dáúd was defeated by Khán Jahán. Dáúd himself was captured and brought to Khán Jahán, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khán Jahán despatched Todar Mall to court, and moved to Sátgánw (Húglí), where Dáúd's family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dáúd's adherents under Jamshed and Mittí, and reannexed Sátgánw, which since the days of old had been called *Bulghákkhánah,*[2] to the Mughul empire. Dáúd's mother came to Khán Jahán as a suppliant.

Soon after Malkú Sáin, Rájah of Kúch Bihár sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khán Jahán despatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Dáúd, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bháṭí,[3] where the Afgháns had collected under Karím Dád, Ibráhím, and the rich Zamíndár 'Isá (عیسی). With great difficulties Khán Jahán occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afgháns who had joined him together with Dáúd's mother at Goás; and returned to Çihhatpúr, a town which he had founded near Ṭánḍah. Soon after, he took ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (19th Shawwál 986(.

Abulfazl remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Khán Jahán in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion.

Khán Jahán's son, Rizá Qulí (No. 274) is mentioned below among the Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year he was made a Commander of Five Hundred with a contingent of 300 troopers. Another son, Rahím Qulí, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty, (No. 333). For Khán Jahán's brother *vide* No. 46.

25. Sai'd Kha'n, son of Ya'qúb Beg, son of Ibráhím Jábúq.

He is also called Sa'íd Khán i Chaghtái. His family had long been serving under the Tímúrides. His grandfather Ibráhím Beg Jábúq was an Amír of Humáyún's and distinguished himself in the Bengal wars. His, son Yúsuf Beg, was attacked near Jaunpúr by Jalál Khán (*i. e.*, Salím Sháh), and killed. His other son also, Ya'qúb, Sa'íd's father, distinguished himself under Humáyún. According to the *Ṭabaqát,* he was the son of the brother of Jahángír Qulí Beg, governor of Bengal under Humáyún.

Sa'íd rose to the highest honors under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Multán, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, *atálíq* of Prince Dányál. Some time after, he was made Çúbahdár of the Panjáb, in supercession to Sháh Qulí Muhrim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjáb had successfully complained. Sa'íd again was succeeded in the governorship by Rájah Bhagwán Dás (No. 27), and received Sambhal as *tuyúl.* In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a

[1] The Ed. Bibl. Indica of *Badáoní* (II, 238) has by mistake *cousin.* Badáoní says that the battle took place near Colgong (K'halgánw).

[2] This nickname of Sátgánw is evidently old. Even the word *bulghák* (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the *Táríkh i Fíruz Sháhí,* is scarcely ever met with in Historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.

[3] For *Bháṭí, vide* below under No. 32

commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Hájípúr (Patna) as successor to Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21). In the 32nd year, when Vazír Khán (No. 41) had died in Bengal, Sa'íd was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year. He was also promoted to the rank of *Panjhazárí*. In the 40th year, Mán Singh (No. 30) being appointed to Bengal, he returned to Court, and was, in the following year, again made Governor of Bihár. In the 48th year (1011), when Mírzá Ghází rebelled in T'hat'hah after the death of his father Mírzá J'ání Beg (No. 47), Sa'íd was appointed to Multán and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel.

After the accession of Jahángír, he was offered the Governorship of the Panjáb on the condition that he should prevent his eunuchs from committing oppressions, which he promised to do. (*Tuzuk*, p. 6, l. 2). He died, however, before joining his post, and was buried 'in the garden of Sarhind.'

His affairs during his lifetime were transacted by a Hindú of the name of Chetr Bhoj. Sa'íd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1200[1]. One of these Khwájahsarás, Hilál, joined afterwards Jahángír's service; he built Hilálábád, six *kos* N. W. from A'grah, near Rankaṭṭah,[2] regarding which the *Maásir* tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Ikhtiyár Khán was his Vakíl, and another, I'tibár Khán, the Faujdár of his jágír. For Sa'íd's brother, *vide* No. 70.

26. Shiha'b Kha'n, a Sayyid of Níshápúr.

His full name is Shihábuddín Ahmad Khán. He was a relation and friend of Máhum Anagah (p. 323) and was instrumental in bringing about Bairám's fall. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was Commander of Dilhí. When Akbar, at the request of Máhum, turned from Sikandarábád to Dihlí to see his sick mother, Shiháb Kán told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bairám Khán, might prove disastrous to such grandees as were not Bairám's friends; and the Chaghtái nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bairám's disgrace.

As remarked on p. 321, Shiháb served in Málwah against 'Abdullah Khán.

In the 12th year (975), he was appointed Governor of Málwah, and was ordered to drive the Mírzás from that province. In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Muzaffar Khán (No. 37) had too much to do with financial matters.

In the 21st year, he was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, and was again appointed to Málwah; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrát, as Vazír Khán (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by I'timád Khán (No. 119), and intended to go to Court; but no sooner had he left Ahmadábád than he was deserted by his servants, who in a body joined Sulṭán Muzaffar. The events of the Gujrát rebellion are known from the histories. When Mírzá Khán Khánán (No. 29) arrived, Shiháb was attached to Qulij Khán

[1] If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Silhaṭ were renowned; for interesting passages *vide* below, Third Book, Çúbah of Bengal, and *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, pp. 72, 328.

[2] Sikandrah (or Bihishtábád), where Akbar's tomb is, lies half way between A'grah and Rankaṭṭah.

(Málwah Corps). He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahronch (992), and received that district as *tuyúl*. In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Málwah, in succession to M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21).

Shiháb died in Málwah (Ujain, *Ṭabaqat*) in 999. His wife, Bábú Ághá was related to Akbar's mother; she died in 1005.

During the time Shiháb was Governor of Dihlí, he repaired the canal which Fírúz Sháh had cut from the Parganah of Khizrábád to Safídún; and called it *Nahr i Shiháb*. This canal was again repaired, at the order of Sháhjahán, by the renowned Makramat Khán, and called فیض نہر, *Faiz Nahr*, (20th year of Sháhjahán). During the reign of Aurangzeb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (*Ásáruççanádíd.*)

27. Rájah Bhagwán Dás, son of Rájah Bihárí Mall.

In the Histories we find the spellings *Bhagwant*, *Bhagwánt*, and *Bhagwán*. He joined Akbar's service with his father (No. 23). In 980, in the fight with Ibráhím Husain Mírzá near Sarnál (*Briggs*, Sartál), he saved Akbar's life. He also distinguished himself against the Ráná of Ídar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwáhahs had their tuyúls transferred to the Panjáb, Rájah Bh. D. was appointed Governor of the province. In the 29th year, Bh.'s daughter was married to Prince Salím, of which marriage Prince Khusrau was the offspring. In the 30th year, Bh. D. was made a commander of Five Thousand, and Governor of Zábulistán, as Mán Singh was sent against the Yúsufzaís. But Akbar for some reason detained him. In Khairábád, Bh. D. had a fit of madness, and wounded himself with a dagger; but he recovered, soon after, in the hands of the Court Doctors. In the 32nd year, the jágírs of the Rájah and his family were transferred to Bihár, Mán Singh taking the command of the province.

Rájah Bh. D. died in the beginning of 998 at Láhor, a short time after Rájah Todar Mall (No. 39). People say that on returning from Todar Mall's funeral, he had an attack of stranguary, of which he died. He had the title of *Amír ul Umará*.

The Jámi 'Masjid of Láhor was built by him.

Regarding his sons, *vide* Nos. 30, 104, 336.

28. Qutbuddín Khán, youngest brother of Atgah Khán (15).

As he belonged to the *Atgah Khail* (*vide* p. 321), his *tuyúl* was in the Panjáb. He founded several mosques, &c., at Láhor.

In the 9th year (972), Akbar sent him to Kábul. During his stay there, he built a villa at Ghaznín, his birth place. On the transfer of the 'Atgah Khail' from the Panjáb, Q. was appointed to Málwah. After the conquest of Gujrát, he received as jágír the Sirkár of Bahronch (Broach), "which lies south of Ahmadábád, and has a fort on the bank of the Narbuddá near its mouth." Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a commander of Five Thousand.

In the 24th year (12th Rajab, 987), he was appointed *atálíq* to Prince Salím, received a *dágú*,[1] and the title of *Beglar Begí*. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salím on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to

[1] A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Tímúrides.

Bahronch 'as far as Nazrbár.' In the 28th year (991), Muzaffar of Gujrát tried to make himself independent. Q. did not act in concert with the other officers, and in consequence of his delay and timidity, he was attacked and defeated by Muzaffar near Barodah. Q.'s servants even joined Muzaffar, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Barodah. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Muzaffar, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamíndár, Muzaffar went to Bahronch, occupied the Fort in which Q.'s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 *krors* of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muzaffar had Q. murdered.

His son Naurang Khán served under Mírzá Khán Khánán (No. 29) in Gujrát (992), received a jágír in Málwah and subsequently in Gujrát. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the *Ṭabaqát*, which I consulted, contain the remark that Naurang Khán was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Júnágaṛh.

His second son, Gújar Khán, was a *Haftçadí* (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. A'zam Khán Kokah (No. 21). He also had a tuyúl in Gujrát.

29. Kha'n Kha'na'n Mi'rza' 'Abdurrahi'm, son of Bairám Khán.

His mother was a daughter of Jamál Khán of Mewát.[1] In 961, when Humáyún returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamíndárs of the country, and after marrying the elder daughter of Jamál Khán, he asked Bairám Khán to marry the younger one.

M. 'Abdurrahím was born at Láhor, 14th Çafar 964. When Bairám Khán was murdered at Patan in Gujrát (p. 317), his camp was plundered by some Afgháns; but Muhammad Amín Díwánah and Bábá Zambúr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder, and bring them to Ahmadábád, fighting on the road with the Afghán robbers. From Ahmadábád, M. 'Abdurrahím was taken to Akbar (969), who notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious courtiers took charge of him. He gave him the title of *Mírzá Khán*, and married him subsequently to Mah Bánú, sister of M. 'Azíz Kokah. (No. 21).

In 981, M. 'Abdurrahím accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p. 325). In 984, M. 'A. was appointed to Gujrát, Vazír Khán having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made *Mír 'Arz*, and three years later, *atáliq* to Prince Salím. Soon after, he was sent against Sulṭán Muzaffar of Gujrát. Muzaffar, during the first Gujrátí war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar's officers. He was committed to the charge of Mun'im Khán (No. 11), and after his death, to the care of Sháh Mançúr the Díwán (No. 122). But Muzaffar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kát'hís of Júnágaṛh, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers. But when I'timád Khán was sent to Gujrát to relieve Shihábuddín (No. 26), the servants of the latter joined Muzaffar, and the Gujrát rebellion commenced. Muzaffar took Ahmadábád, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (*vide* Quṭbuddín, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mírzá 'Abdurrahím had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulij Khán and the Málwah

[1] He was the nephew of Hasan Khán of Mewát. (*Bad.* I, p. 361). In the fourth Book of the A'ín, Abulfazl says that the Khánzádahs of Mewát were chiefly converted Janúhah Rájpúts.

contingent, Dost Khán Lodí, M. 'A.'s *Mír Shamsher*, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khán Khánánship. M.'A. then attacked Muzaffar and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkij, three *kos* from Ahmadábád. On the arrival of the Málwah contingent, M. 'A. defeated Muzaffar a second time near Nádot. Muzaffar concealed himself in Rájpíplah.

For these two victories Akbar made M.'A. a commander of Five Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of Khán Khánán. For this reason Historians generally call him Mírzá Khán Khánán.

When Gujrát was finally conquered, M. Khán Khánán gave his whole property to his soldiers, even his inkstand, which was given to a soldier who came last and said, he had not received anything. The internal affairs of Gujrát being settled, Qulij Khán was left in the province, and M.'A. rejoined the Court.

In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian translation of Bábar's Chaghtái Memoirs (*Wáqi'át i Bábarí*).[1]

Towards the end of the same year he was appointed *Vakíl*, and received Jaunpúr as *tuyúl;* but in 999 his jágír was transferred to Multán, and he received orders to take T'hat'hah (Sind). Passing by the Fort of Sahwán,[2] he took the Fort of Lak'hí, "which was considered the key of the country, just as Gaḍhí is in Bengal and Bárahmúlah in Kashmír." After a great deal of fighting, Mírzá Jání Beg (No. 47), ruler of T'hat'hah, made peace, which M.'A., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwán was to be handed over to Akbar, M. Jání Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mírzá Írich, M.'A.'s eldest son, was to marry Jání Beg's daughter. But as M. Jání Beg after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations. M.'A. moved to T'hat'hah, and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jání Beg submitted and accompanied M.'A. to Court.[3] Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Sulṭán Murád assembled, at Bahronch (Broach), his troops for the conquest of the Dak'hin, Akbar despatched M.'A. to his assistance, giving him Bhílsá as jágír. After delaying there for some time, M.'A. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M.'A. wrote him that Rájah 'Alí Khán[4] of Khándes was on the point of joining the Imperialists, and that he would come with him. When M.'A., at last, joined head quarters at Fort Chándor, 30 *kos* from Ahmadnagar, he was slighted by the Prince ; and, in consequence of it, he hesitated to take an active part in the operations, leaving the command of his detachment chiefly in the hands of M. Sháhrukh (No. 7). Only on one occasion after Murád's departure from Ahmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war. Mu'tamiduddaulah Suhail Khán (Briggs, II, 274 ; III, 308) threatened Prince Murád, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M. 'A., Rájah 'Alí Khán, and M. Sháhrukh, therefore took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in Jumáda II, 1005 from Sháhpúr, M.'A. met Suhail near the town of Ashtí, 12 *kos* from Pathrí. The fight was unusually severe. Rájah 'Alí Khán with five of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs

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[1] *Vide p.* 105, last line.

[2] Also called Siwistán, on the right bank of the Indus. Lak'hí (Lukkee) lies a little south of Sahwán.

[3] The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Masnawí by Mullá Shikebí, whom Abulfazl mentions below among the poets of Akbar's age.

[4] Kháfí Khán calls him *Rájí* 'Alí Khán.

IV, 324). The night put an end to the engagement; but each party believing itself victorious, remained under arms. When next morning, M.'A.'s troopers went to the river [near Súpá, *Firishtah*] to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy's horse. Daulat Khán who commanded M.'A.'s avantguard, said to him," It is dying a useless death to fall fighting with but 600 troopers against such odds." "Do you forget Dihlí?" asked M.'A. "If we keep up," replied Daulat Khán, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihlís; and if we die, matters rest with God." Qásim of Bárha[1] and several other Sayyids were near; and on hearing M.'A.'s resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindústánís, nothing is left but death; but ask the Khán Khánán what he means to do.". Daulat Khán returned, and said to M.'A. "Their numbers are immense, and victory rests with heaven; point out a place where we can find you, should we be defeated." "Under the corpses," said M. 'A. Thereupon they charged the flank of the enemy and routed them. After this signal victory, M.'A. distributed 75 lacs of Rupees among his soldiers. At the request of the Prince, M.'A. was soon after recalled (1006).

In the same year Mah Bánú, M. 'A.'s wife died.

In the 44th year, Prince Dányál was appointed to the Dak'hin, and M.'A. was ordered to join the Prince, and besiege Ahmadnagar. The town, as is known from the histories, was taken after a siege of 4 months and 4 days.[2] M.'A. then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahádur ibn i Ibráhím, who had been set up as Nizám Sháh. Dányál was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar *Dándes*,[3] and married to Jáná Begum, M.'A.'s daughter. The Khán Khánán was also ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Sháh 'Alí, uncle of Murtazá, Nizám Sháh.

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dak'hin did not improve. In the 3rd year of Jahángír (1017), M.'A. promised to bring the war to a close in two years, if he received a sufficient number of troops. Sháhzádah Parwíz, under the *Atáliq*-ship of Áçaf Khán, Mán Singh, Khán Jahán Lodí, and others, were appointed to assist M.'A. He took the Prince in the rains from Burhánpúr to Bálág'hát; but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amírs, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M.'A. was compelled to conclude a treaty dishonorable for Jahángír, who appointed Khán Jahán Lodí as his successor, and sent Mahábat Khán, subsequently M.'A.'s enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court.

In the 5th year, M. 'A. received Kálpí and Qanauj as *tuyúl*, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (*vide* p. 324, note). Some time afterwards, M.'A. was again sent to the Dak'hin, as matters there had not improved; but he did not gain any advantage either.

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[1] The Sayyids of Bárha considered it their privilege to fight in the *Haráwal*, or van. *Vide No.* 75.

[2] Abulfazl and the Lucknow edition of Firishtah call the eunuch who murdered Chánd Bíbí جيتهخان or چيته. Briggs has Hamíd Khán. For *Nihang Khán*, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akbarnámah and the Maásir have *Abhang Khán*. The Lucknow Ed. of Firishtah has *Ahang Khán*. The differences, moreover, between Abulfazl and Firishtah in details are very remarkable.

[3] A combination of the words *Dányál* and *Khándes*.

In the 11th year (1025) Jahángír, at last, despatched Prince Khurram, to whom he had given the title of Sháh.[1] Jahángír himself fixed his residence at Mándú in Málwah, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Sháh Khurram selected Burhánpúr as Head Quarters. Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shahnawáz Khán, M. 'A.'s son. 'Ádil Sháh and Quṭbulmulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahángír bestowed upon 'Ádil Sháh the title of *Farzand* (son); and 'Ambar Malik handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganahs of Bálág'hát which he had conquered. Sháh Khurram then appointed M.'A. Çúbahdár of Khándes, Barár, and Ahmadnagar, whilst Shahnawáz Khán was appointed to Bálág'hát. Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dak'hin, Sháh Khurram joined his father at Mándú, where new honors awaited him.[2]

In the 15th year, Malik 'Ambar 'broke' the treaty, and fell upon the T'hánahdárs of the Mughuls. Dáráb Khán, M. 'A.'s second son, retreated from Bálá'ghát to Bálápúr; and driven from there, he went to Burhánpúr, where he and his father were besieged. On Sháhjahán's approach, the besiegers dispersed.

In the 17th year, (1031), Sháh 'Abbás of Persia attacked Qandahár, and Sháhjahán and 'Abdurrahím were called to Court, to take the command against the Persians; but before they joined, Prince Parwíz, through Núr Jahán's influence, had been appointed heir-apparent, and Mahábat Khán had been raised to the dignity of *Khán Khánán*. Sháhjahán rebelled, returned with M.'A. to Mándú, and then moved to Burhánpúr. On the march thither, Sháhjahán intercepted a letter which M. 'A. had secretly written to Mahábat Khán, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dáráb Khán, and sent him to Fort Ásír, but released them soon after on *parole*. Parwíz and Mahábat Khán had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbaddah to capture Sháhjahán. Bairám Beg, an officer of Sháhjahán's, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the imperials from crossing. At M.'A.'s advice, Sháhjahán proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M. 'A. swear upon the Qorán not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwíz. Mahábat Khán, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and M.'A., forgetful of his oath, joined Prince Parwíz, and did not return to Sháhjahán, who now fled from Burhánpúr, marching through Talingánah to Orissa and Bengal. Mahábat and M. 'A. followed him up a short distance beyond the Taptí. M. 'A. wrote to Rájah Bhím, a principal courtier of the Daulatsháhí party, to tell Sháhjahán, that he (M. 'A.) would do every thing in his

[1] "Since the time of Tímúr no Prince had received this title." *Maásir*. *Sháh Khurram* received subsequently the title of *Sháhjahán*, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of *Çáhib Qirán i Sání* and *A'lá Hazrat* (اعلی حضرت). The last title had also been used by Sulaimán i Kararání, King of Bengal. Aurangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of *A'lá Kháqán*.

[2] He received the title of *Sháhjahán* and was made a *Síházárí*, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20,000 (*az açl wa izáfah, i. e.* his former contingent *plus* an increase in troops). He was also allowed a *Çandalí* (*vide* p. 306), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Tímúr. Jahángír even came down from the *J'harokah* (the window in the State hall, familiar to all that have seen the halls of the palaces of Ágrah and Fathpúr Síkrí), and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Sháhjahán's head, distributing the whole (as *nusár*) among the Amírs.

power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him. Rájah Bhím replied that the prince had still from five to six thousand followers, and that he would kill M.'A.'s sons, should it come to a fight. Sháhjahán then moved into Bengal and Bihár, of which he made Dáráb Khán, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor. Mahábat Khán had in the mean time returned to Iláhábád to oppose Sháhjahán, and had placed M.'A., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahángír ordered Mahábat Khán to send M. 'A. to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours. He afterwards retired to his jágír at Láhor, when Mahábat Khán followed him and sent him back to Dihlí. Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahángír's person, and the return of the monarch from Kábul, Mahábat Khán had to fly. Núr Jahán now appointed M.'A. to follow up Mahábat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M.'A. took ill at Láhor, and on his arrival in Dihlí, he died at the age of seventy-two, in the end of Jahángír's 21st year (1036). The words *Khán Sipahsálár kú* (where is the Khán Commander) are the *táríkh* of his death.

M. 'A.'s great deeds are the conquests of Gujrát and Sind and the defeat of Suhail Khán of Bíjápúr. During Jahángír's reign, he did nothing remarkable; nor was he treated with the respect which he had enjoyed during the lifetime of Akbar, though he was allowed to retain his rank. For nearly thirty years, he had been serving in the Dak'hin. Every grandee, and even the princes, accused him of secret friendship with the rulers of the Dak'hin, and Abulfazl, on one occasion, gave his *fatwá* that M.'A. was a rebel. Under Jahángír, he was the open friend of Malik 'Ambar; and Muhammad Ma'çúm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik 'Ambar's correspondence in the possession of 'Abdurrahím of Lak'hnau (No. 197), who was much attached to M.'A. Mahábat Khán was appointed to enquire into this; but 'Abdurrahím of Lak'hnau would not betray his friend. People said, M. 'A.'s *motto* was, 'people should hurt their enemies under the mask of friendship,' and all seem to have been inclined to blame him for maliciousness and faithlessness. He used to get daily reports from his newswriters whom he had posted at various stations. He read their reports at night, and tore them up. But he was also proverbial for his liberality and love of letters. The *Maásir i Rahímí*[1] is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shews that he was the Mecænas of Akbar's age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mír 'Alí Sher (*vide* p. 101, note 4.) M.'A. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindí with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of *Rahím*.

Though his father had been a Shí'ah, M.'A. was a Sunní; but people said, he was a Shí'ah, but practised *taqiyyah*.[2]

M. 'A.'s most faithful servant was Miyán Fahím. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Rájpút. He grew up with M.'A.'s sons, and was as pious as he was courageous. He fell with his son Fírúz Khán

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[1] Called *Maásir i Rahímí* in allusion to his name M. 'Abdur-Rahím. *Vide* Elliot's Index (1st edition), p. 377.

[2] Wherever Shí'ahs are in the minority, they practise, if necessary, *taqiyyah* (تقیه, *pr.* fear, caution), *i. e.*, they do as if they were Sunnís. A Shí'ah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it.

and 40 attendants in the fight with Mahábat Khán, who had imprisoned his master. M.'A. built him a tomb in Dihlí, which is now called *Nílah Burj*, near Humáyún's tomb. (*Ásáruççanádíd.*)

M. 'A. outlived his four sons.

1. *Mírzá Írich* (or *Írij*, *Shahnawáz Khán Bahádur* (No. 255). When young he used to be called *Khán Khánán i jawán*. He distinguished himself by his courage. In the 40th year of Akbar he was made a Commander of 400. In the 47th year, after a fight with Malik 'Ambar who got wounded, he received the title of *Bahádur*. During the reign of Jahángír he was called Shahnawáz Khán (*vide* Tuzuk, p. 95), and was made a Commander of Five Thousand. He died in 1028 from excessive drinking. (*Vide* Tuzuk, p. 270).

Two of his sons are mentioned in the *Pádishháhnámah*. 1. Mírzá Khán. He was Faujdár of Kángṛah, and retired 'foolishly' from public life in Rabí' II, 1046. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1055 (*Pádisháhnámah* II, *pp.* 483, 723). 2. Lashkarshikan Khán. He got in 1047, a present of 4000 R., and received an appointment in Bengal.

Historians call Shahnawáz Khán generally *Shahnawáz Khán i Jahángírí*, to distinguish him from Shahnawáz Khán i Çafawí, a grandee of Sháhjahán.

2. *Mírzá Dáráb Dáráb-Khán*. He has been mentioned above (p. 337). When Sháhjahán made him Governor of Bengal, he retained his wife, a son and a daughter, and a son of Shahnawáz Khán as hostages (*yarghamál*). When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Benares) had again to go to the Dak'hin, he wrote to Dáráb Khán to move to Gaḍhí (N. W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Dáráb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zamíndárs of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Parwíz and Mahábat Khán, and as Jahángír had 'no objections', Mahábat executed him (1035), wrapped his head in a table cloth, and sent it to his father M.'A. as a present of a 'melon.' A short time before, 'Abdullah Khán had killed Dáráb's son and a son of Shahnawáz Khán.

3. *Mírzá Rahmán Dád*. His mother belonged to the Sandahas of Amarkoṭ. Though very dissolute, he was most liked by his father. He died, at Bálápúr, about the same time as his eldest brother. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 315. No one dared to inform his father of the event, till people sent at last the famous saint Hazrat 'Ísá of Sindh to M. 'A. on a visit of condolence.

4. *Mírzá Amrullah*. He grew up without education, and died when young.

30. Rájah Mán Singh, son of Bhagwán Dás

He was born at Amber, and is the son of Rájah Bhagwán Dás (No. 27). European Historians say that he was the adopted son of Rájah Bh. D., but Muhammadan Historians do not allude to this circumstance, perhaps because Hindús make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son. He is also known under the title of *Mírzá Rájah*, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of *Farzand* (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihárí Mall (p. 329). In 984, he was appointed against Ráná Kíká, and gained, in 985, the great battle near Gogandah.[1] Rájah Rámsáh of

[1] The best account of this battle is to be found in Badáoní, who was an eye-witness. *Bad.* II. 230 to 237. The whole is left out in Briggs.

Gwáliár was killed with his sons, whilst the Ráná himself in the *melée* was wounded by Mán Singh. Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M. S. did not follow up his victory, and recalled him.

When Bhagwán Dás was appointed governor of the Panjáb, M. S. commanded the districts along the Indus. In the year 993, Prince M. Muhammad Hakím died, and M. S. was sent to Kábul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muhammad Hakím's sons (M. Afrásyáb and M. Kaiqubád); but was soon after sent back to Kábul, where he chastised the Raushánís who, like other Afghán tribes, were given to predatory incursions. After the death of Rájah Bír Baṛ, in the war with the Yúsufzaís, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kábul, in supercession of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34) and Hakím Abul Fath. He was also put in charge of Zábulistán, as Bhagwán Dás had a fit of madness (p. 333). In the 32nd year, M. S. was recalled in consequence of loud complaints of the people against the Rájpúts and M. S.'s indifference to the Kábulís, and was appointed Governor of Bihár, to which province the *tuyúls* of the Kachhwáhas had been transferred.

After the death of Bhagwán Dás in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of *Kuṇwar*, received from Akbar the title of Rájah and a Command of Five Thousand. In Bihár he punished several refractory Zamindárs, as Púrán Mall and Rájah Sing Rám, and received their tribute.

The principal events of Mán Singh's life from 997 to 1015 are given in Stewart's History of Bengal, (pp. 114 to 121).[1] In the 35th year, M. S. invaded Orissa by way of Jhárkanḍ (Chuttiá Nágpúr). The result of this expedition was the cession of Púrí. In the 37th year, when the Afgháns under Khwájah Sulaimán and Khwájah 'Usmán attacked Púrí, M. S. again invaded Orissa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Dihlí empire. In the 39th year, M. S. continued his conquests in Bháṭí (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbarnagar, or Rájmahall, at a place which Sher Sháh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salímnagar, the Fort of Sherpúr Murchah (Mymensing). The whole of Eastern Bengal on the right side of the Brahmaputra was likewise annexed. In the 41st year, M. S. married the sister of Lachmí Naráin, Rájah of Kúch Bihár, who had declared himself a vassal of the Mughul empire. In the same year, M. S. took dangerously ill at G'horág'hát, when the Afgháns attacked him. They were soon after driven back by Himmat Singh, one of M. S.'s sons,[2] into the Sundarban. In the 42nd year, M. S. had to send a detachment under Hijáz Khán into Kúch Bihár for the protection of Lachmí Naráin. In the 44th year, M. S., at Akbar's request, joined the Dak'hin war. Thinking that the Afgháns, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich 'Ísá of G'horág'hát, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salím at Ajmír. Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Mahá Singh, a younger son, or grandson, of M. S. The Afgháns under

[1] The name of 'Sayid' Khán (سید خان) which occurs several times in Stewart, *l. c.*, should be corrected to Sa'íd Khán (سعیدخان), the same grandee whose biography was given above (p. 331). Such as take an interest in the History of Bengal and Orissa should make use of the Akbarnámah, which contains many new facts and details not given in Stewart.

[2] He died in 1005.

'Usmán used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperials near Bhadrak in Orissa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Rahtás, and defeated the Afgháns near Sherpúr 'Aṭáí, a town of the Sirkár of Sharífábád, which extended from Bardwán to Fath Singh, S. of Murshidábád. After this victory, which obliged 'Usmán to retreat to Orissa, M. S. paid a visit to the Emperor who promoted him to a (full) command of Seven Thousand. Hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion. It is noticeable that Akbar in raising M. S. to a command of Seven Thousand, placed a Hindú above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Sháhrukh (*vide* p. 312) and M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) were raised to the same dignity.

M. S. remained in Bengal till 1013, when the sickness of the emperor induced him to resign his appointment, in order to be in the capital. The part which he played at the time of Akbar's death is known from the Histories. Jahángír thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Rájah had made, and sent him to Bengal. But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rahtás (Bihár), after which he joined the emperor. In the 3rd year of Jahángír's reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) in the Dak'hin war.

M. S. died a natural death in the 9th year of J.'s reign whilst in the Dak'hin. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pile. At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive, Bháo Singh, regarding whose succession to the title *vide* Tuzuk i Jahángírí, p. 130.

The ground on which the Táj at A'grah stands, belonged to Mán Singh.

31. Muhammad Quli' Kha'n Barla's, a descendant of the Barmaqs(?).[1]

He served under Humáyún, and held Multán as *jágír*. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he conveyed, together with Shamsuddín Atgah (No. 15) the princesses from Kábul to India. His *tuyúl* was subsequently transferred to Nágor. For a short time he was also Governor of Málwah.

In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar Khán Uzbak (*vide* No. 48) in Audh. After the death of Khán Zamán, Iskandar fled to Bengal, and Audh was given to Muhammad Qulí Khán as *jágír*.

He subsequently served under Mun'im Khán in Bihár and Bengal. In the 19th year, when Dáúd had withdrawn to Sátgáṉw (Húglí), Mun'im Khán despatched M. Q. Kh. to follow up the Afgháns, whilst he remained with Rájah Todar Mall in Ṭánḍah to settle financial matters. When M. Q. Khán arrived at Sátgáṉw, Dáúd withdrew to Orissa, to which country neither M. Q. Khán nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sátgáṉw, M. Q. Khán invaded the district of Jesar (Jessore),

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[1] So in the MSS.; but the name *Barmaq* is very doubtful. Being a 'Barlás,' he belonged to that Chaghtái tribe which traced its descent to برد مجي or ايرد مجي —the MSS. have various forms for this name—, who is the 8th ancestor of Tímúr. If بردمجي be the correct form, the substitution of برمق, a renowned name in Muhammadan History, would not appear altogether impossible. The MSS. of the *Maásir* have *Burantaq* برنتق. In the beginning of the Akbarnámah, Abulfazl says that this 8th ancestor of Tímúr was the first that held the title of *barlás*, which means the same as شجاع *shujá'*, brave. Another Barlás had been mentioned above on p. 206. An Amír Chákú Barlás served with distinction under Tímúr.

where Sarmadí, a friend of Dáúd's, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Sátgánw. Mun'im Khán at last ordered Todar Mall to join M. Q. Khán, and subsequently, both moved into Orissa. Soon after passing the frontier, M. Q. Khán died at Mednípúr (Midnapore), Ramazán, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his enunchs of foul play.

His son, *Mírzá Farídún Barlás* (No. 227). He served under M. 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) in Sind, and accompanied, in 1001, Jání Beg (No. 47) to Court. He was a commander of Five Hundred. Under Jahángír, he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the 8th year, a command of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince Khurram against Ráná Amr Singh. He died during the expedition.

His son Mihr 'Alí Barlás was made by Jahángír a commander of One Thousand.

82. Tarson Kha'n, sister's son of Sháh Muhammad Saiful Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muhammad Khán. Saiful Mulk had been an independent ruler in Gharjistán (a part of Khurásán); but he had to submit to Ṭahmasp (A. H. 940.)

Tarson Khán was in the service of Bairám Khán (No. 10), and joined Akbar, when Bairám fell into disgrace. Akbar sent him together with Hájí Muhammad Sístání (No. 55) to see Bairám, on his way to Makkah, as far as Nágor, then the frontier of the empire. T. Kh. was subsequently promoted, to the post of a Commander of Five Thousand, and was for some time Governor of Bhakkar and then of Patan in Gujrát. In the 21st year, he served in Rájpútáná, *vide* No. 44. In the 23rd year, he was made Faujdár of Jaunpúr, at the same time that Mullá Muhammad Yazdí (*vide* p. 189) was appointed Qázílquzát and Çadr of that Sirkár. When the Jaunpúr Rebellion broke out, T. Kh. with other faithful Amírs moved to Bihár against Bahádur Khán and 'Arab Khán, who were joined by Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí (No. 157). In the 27th year, he served under M. 'Azíz Kokah in Bihár. When the Qáqsháls (No. 50) left Ma'çúm Khán and joined the Imperialists, M. 'Azíz sent T. Kh. to G'horág'hát, where most of the Qáqsháls had jágírs. T. Kh. stayed at Tájpúr (Dinagepore), settling matters, when Ma'çúm Khán came with a large army from Bháṭí (بهاتی),[2] and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Ṭánḍah; he also sent a detachment against T. Kh., who was besieged in the Fort of Tájpúr. The siege was raised by a corps sent by Shahbáz Khán i Kambú (No. 80) from Patna, and T. Kh. was thus enabled to join Shahbáz, and drive away the rebels

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[1] Abulfazl gives this spelling in the Akbarnámah, and says it means *lowland*, (from the Hindústání بهاتی *down the river*), and extends nearly 400 *kos* from East to West, and 300 *kos* from N. S., from Thibet to the Ocean. It would thus include the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant, in the Vth Report, p. 260, note, defines *Bháṭí* as comprising the Sunderban and all the neighbouring low lands, even Hijlí, overflowed by the tide.

'Isá's father, according to Abulfazl, was a Rájpút of the Bais clan, if I read correctly my MSS. He came in contact with Salím Khán and Táj Khán of Bengal, was killed, and his two sons, 'Isá and Ismá'íl were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Quṭbuddín Khán, 'Isá's uncle, to Túrán, and brought back. 'Isá soon became the chief of Bháṭí, and had twelve great zamindárs dependent on him. Hence he is generally called by Abulfazl *Marzbán i Bháṭí*, ruler of Bháṭí. He gave the Imperialists no end of trouble. He must not be confounded with 'Isá, the Vakíl of Qutlú Khán of Oṛísá, who ceded Púri to Mán Singh.

from Upper Bengal. Ma'çúm fled again to Bháṭí, and Shahbáz and T. Kh. planned an expedition against 'Ísá, who had afforded Ma'çúm shelter. They crossed the Ganges at Khizrpúr, which stands on the frontier of Bháṭí, took Sunnárgáṉw, plundered Baktarápúr (?), where 'Ísá used to live, and nearly caught Ma'çúm. At this juncture, 'Ísá returned from an expedition to Kúch Bihár, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhowál (N. of Dacca). The Imperialists had entrenched themselves near the Brahmaputra, and the fighting was continued for a long time both by land and on the river. At one time, T. Kh. with a small detachment came too near a position held by the enemy, and was attacked by Ma'çúm Khán and wounded. Immediately afterwards he was caught, and killed by Ma'çúm (992). For a relation of his, *vide* No. 400.

33. Qiya' Kha'n Gung.

Qiyá is a Turkish word and means *zeb*, ornament. *Gung*, if it is the Persian word, means 'dumb.' He served under Humáyún, and held Kol Jalálí. On the approach of Hemú, he joined Tardí Beg (No. 12) in Dihlí, and retreated with him. After Hemú's defeat, Qiyá was sent to Ágrah, and was raised to the dignity of a commander of Five Thousand. Several parganahs in Gwáliár having been given to him as *tuyúl*, Qiyá Khán, in the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, besieged Gwáliár, which was held by Bhíl Khán, a general of Salím Sháh, during whose reign Gwáliár had been the capital of the empire. Bhíl Khán, thinking it impossible to hold the Fort for a long time, wished[1] to hand it over for a consideration to Rájah Rámsáh, whose ancestors had held Gwáliár, when Qiyá Khán arrived, and after defeating the Rájah, prepared himself to besiege Bhíl Khán. When Akbar, in 966, came to Ágrah, he sent a detachment to assist Qiyá, and Bhíl Khán submitted.

He was a friend of Bairám, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar.

A few years later, Qiyá Khán joined Khán Zamán's rebellion, but repented and was pardoned, at the request of Mun'im Khán.

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q. Kh. was sent to Orissa, to settle matters. He remained in Orissa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Qutlú Khán seized upon Orissa, and besieged Qiyá Khán in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was killed (989).[2]

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[1] So the *Maásir*. The *Sawánih* says that Rájah Rámsáh with a large force of Rájpúts had come to besiege Gwáliár. Firishtah instead of Bhíl Khán (Akbarnámah, Sawánih, Badáoní) has Suhail Khán (?), and Iqbál Khán (?) for *Qiyá Khán*, *vide* Briggs, II, p. 194. The change from بهيل to سهيل is not remarkable; but the alteration of قيا to اقبال is more violent, as we have an additional *alif* and *lám*.

How untrustworthy our printed editions are, may be seen from Kháfí Khán's List of Commanders of Five Thousand under Akbar (*Ed. Bibl. Indica* I, p. 237), where the native editors have given three wrong names among twelve, *viz.*,

P. 237, last line, for *Amín Khán Koká*, read *Zain Khán Kokah* (No. 34).

P. 238, l. 1, for *Shujá' Khán*, read *Shujá'at Khán* (No. 14).

P. 238, l. 2, for *Rasúl Khán*, read *Tarson Khán* (No. 32).

Moreover Kháfí Khán's list is most incomplete, and does not coincide, although he says so, with the number of Panjhazáris given in the *Ṭabaqát*.

[2] Several copies of the Ṭabaqát which I have consulted, say that Qiyá Khán died in 984 (?).

Tardí Khán (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Dányál to the Dak'hin, but fell later in disgrace. In the 49th year, he was restored and promoted to a command of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and got a present of 5 lacs of Rupees.

V. *Commanders of Four Thousand Five Hundred.*

34. Zain Kha'n,[1] son of Khwájah Maqçúd of Harát.

His father, Khwájah Maqçúd 'Alí, was a servant of Akbar's mother. The name of his mother was Píchah Ján Anagah; she was one of Akbar's nurses. On Humáyún's flight to Persia, Maqçúd was always near the howdah of Akbar's mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was Khwájah Hasan (Zain Khán's uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salím. She is the mother of Prince Parwíz.

In 993, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zábulistán. Zain Khán was at that time a commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yúsufzaís. This tribe, says Abulfazl, had formerly been in Qarábágh and Qandahár, and had invaded Kábul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghánát, and subsequently at Ishtaghar. For the last one hundred years, they had held the territory of Waijúr, and were notorious robbers. In Waijúr, there was also a tribe of the name of Sulṭání, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sulṭán Sikandar. The Yúsufzaís deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sulṭánídes, however, remained in Waijúr from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muhammad Hakím, the chiefs of the Yúsufzaís submitted, and one of them, Kálú, went with Akbar to Ágrah and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsuddín Kháfí (No. 159) near Aṭak, and was sent back; and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen.

Zain Khán moved into the District of Waijúr (north of Pasháwar), and punished the Yúsufzaís. Several chiefs asked for pardon. After this he erected a fort in Jakdarah, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rájah Bír Baṛ and Hakím Abul Faith with some troops. Zain Khán asked them to attack the Afgháns, whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies, and they should hold the district. But Bír Baṛ and Hakím Abul Fath, who were no friends of Zain Khán, proposed that they should attack the Yúsufzaís together, and then go back. Z. Kh. said, it would not do to return without better results from a country which had cost so many sacrifices; else, the best thing they could do, was to return the same way they had come. But to this they would not listen, and returned by another road (over کراکر). Z. Kh. paid no attention to their insubordination and joined them, chiefly because he was afraid they would denounce him at Court. As soon as the Afgháns saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewah[2] Balandrí (گریوهٔ بلندری), Z. Kh. who commanded the rear

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[1] As he was Akbar's foster brother, he is generally called in histories, Zain Khán Kokah.

[2] *Girewah* means *a hill.*

chandáwal), was so severely attacked, that he had to face them. Arrows and stones were showered from all sides on the Imperialists, the soldiers got bewildered, and the horses ran into the train of elephants. Many lives were lost. Z. Kh., unable to prevent a rout, rushed among the Afgháns seeking death, when Jánish Bahádur (No. 235) got hold of the reins of his horse, and led him by force out of the *melée*. In the greatest disorder the Imperialists reached the next station, when the mere rumour of an approach of the Afgháns dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afgháns. The enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day they were all cut off. This was the occasion when Bír Baṛ with 500 officers fell (*vide* p. 204).

In the 31st year (994), Z. Kh. operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghorís near Pasháwar, who under their chief Jaláluddín Raushání had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Z. Kh. was made governor of Zábulistán *vice* Mán Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yúsufzaís. After eight months' fighting, they submitted, but Z. Kh. insisted on occupying their territory. He followed the same policy as before, and erected a large Fort on the banks of the river Bajgorah (بجگوره), where their district commences. During the festival of the *'Íd i Qurbání* (Baqr 'Íd, in Zí Hajjah), he surprised the Afgháns, and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers.[1] (*Vide* No. 46.)

In the 35th year, he was sent to punish several rebellious zamíndárs in the Himálayas. Most of them, as Rájah Budí (Badhí) Chand of Nagarkoṭ (*vide* p. 330), Rái Pertáb of Mánkoṭ, Rájah Parisrám of Mount Jamú, Rájah Bású of Mau, Rái Balbhadr of Lak'hinpúr, &c., submitted and accompanied Z. Kh. to Court, though they had an army of 10000 horse and a lac of foot soldiers.

After having been made, in the 36th year, a Commander of Four Thousand, Z. Kh. was allowed an *'alam* and a *naqqárah* (*vide* p. 50), and was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond the Indus up to the Hindúkush, when new opportunities offered for punishing the mountaineers.

In the 41st year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, and governor of Kábul, *vice* Qulij Khán. In the same year, Prince Salím fell in love with Z. Kh.'s daughter, and married her soon after, though Akbar was displeased (*vide* p. 277, l. 4, from below). With the death of Jalál Khán Raushání the disturbances in Zábulistán came to an end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Láhor, from where Akbar, on his return from Burhánpúr, called him to Ágrah.

Z. Kh. died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking. He played on several instruments, and composed poems. As Sa'íd Khán (No. 25) for his eunuchs, and Qulij Khán (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous for his elephants.

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[1] Such forts were called *T'hánahs*, now the common word for a police station.

"*T'hánah* means a corps of cavalry, matchlockmen, and archers, stationed within an enclosure. Their duty is to guard the roads, to hold the places surrounding the T'hánah, and to despatch provisions (*rasad*) to the next *T'hánah*." *Pádisháhnámah*, I. p. 167.

How old the use of the word *T'hánah* is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequently on Tribení and Sátgáṉw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.

A son of his, Shukrullah (No. 373), *vide* below, was a Commander of Two Hundred. The *Maásir* mentions another son, Mughul Khán, who served under Jahángír and Sháhjahán (*vide* Pádisháhn. II, p. 641), and died 19th Ramazán 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Odgír in the Dak'hin, where the author of the Maásir later found an inscription referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, *vide* p. 328.

For Zain Khán's brother, *vide* No. 38.

35. Mi'rza' Yu'suf Kha'n, son of Mír Ahmad i Razawí.

He was a real Sayyid of Mashhad, and was much liked by Akbar. In the 30th year he was a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred. When Shahbáz Khán left Bihár for Bengal, M. Yúsuf Khán was sent from Audh to keep Bihár. In the 32nd year (995), when Qásim Khán (No. 59) resigned, M. Y. was sent to Kashmír as ruler. He was much liked by the people of that country, conciliated Shams Chak, the claimant of the throne, and sent him to Court. In the 34th year (997), Akbar visited Kashmír, and issued several orders regarding the taxation of the country. In the districts of Mararáj and Kamráj, *i. e.*, the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahat river, he fixed the taxes at one-fourth.

In Kashmír every piece of ground is called *pattah*, though a *pattah* originally is equal to 1 Bíg'hah, 1 Biswah (*Iláhí*) of Akbar. Two and a half *pattahs* and a little more are equal to 1 *Kashmírí* Bíg'hah. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmír, and each village is assessed at some *kharwárs* of shálí. A *kharwár* is equal to 3 *mans*, 8 *sers* of Akbar. The principal weight used in Kashmír is the *tark*, which is equal to 8 *sers* of Akbar (*vide* p. 84, note 3). At the time of the *Rabí'* crop, they take 2 *tarks* from each *pattah* of wheat and vetches (*másh*). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs kharwárs, which was 2 lacs more than before, the *kharwár* being reckoned at 16 *dáms*. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kashmír to M. Y. Kh.

In the 36th year, one of M. Y. Kh.'s Mutaçaddís (revenue clerks) fled to court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 *per cent.* (*dah-pánzdah*) higher, and the kharwár should be valued at 28 *dáms*. M. Y. Kh. informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility; but Akbar sent Qází Núrullah and Qází 'Alí to Kashmír, to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Khán's people assumed a threatening attitude, Núrullah returned, and Akbar sent Hasan Beg Shaikh 'Umarí (No. 167) to Kashmír. On his arrival, some of M. Y. Kh's people made a conspiracy, and stirred up the malcontents of the country, who collected under Yádgár, the son of M. Y. Kh's uncle. The disturbances became so serious, that Qází 'Alí and Hasan Beg returned to Hindústán; but the rebels blockaded the roads, and killed Qází 'Alí. Hasan Beg escaped, not without wounds. Yádgár then read the *khuṭbah* in his name, and had dies prepared for striking coins. Several bad omens foreshadowed his speedy ruin. Without having any knowledge of this rebellion, Akbar revisited Kashmír; but when he was informed of the state of the country, he put M. Y. Kh. under the charge of Abulfazl. Yádgár in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srínagar to Hírápúr, where some of M. Y. Kh.'s men spread at night the rumour that Akbar had suddenly arrived. In the confusion which ensued, Yádgár fled outside of the camp, accompanied by a servant of the name of Yúsuf. His camp was plundered, and M. Y. Kh.'s men got hold of Yúsuf, who had returned

to get a horse for his master. They tortured him, till he confessed where Yádgár was. Soon after, they caught him and cut off his head.

As M. Y. Kh. refused to remain in charge of Kashmír under the increased revenue, the country was made *kháliçah*, and Shamsuddín Kháfí (No. 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops. Some time after, at Prince Salím's request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dárogah of the Topkhánah, and received Jaunpúr as *tuyúl*, *vice* Qulij Khán (1002); but in the 41st year his *jágír* was transferred to Gujrát, to enable him to serve in the Dak'hin. In the following year, when Çádiq of Harát (No. 43) died, M. Y. Kh. was appointed *atáliq* to Prince Murád, whom he joined in Bálápúr (Barár). After the death of Prince Murád (p. 309), M. Y. Kh. distinguished himself together with Abulfazl in the Dak'hin wars, and later, under Prince Dányál, in the conquest of Ahmadábád, on which occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Burhánpúr, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh. went again to Prince Dányál, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abulfazl and the Khán-Khánán at Bálág'hát. But soon after, he died of abscess at Jalnápúr[1], in Jumáda II, of the same year. His body was taken to Mashhad.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sultánpúr, which he looked upon as his Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohílahs, whose wages he paid monthly.

His sons. 1. *Mírzá Lashkarí Çafshikan Khán* (No. 375). He was under Akbar T'hánahdár of Bír (East of Ahmadnagar), and got from Jahángír the title of Çafdar Khán, and a *tuyúl* in Bihár. In the 5th year (of Jahángír), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1500, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Çúbahdár of Kashmír. In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when Mahábat Khán had fled, he was sent towards Dihlí, to intercept Mahábat's treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal. This he did. In the beginning of Sháh Jahán's reign, he was made a Commander of 2500, and 2000 horse, received the title of Çafshikan Khán, and was again sent to Bír, where he remained for a long time. He withdrew at last from public life, got a pension of Rs. 12,000 *per annum*, and lived at Láhor. He died in 1055.

He was frank to a fault. Once he invited the Mançabdárs of Kábul, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahángír a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. *Mírzá 'Ivaz* (عوض). He was a good Prose writer, and wrote a History of the World, entitled *Chaman*.

3. *Mírzá Aflátún.* 'He lived with his brother.' He was subsequently made Mutawallí of Sikandrah (Akbar's tomb), where he died.

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[1] My copy of the Tabaqát, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the following entry—'*At the time he was appointed to operate against Rájú, he died at Jannatábád in the Dak'hin, which is generally called Jalnápúr.*' It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS. of the Tabaqát, which was finished in 1001 A. H., or nine years before M. Y. Khán's death.

A relation of M. Y. Kh., Mír 'Abdullah, was under Sháhjahán a Commander of 1500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharúr, E. of Bír, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Sháhjahán.

VI. Commanders of Four Thousand.

36. Mahdi' Qa'sim Kha'n.

The *Ṭabaqát* mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served first under M. 'Askarí, Bábar's third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghazanfar Kokah[1] (غضنفر). Humáyún, after the conquest of Gujrát, had appointed 'Askarí to Ahmadábád. One night, when half drunk, M. 'Askarí said, "I am king and the shadow of God;" when Ghazanfar gently replied, "Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses," at which all who were present laughed. 'Askarí got enraged, and imprisoned Ghazanfar; but he escaped, went to Sulṭán Bahádur, king of Gujrát, who had retreated to Fort Diu, and betrayed the plans of 'Askarí. Bahádur thereupon collected an army, marched to Ahmadábád, and drove the Prince away (*vide* No. 12).

Mahdí Qásim Khán joined Humáyún on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, Abdul Majíd Áçaf Khán (No. 49) had been ordered to pursue Khán Zamán (No. 13; but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Gaṛha (Jabalpúr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Gaṛha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpúr to Ágrah, and was ordered to capture 'Abdul Majíd. When M. Q. Kh. arrived at Gaṛha, 'Abdul Majíd fled to Khán Zamán; but the wretched state of the country displeased M. Q. Kh. so much, that without asking Akbar's permission, he left Gaṛha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahár, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Rantanbhúr, which Akbar besieged, and asked to be forgiven, sending at the same time a fine batch of Persian horses as a present. Akbar pardoned him, restored him to his old rank, and gave him Lak'hnau as *tuyúl*.

'Nothing else is known of him' (*Maásir*). He had been dead for some time in 1001, when the *Ṭabaqát* was completed. Husain Khán Tukriya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Láhor, which was called *Bágh i Mahdí Qásim Khán*, *vide* Badáoní II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahángír's Death).

37. Muzaffar Kha'n i Turbati'.

Turbat is the name of a tribe (*ulús*) in Khurásán. His full name is Khwájah Muzaffar 'Alí Khán i Turbatí. He was Bairám's Díwán. Bairám delegated him from Dípálpúr to Sher Muhammad Díwánah (p. 317), who sent him in chains to Akbar. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muzaffar, he pardoned him, and made him *'Ámil* (Collector) of the Parganah of Parsaror. Subsequently Akbar made him *Díván i Buyútát* (Collector of the Imperial Stores, &c.), and at last Díván of the Empire, with the title of Muzaffar Khán (971). Rájah Todarmall was then

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[1] *Ghazanfar* means *a lion*. *Badáoní* (II. p. 125, l. 8) calls him *Ghazanfar Beg*. The Ed. Bibl. Indica Edition has, by mistake, *Ghanazfar*.

under him. According to Badáoní, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Rájah was a better financier than Muzaffar, whose accession to office was honored by the short *táríkh* ظالم, *zálim* (= 971), or 'Tyrant.'

In the 11th year, he abolished the *Jam' i Raqmí*. This is the name of the assessment of the Dihlí empire, which had existed since the time of Bairám; but the rent roll shewed an assessment very different from the actual state of things; 'for, on account of the number of men (*kasrat i mardum*, *i. e.* Jágír holders) and the unsettled state (*qalb i wiláyat*) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (*banám afzúdah*) for the sake of mere shew (*barái mazíd i i'tibár*)'. This Jam' i Raqmí was now abolished (*vide* Third Book, *A'ín i Dahsálah*), and Muzaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of Qánúngos. The new rent roll was called *Jam' i Háçil i Hál*, or the Roll of the present actual income (*vide* p. 352). As the *Dágh* law (pp. 255, 256, and p. 242) did not then exist, Muzaffar Khán fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the *Amírs* and the *Muldzims* (friends of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes.[1]

In the 12th year, it was reported that Muzaffar loved a boy of the name of Quṭb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muzaffar assumed the garb of a Faqír, and went into the forest. Akbar was thus obliged to recall him, and restored the beloved.

In the 17th year, a mania for *Chaupar* (p. 303) had seized Akbar's Court. Muzaffar lost not only his goldmuhurs, but also his temper, and annoyed the Emperor so much, that he was told to go to Makkah. But he was re-called, and joined the Court at Súrat, which Akbar then besieged. In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in Sárangpúr in Málwah, he was appointed *Vakíl* of the Empire, with the title of *Jumlatul Mulk*. But he did several things which Akbar did not approve of, and when the Emperor returned from Patna, from where he had despatched a corps to take Rahtás in South Bihár, he ordered Muzaffar to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects (*vide* Briggs II, 249). Like his companion, Khwájah Shamsuddín Kháfí (No. 159), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took Hájípúr, of which the Afgháns had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in the 20th year, Governor of Bihár, from Chausá to Gaṛhí. Soon after the taking of Hájípúr, M. was nearly caught by a party of Afgháns, who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the G'handak.

In the 22nd year, M. returned to Court, where Sháh Mançúr (No. 122) and Rájah Todar Mall continued, under his superintendence, their financial reforms.

On the death of Khán Jahán (No. 24) in 986, he was made Governor of Bengal.

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[1] The Maásir says, he allowed the *first* class 48,000 *dáms*, the second 32000 *d.*, and the third 24000 *d. per annum.* These numbers appear to be very large, when compared with p. 231. But what was the value of a *dám* in those days? In the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the following pay regulation was introduced—

Mughul, Afghán, or Hindí Sihaspahs, 1000 *d. per mensem.*
Duaspahs, 800 *d.*
Yakaspahs, 600 *d.*
1st Class Rájpúts, 800 *d.*
2nd ditto ditto, 600 *d.*

(Akbarnámah). But at that time 40 *dáms* were equal to 1 Akbarsháhí Rupee, which differed very little from our rupee.

In the 25th year (988), Sháh Mançúr subjected the Amírs of Bihár and Bengal to strict enquiries, and called on them to refund sums which they had spent without permission. When he insisted on his demands, Ma'çúm i Kábulí and several other grandees that held jágírs in Bihár, rebelled. Muzaffar imitated Sháh Mançúr's policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstandings, Bábá Khán Qáqshál and other Jágírdárs of Bengal rebelled likewise. M. defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace. At last the Bihár rebels joined those of Bengal, and mustered a sufficient force to take the field against Muzaffar. Notwithstanding this, the rebels would have gladly come to terms and gone to Oṛísá, had not Muzaffar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Ṭánḍah, which, according to Badáoní, consisted of nothing but four old walls. The rebels thus emboldened demanded full pardon, permission to go to Makkah, and restoration of one-third of their property. At this juncture, Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17) escaped from Muzaffar's custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M.'s miserable condition. They moved therefore against Ṭánḍah, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabí' I, 988[1]).

The Jámi' Masjid in A'grah was built by Muzaffar. I am told the Masjid is now in ruins which still go by the name of *Nawáb Muzaffar Khán kí Masjid* or *Kálí Masjid*. The *Maásir* says, it stood in the *Kaṭrah Miyán Raqíq*, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Masjid now called the Jámi' Masjid of A'grah was built, in 1058, by Jahán A'rá Begum, Sháhjahán's daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the *Mir-át ul 'A'lam*, his youngest daughter was married to Sháh Fathullah of Shíráz.

38. Saif Kha'n Kokah, elder brother of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34).

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Saif Khán, her husband threatened to divorce her, should it again turn out to be a daughter. She complained of this to Akbar's mother, and Akbar, though then a child, told her husband that he would incur his displeasure if he should do so; 'besides,' said he, 'it shall be this time a fine boy.' The mother looked upon Prince Akbar's words as a prophecy from heaven, and in course of time Saif Khán was born.

Akbar was very fond of Saif Khán, and made him, though quite young, a Commander of Four Thousand. He distinguished himself by his bravery, especially in the 17th year, at the taking of Súrat, where he was wounded by a bullet. In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from A'grah to Ahmadábád (p. 325), and was killed bravely fighting with Muhammad Husain Mírzá.

How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Saif Khán was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to A'grah, every debt due by him.

His two sons, Sher Afkan (355), and Amánullah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

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[1] According to Badáoní (II, p. 282), Muzaffar capitulated, left the Fort, and was then captured and slain.

39. Ra'jah Todar Mall, a Khetrí.

He was born at Láhor. The *Maásirul Umará* does not record his services before the 18th year of Akbar's reign; but T. M. appears to have entered Akbar's service at a very early period. In 971, he was employed under Muzaffar (*Bad.* II, 65), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khán Zamán (*vide* No. 61). He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrát he was left there to assess that province. In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an *'alam* and a *naqqárah* (p. 55), and was ordered to accompany Mun'im Khán to Bengal. He was the soul of the expedition. In the battle with Dáúd Khán i Kararání, when Khán 'Alam (*vide* No. 58) had been killed, and Mun'im Khán's horse had run away, the Rájah held his ground bravely, and 'not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory.' "What harm," said Todar Mall, "if Khán 'Alam is dead; what fear, if the Khán Khánán has run away, the empire is ours!" After settling severally financial matters in Bengal and Oṛísá, Todar Mall went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khán Jahán (No. 24) went to Bengal, Todar Mall was ordered to accompany him. He distinguished himself, as before, in the defeat and capture of Dáúd. In the 21st year, he took the spoils of Bengal to Court, among them 3 to 400 elephants. In the following year, he was again sent to Gujrát, *vice* Vazír Khán (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Ahmadábád matters with Vazír Khán, Muzaffar Husain, at the instigation of Mihr 'Alí Gulábí, rebelled. Vazír Khán proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Todar Mall was ready to fight, and defeated Muzaffar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah, which lies 12 *kos* from Ahmadábád. Vazír Khán would have been lost in this battle, if Todar Mall had not come to his assistance. Muzaffar, after his defeat, fled to Júnágaṛh.

In the same year Todar Mall was appointed *Vazír*. When Akbar left Ajmír for the Panjáb, the house idols of the Rájah were lost, as mentioned on p. 32, note.

When the news of Muzaffar's death (No. 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihár by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Todar Mall, Çádiq Khán, Tarson Khán, &c., from Fathpúr Síkrí to Bihár. Muhibb 'Alí (No. 107), Governor of Rahtás, and Muhammad Ma'çúm Khán i Farankhúdí (No. 157) were appointed *Kumakís*, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Rájah with 3000 well equipped horse, evidently bent on rebellion. Todar Mall managed to keep him quiet; but he reported the matter to Court. The Bengal rebels, under Ma'çúm i Kábulí, the Qáqshāls, and Mírzá Sharafuddín Husain, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungír, and Todar Mall, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself up in the Fort of Mungír, instead of risking a general engagement. During the siege, two of his officers, Humáyún Farmilí and Tarkhán Díwánah, joined the rebels. Though suffering from want of provisions, Todar Mall held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances from Court. After the siege had lasted for some time, Bábá Khán Qáqshál died, and Jabárí, son of Majnún Khán Qáqshál desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; Ma'çúm i Kábulí went to South Bihár, and 'Arab Bahádur wished to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial treasury, which Paháṛ Khán (perhaps No. 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town. After sending Ma'çúm i Farankhúdí to Patna, to assist Paháṛ Khán, Todar Mall and Çádiq Khán followed Ma'çúm i Kábulí to

Bihár. Ma'çúm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Çádíq Khán in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with 'Ísá Khán, Zamíndár of Oṛísá. Todar Mall was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihár, as far as Gaṛhí, was re-annexed to the Dihlí empire.

In the 27th year (990), Todar Mall was made Díván, or rather *Vakíl*. During this year he introduced his financial reforms which have made him so famous. The third book of the Áín contains his new rent-roll, or *Açl i Jam' i Ṭúmár*, which superseded Muzaffar's assessment (*p.* 349). His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above, and others may be found in the Akbarnámah.

The most important reform introduced by Todar Mall is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts. Formerly they had been kept in Hindí by Hindú *Muharrirs*. Todar Mall ordered that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers,—a circumstance which may well be compared to the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian therefore became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Todar Mall's order, and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindús to compete for the highest honors—we saw on p. 341 that Mán Singh was the first Commander of Seven Thousand,—explain two facts, *first*, that before the end of the 18th century the Hindús had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans; *secondly*, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the *Urdú*, which without the Hindús as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Todar Mall's order or to Akbar's policy, which once initiated, his successors, willing or not, had to follow, one fact should be borne in mind that before the times of Akbar, the Hindús, as a rule, did not study Persian, and stood therefore politically below their Muhammadan rulers.

In the 29th year, Akbar honored him by paying him a visit. In the 32nd year, a Khetrí, from private hatred, wounded T. M. on a march at night time. The man was at once cut down.

When Bír Baṛ (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yúsufzaís, T. M. was ordered to accompany Mán Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmír, T. M. was left in charge of Láhor. Soon after, he applied for leave to go to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished to die. Akbar let him go; but he recalled him from Hardwár, and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. T. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 (*vide* No. 27, p. 333).

Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Todar Mall's fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees: together with Abulfazl and Mán Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dhárú (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khán Khánán (p. 335). People say that he used to shoe his horses with golden shoes.

The name *Todar Mall* is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindí *Ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ṛ*, which

explains the spelling 'Torel Mall,' which we find in old Histories. Under Sháhjahán also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name 'Todar Mall.'

The *Tafríhul 'Imárat*[1] says, Todar Mall's father died when T. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. T. M., at an early age, shewed much clearness and common sense, and received an appointment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest honors.

40. Muhammad Qa'sim Kha'n, of Níshápúr.

The *Maásir* calls him Qásim Muhammad Khán, and has put his name under the letter *Q;* but Abulfazl, Badáoní, and the *Ṭabaqát* give his name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Níshápúr, and fled after the invasion of the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bairám Khán. He distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Súr, and served as *Haráwal*, or leader of the van, under Khán Zamán (No. 13) in the battle with Hemú. Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign, he was sent against Hájí Khán, who had defeated Ráná Udai Sing of Maiwár, and taken possession of Nágor and Ajmír. Hájí Khán was an old servant of Sher Khán, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery. On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Hájí Khán's army dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrát. M. Q. Kh. thus took possession of Nágor and Ajmír, which for a long time remained the South Western frontier of Akbar's empire.

In the 5th year, he left Bairám's party, and joined the Chaghtái nobles. He commanded the left wing of Shamsuddín Atgah's corps in the fight in which Bairám was defeated (p. 317). After the victory, he received Multán as jágír.

He was next sent to Sárangpúr in Málwah, where, in the 9th year, he was visited by Akbar on his sudden hunting expedition to that province, the object of which was to get hold of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the *Ṭabaqát*, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sárangpúr.

41. Vazi'r Kha'n, brother of 'Abdul Majíd i A'çaf Khán (I), of Harát (No. 49).

When Vazír Khán escaped with his brother (*vide* below No. 49) from Bahádur Khán (No. 21), he fled to Kaṛah, and obtained subsequently, through the mediation of Muzaffar Khán (No. 37), free pardon for himself and A'çaf Khán.

In the 21st year, when 'Azíz Kokah (p. 326) had incurred Akbar's displeasure, V. Kh. was sent to Gujrát, to govern in 'Azíz's name, and when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor (*sipahsálár*) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent Todar Mall (No. 39) to Gujrát, to take the administration out of V. Kh.'s hands. It happened that about the same time, Mihr 'Alí Gulábí, a friend of M. Ibráhím Husain, rebelled and set up as king Muzaffar Husain, Ibráhím's young son, whom he had brought from the Dak'hin. As

[1] This is the title of a Persian MS. preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was composed by Síl Chand, of the Government College of A'grah, and treats of the antiquities of that town. The book gives many valuable and interesting particulars. In the preface an English gentleman is praised, whose Christian names are James Stephen, but the surname is not legible. The name clearly ends in *gton*, and may be Babington, or some similar name. The style is bombastic, and there is no proper arrangement.

mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Todar Mall's bravery. When the Rájah left, Mihr 'Alí appeared again, and V. Kh., most of whose soldiers had joined the rebel, shut himself up in the fort of Ahmadábád. In one of the assaults, Mihr 'Alí was killed by a bullet, and Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, from timidity, raised the siege. Notwithstanding this success, matters in Gujrát did not improve, and oppressions became so numerous, that Akbar deposed V. Kh. and called him to Court.

In the 25th year, Akbar appointed him *vazír* in the place of Sháh Mançúr of Shíráz (No. 122), and soon after governor of Audh.

In the 27th year, when M. 'Azíz (No. 21) had been sent to Bihár, V. Kh. was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Ma'çúm Khán sickness obliged 'Azíz to return to Bihár, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Çúbahdár should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlú Khán, ruler of Oṛísá, whom he defeated (*vide* p. 356). Qutlú, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Oṛísá. V. Kh. returned to Ṭánḍah, and applied himself, with the assistance of Çádiq Khán (No. 43) and Shahbáz Khán i Kambú (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each çúbah should, in future, be ruled by two Amírs, and Vazír Khán was appointed Çúbahdár of Bengal, with Muhibb 'Alí Khán (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 995, V. Kh. died.

Shahbáz Khán, who was Bakhshí of Bengal, allowed Mírzá Muhammad Çálih, V. Kh.'s son, to take command of his father's contingent. But M. M. Çálih shewed much inclination to rebel, and Akbar sent Mír Murád (282, or 380) to bring him and his contingent to Court. On the route, at Fathpúr Hanswah, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mír Murád imprisoned him with the assistance of the jágírdárs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar. He was kept imprisoned for some time.

42. Qulij Kha'n.

He is called *Andajání*, from Andaján, a province of *Farghánah*, south of the Saihún. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Tímúrides. His grandfather was a noble at Sulṭán Husain Mírzá Báiqrá's court.

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p. 34, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Súrat, the 'iron fort,' which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abulfazl says that the Fort had been built in 947 (1540-41, A. D.) by Çafar Ághá, *alias* Khudáwand Khán, a Turkish slave of Sulṭán Mahmúd of Gujrát. The *táríkh* of its construction is characteristic (metre *long Ramal*),

سد بود بر سینه و جان فرنگي این بناي

'May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Firingí.'[1]

Qulij Khán died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramazán 1022 (end of 1613, A. D.)[2] at Pasháwar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse.

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[1] The numbers added give 947. The last *yá*, though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.

[2] So according to the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (*ed*, Sayyid Ahmad, p. 123, l. l.). Misled by bad MSS., I mentioned on p. 34, note, the year 1035 as the year of his death. The *Mir-átul 'Álam* and the *Maásir* give as *táríkh* of his death the Arabic words, *Almautu jasrun*

The *Maásir* and Badáoní (III, p. 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of جاني قرباني *Jání Qurbání* (?); but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as *Qurbání*, *Farbání*, *Faryání*, &c.

The *Maásir* copies from the *Zakhírat ulkhawánín* the following story which is said to have taken place in 1000 A. H., when Jaunpúr was Q.'s jágír. 'Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupolalike-structure. Q. and several other respectable men were called, and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out. It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one *man*. When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Rám Chandr's *avatár* (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his Sítá; whether Krishná's *avatár* had taken place at Mathurá; and, lastly, whether Muhammad had appeared in Arabia. On receiving affirmative answers to these questions, the old man further wished to know, whether the Ganges still flowed. This also being affirmed, he expressed a wish to be taken out. Q. then put up seven tents, joined to each other, in each of which the sage remained for a day. On the 8th day he came out, and said prayers according to the way of Muhammadans. In sleep and eating he differed from other men; he spoke to no one, and died after six months.'

Qulij Khán's sons. 1. Mírzá Saifullah (No. 292). 2. Mírzá Chín Qulij (No. 293), regarding whom *vide* below.

43. Ça'diq Kha'n, son of Báqir of Harát.

Other Historians call him Çádiq Muhammad Khán.[1] His father, Muhammad Báqir, had been *vazír* to Qará Khán Turkmán, ruler of Khurásán. Qará had rebelled against Sháh Ṭahmásp, and fled to India. Çádiq entered Bairám's service as *Rikábdár* (spur-holder), and got soon after a *mançab*, and was made, after Bairám's death, an Amír. *Badáoní* (II, 220) alludes to his services under Humáyún in Qandahár, and the *Ṭabaqát* says that he had been since his youth in Akbar's service.

After the conquest of Patna, Akbar returned by boat to Jaunpúr. On the road, in crossing the river at Chausá, a valuable elephant perished through Ç.'s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his jágír, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhat'h (Bhat'h G'horá, or Bandah-Rewah), to get another elephant. After passing over 'the heights and the low places' of fortune, Çádiq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with

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yúçilu alhábiba ilá alhabíbi; 'Death is the bridge which joins the beloved to the Beloved;' but the letters added give 1023, not 1022, as in the *Tuzuk*.

For *Husain* in the last line of the note on p. 34, which is given in inferior MSS., better copies have *Chín Qulij*, which is to be substituted for it.

His *tahhalluç* 'Ulfatí' has been mentioned above. The *Ṭabaqát* says that another poet of the same *takhalluç* was in the service of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34), and Badáoní (III, 188, 189) mentions two other poets of the same *takhalluç*.

Qulij, properly *qülüj*, means in Turkish *a sword*, and 'Qulij Khán' is the same as *Shamsher Khán*. The word is variously spelled in MSS., sometimes with long vowels, and a final *ch*.

[1] Akbar disliked the names *Muhammad* and *Ahmad;* hence we find that Abulfazl leaves them out in this list. Similar omissions occurred above, as Mun'im Khán (No. 11), Mírzá 'Azíz (No. 21), for Muhammad Mun'im and M. Muhammad 'Azíz; or, Shiháb Khán (No. 26), for Shihábuddín Ahmad Khán. More examples will be found below.

100 elephants, and was restored to favor. He was made governor of *Gaṛha*, *vice* Rái Sarjan (No. 96). In the 22nd year (985), Ç., with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Rájah Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, Ç. saw that kindness would not do; he therefore took the fort of Karhará (کرهرا), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthárá, close to which Undchhah lay, Madhukar's residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Rám Sáh. Another son of his, Hoṛal Deo (*Maásir*, Hoṛal Ráo), and about 200 Rájpúts were killed. Ç. remained encamped in the Rájah's territory. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Rám Chand, a relation of his, to Akbar at Bahírah, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Ramazán, 986, Çádiq with the penitent Rájah arrived at Court.

Soon after, Ç.'s *aqṭá'* were transferred to the Eastern Districts of the empire, so that he might take part in the suppression of the revolt in Bengal. In the 27th year, during the temporary absence of 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21), Çádiq and Muhibb 'Alí Khán (No. 107) defeated Khabíṭah,[1] one of Ma'çúm's officers, on the Ghandak near Hájípúr, and sent his head to Akbar. In the beginning of the 28th year, he paid his respects at Court, but was immediately ordered to rejoin Mírzá Kokah, who had again left for Bihár.

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vazír Khán (No. 41), who at a place six *kos* from Bardwán was treating with Qutlú.[2] Through Ç.'s skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qutlú in the possession of Oṛísá. Ç. then returned to his *tuyúl* at Patna.

When Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) returned from his expedition to Bháṭí, the *tuyúl-dárs* of Bengal and Bihár were ordered to move to him. Ç., however, was no friend of Shahbáz. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Ç.'s elephant ran against Shahbáz, who believed the accident premeditated; and Akbar sent Khwájah Sulaimán (No. 327) to Bengal to settle their differences. One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihár; but Ç., in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shahbáz went from Bihár to Bengal, Ç. went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multán.

When the Raushánís in the District of Mount Teráh (تیراه), "which lies west of Pasháwar, and is 32 *kos* long, and 12 *kos* broad," commenced disturbances, Ç., in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness. After the return of Zain Khán (No. 34) from Waijúr, Ç. was sent there, to subjugate the Yúsafzaís.

In the 36th year, Prince Murád was sent from Málwah to Gujrát, and as Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46) had not given satisfaction as *Vakíl*, Ç. was appointed *atálíq* to

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[1] Khabíṭah (خبیطه) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Ma'çúm i Kábulí from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In *Badáoní* (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 310,) he is called Khabísah Bahádur (خبیثه) and *Khastah* (خسته) in my MS. of the *Ṭabaqát*, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year.

[2] The spelling *Qutlú* if perhaps preferable to *Qatlú*, if this name is a shortened form of Qutlugh.

the Prince,[1] whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dak'hin. Shahbáz Khán being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again. After the siege of Ahmadnagar had been raised, Ç. distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Barár.

In the beginning of the 41st year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand. In the same year he defeated Saráwar Khán, and made much booty. He was then made governor of Sháhpúr, which town Prince Murád had founded six *kos* from Bálápúr.

Çádiq died at Sháhpúr in the beginning of 1005. At Dholpúr, which 'lies 20 *kos* from Ágrah, near the left bank on the Chambal river,' Ç. had erected splendid buildings and a Mausoleum. He had also done much for the cultivation of the surrounding country.

He was one of the best officers Akbar had.

His sons. 1. Záhid Khán (No. 286), a Commander of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year, he was made a *Khán*, and, on the accession of Jahángír, a Commander of Two Thousand.

2. Dost Muhammad (No. 287). 3. Yár Muhammad (No. 288). 'Neither of them was alive at the time of Sháhjahán.' *Maásir.*

44. Ra'i Ra'isingh, son of Rái Kalyán Mall (No. 93).

Rái Singh belonged to the Ráthors of Bíkánír, and is the fourth descendant from Rái Máldeo. His father, Kalyán Mall, was a friend of Bairám (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmír, when he together with his son entered the emperor's service. He also sent his brother's daughter to Akbar's Harem. Kalyán Mall was in the 40th year a Commander of Two Thousand.

Rái Singh, in the 17th year, when Akbar made preparations to crush the rebellion in Gujrát, occupied Jodhpúr, the old seat of Mál Deo, in order to prevent the rebels from invading the Dihlí territory; but Ibráhím, after his defeat at Sarnál, invaded Akbar's territory, and besieged Nágor, which at that time was the *tuyúl* of Khán i Kalán (No. 16), and was defended by his son, Farrukh Khán (p. 322). R. came to his relief, and the Mírzá had not only to raise the siege, but was pursued, and defeated by R. In the following year also, R. distinguished himself in the engagement with Muhammad Husain Mírzá (p. 325).

In the 19th year, R. and Sháh Qulí Mahram (No. 45) were ordered to punish Chandr Sen, son of Rájah Mál Deo; but as they were unable to take Siwánah, Chandr Sen's stronghold, notwithstanding the auxiliaries which Akbar had sent them at R.'s request, R., in the 21st year, was called to Court, and Shahbáz Khán (No. 81) took the command. Before the end of the same year, however, R. and Tarson Muhammad Khán (No. 32) were sent against the refractory zamíndárs of Jálor and Sarohí; but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Háshim of Bárhah (No. 143) garrisoned Nádot to watch the Ráná of Udaipúr, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Saltán Deodah, the zamíndár of Sarohí, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sarohí and besieged

[1] From several passages in the *Akbarnámah* it is clear that *atálíq* (*pr.* a tutor) means the same as *Vakíl* or *Vazír*. The imperial princes kept up Courts of their own, and appointed their *Vazírs*, their *Díváns*, *Bakhshís*, &c. The appointment of the *Vakíl*, however, appears to have rested with the emperor.

it. During the siege, R. called his family to his camp; but Saltán Deodah fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abúgaṛh.[1] R. in the meantime took Sarohí, and hastened to Abúgaṛh, which Saltán surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltán to Court.

In the 26th year, when Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjáb, R. together with several other grandees was sent in advance. They were soon followed by Prince Murád. When the imperial army, in the end of the same year, returned to Ágrah, R. and several others were sent as *tuyúldárs* to the Panjáb. In the 28th year, he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year, R. and Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (*vide* No. 46) led successfully an expedition against the Balúchís. In the following year (19th Rajab, 994), R.'s daughter was married to Prince Salím. In the 35th year, he went for some time to Bíkánír, and served, in the end of the 36th year, in Sindh under M. 'Abdurrahím (No. 29).

In the 38th year, Akbar paid R. a visit of condolence. The son of Rájah Rámchand Baghelah of Bándhú died suddenly on his way to Bándhú, to which he had only lately, after the death of his father, been appointed. The young Rájah had married a daughter of R. Akbar interceded for their young children, and prevented R.'s daughter from burning herself. Soon after, R. stayed away from Court for some reason, during which time one of his servants complained of him to Akbar. The emperor called the man to court; but R. concealed him, and gave out, he had run away. Akbar was annoyed and excluded R. for some time from the darbárs; but after some time he restored him and sent him as governor to Súrat, with the order to assist in the Dak'hin wars. R., however, delayed in Bíkánír, and when he had at last left, delayed on the road to Súrat. Akbar advised him to be obedient; but seeing that he would not go, called him to Court, but without allowing him to attend the darbárs. After some time he was pardoned.

In the 45th year, R. was ordered to accompany Abulfazl to Násik; but as his son Dalpat[2] (No. 252) had caused disturbances in Bíkánír (*vide p.* 359), R. got leave to go home. In the following year, he went again to court. In the 48th year, he served under Prince Salím against the Ráná of Udaipúr.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jahángír, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor

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[1] 'Abúgaṛh is a fort near Sarohí, and not far from the frontier between Gujrát and Ajmír'. Abulfazl says in the Akbarnámah (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abúgaṛh was *Arbudá Achal*, *Arbudá* being the name of a spirit who, disguised as a female, shews wanderers the way, and *achal* meaning *mountain*. The fort on the top of this high mountain was difficult of access; it could moreover hold out for a long time, as there were several springs and fields within it. My copies of the *Sawánih* and the *Akbarnámah* have *Sulṭán Deorah* (سلطان ديوره, for Saltán Deodah (سلتان ديوده) of the *Maásir*.

[2] For *Dalpat*, the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (pp. 36, 106, and 126) has wrong *Dalíp*. The *Tuzuk* and the *second* volume of the *Pádisháhnámah* Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 635) have *Súraj* Singh, for Súr Singh, and the latter calls him a بهتوريه (?) instead of رهتوريه, perhaps a blunder of the native Editors. But the *Maásir* and the *first* volume of the Pádisháhnamah have *Súr* Singh (pp. 297, 302, at the end of the first *decade*.)

set out for the Panjáb to pursue Khusrau, R. was put in charge of the travelling harem; but on the road he left without order and went to Bíkánír. In the second year, when Jahángír returned from Kábul, R., at the advice of Sharíf Khán, presented himself before the emperor with a *fautah* round his neck, to shew his willingness to suffer punishment for his crimes, and was again pardoned. He died in 1021.

His sons. 1. *Dalpat* (No. 252). He was a Commander of Five Hundred. In the 36th year, he served in the Sind war, but was looked upon as a coward. In the 45th year, when Akbar was in the Dak'hin, Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, in consequence of his differences with Khwájagí Fathullah, had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bíkánír and created disturbances. In the 46th year, his father brought him to his senses. D. asked to be pardoned, and was ordered again to come to Court.

In the third year of Jahángír's reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khán Jahán Lodí he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dak'hin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of *Rái*, although his younger brother (by another mother), Súr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Rái Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Súr Singh, however, disgusted Jahángír by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam i Çafawí (No. 8), the governor of Sind. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahángír that Súr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Hiçár. Háshim, the Faujdár of that Sirkár, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat's son, Mahes Dás, and grandson, Ratan, *vide* Pádisháhnámah, *pp.* 635, 723; 684, 729.

2. *Súr Singh.* After the death of his brother he rose to favor. In Histories he is generally called *Ráo* Súr Singh, a title which he received from Sháhjahán. He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Satr Sál, the former of whom inherited the title of *Ráo* (*vide* Pádisháhnámah II, p. 727).

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.

45. Sháh Qulí Mahram i Bahárlü.

He was in Bairám's service and distinguished himself in the war with Hemú. It was Sháh Qulí that attacked Hemú's elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was. The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemú, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battle-field, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar.[1] Soon after, before the end of the first

[1] 'Before the end of the first year, Pír Muhammad was despatched against Hájí Khán in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Sirkár of Alwar as far as Deolí Sájárí [or *Sáchárí*], the birth-place of Hemú, and performed many brave deeds. They also caught Hemú's father alive, and brought him to Pír Muhammad, who asked him to embrace Islám. As he would not, he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils, Pír M. returned to Akbar.' *Sawánih from the Akbarnámah.*

year, Sh. Q. served with Muhammad Qásim Khán (No. 40) against Hájí Khán in Nágor and Ajmír.

In the third year, it was brought to Akbar's notice, that Sh. Q. was passionately attached to a dancing boy of the name of Qabúl Khán; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed,[1] Sh. Q. dressed as a Jogí, and went into the forests. Bairám traced him with much trouble, and brought him back to court, where the boy was restored to him.

Like Bábá Zambúr, he remained faithful to Bairám to the last, and was pardoned together with his master in Tilwárah (*p.* 317).

After Bairám's death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amír. In the 20th year, when Khán Jahán (No. 24) was sent from the Panjáb to Bengal, Sh. Q. was appointed Governor of the Panjáb, rising higher and higher in Akbar's favour.

It is said that the Emperor, from goodwill towards him, admitted him to his female apartments. After the first time he had been allowed to enter the Harem, he went home, and had his testicles removed *(majbúb)*. From this circumstance, he was every where called *Mahram*,[2] *i. e.* one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets.

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zábulistán, crossed the Bahat (Jhelum) near Rasúlpúr, and encamped at Hailán. During his stay there, he mounted a female elephant, and was immediately attacked by a *mast* male elephant. Akbar was thrown down and sustained severe contusions. A rumour of his death spread over the whole country; in some provinces even disturbances broke out. The Rájpúts of Shaikháwat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewát to Rewárí; and in the 35th year, Akbar had to send Sh. Q. against them. He soon restored order.

In the 41st year, he was made a commander of Four Thousand, and soon after of Five Thousand. The *Tabaqát* says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years.

He died at Ágrah in 1010. At Nárnaul, where he chiefly lived, he erected splendid buildings, and dug large tanks. When he felt death approaching, he gave the soldiers of his contingent two years' pay in advance, and left, besides, many legacies. As he had no heirs, his remaining property lapsed to the state (*Tuzuk*, p. 22).

46. Isma'íl Qulí Khán, brother of Khán Jahán (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jálindhar (*p.* 317). He joined Akbar's service with his brother, under whom he mostly served. When his brother had died in Bengal, he came with the immense property he had left behind him to Court, and was favorably received. In the 30th year, he was sent against the Balúchís (*vide* No. 44). On his arrival in Balúchistán, the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Ghází Khán Wajhiyah and Ibráhím Khán, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country. In the 31st year, when Bhagwán Dás (No. 27), on account of his madness, had not been allowed to go to Zábulistán, I. Q. was sent there instead. But he committed certain improprieties and fell into disgrace, and was ordered to go from Bhakkar to Makkah. He begged hard

[1] For similar examples, *vide* p. 319, which also happened in the third year, and No. 37, p. 349.

[2] Or *Muhrim*.

to be forgiven; but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yúsufzaís.

At that time epidemics were raging in Waijúr, and the chiefs of the Yúsufzaís came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zain Khán (No. 34), governor of Zábulistán, pressed hard upon Jalálah Raushání, who had left Teráh and entered Waijúr. Zain Khán therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. The arrival of Çádiq Khán (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalálah, annoyed I. Q. still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as T'hánahdár of the district. I. Q. forgot himself so far as to allow Jalálah to escape. He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct.

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrát. In the 36th year, when Prince Murád had been made Governor of Málwah, I. Q. was appointed his *atálíq* or Vakíl; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Çádiq Khán having been appointed in his stead.

In the 39th year, he was sent to Kálpí, to look after his jágír. In the 42nd year (1005), he was made a Commander of Four Thousand.

He was given to luxury, and spent large sums on carpets, vessels, dress, &c. He kept 1200 women, and was so jealous of them, that whenever he went to Court, he put his seal over the strings attached to their night-drawers. The women resented this and other annoyances, made a conspiracy, and poisoned him.

Three sons of his are mentioned below—1. Ibráhím Qulí (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred; 2. Salím Qulí (No. 357), and 3. Khalíl Qulí (No. 358), both commanders of Two Hundred. They do not appear to have distinguished themselves.

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand.

47. Mi'rza' Ja'ni' Beg, ruler of T'hat'hah.

He belonged to the *Arghún* clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingiz Khán. Abulfazl in the Akbarnámah gives his tree as follows:—

Chingiz Khán.
|
Túlí Khán.
|
Hulágú Khán (the brother of Mangú Qáán.)
|
Abágh (or, Abághá) Khán, *d.* 663.
|
Arghún Khán, *d.* 690.
|
Four generations intervening.
|
Atkú Timur.
|
Shankal Beg Tarkhán.
|
Several generations not known.
|
'Abdulkháliq Tarkhán.
|

Of his ancestors, Atkú Timur had been killed in the war with Tuqtamish Khán, and the Emperor Timur took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a *Tarkhán* (*vide* the note at the end of this biography).

Mírzá 'Abdul 'Alí, fourth ancestor of M. Jání Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sulṭán Mahmúd, son of M. Abú Sa'íd, and received the government of Bukhárá. He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Shaibání Khán Uzbak; only his sixth son, M. Muhammad 'Ísá, escaped. The Arghún clan in Bukhárá, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurásán, where they attached themselves to Mír Zul-nún Beg Arghún, who was the Amírul-

Mírzá 'Abdul 'Alí Tarkhán.

M. Muhammad 'Ísá Tarkhán, *d.* 975.

M. Muhammad Báqí Tarkhán, *d.* 993.

Mírzá Páyandah Muhammad Tarkhán.

Mírzá Jání Beg Tarkhán.

Mírzá Ghází Beg Tarkhán.

Umará and Sipahsálár of Sulṭan Husain Mírzá. He also was *atálíq* and father-in-law to Prince Badí'uzzamán Mírzá, and held Qandahár as jágír. When the prince's career ended, his two sons, Badí'uzzamán and Muzaffar Mírzá, proclaimed themselves kings of Khurásán. Anarchy prevailed; and matters grew worse, when Shaibán Khán invaded the country. Zul-nún Beg fell in battle against him.

Shujá' Beg, better known as Sháh Beg, Zul-nún's son, held Qandahár during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government. He was bent on conquest. In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Jám Nizámuddín (generally called in Histories *Jám Nandá*), king of Sindh. He continued to interfere, as related by Abulfazl below in the Third Book, (Çúbah of Sindh), and managed at last, in 929, to conquer the country, thus compensating himself for the loss of Qandahár, which had been occupied by Bábar. A short time before his death, which took place in 930,[1] he invaded Multán, then in the hands of the *Langáhs*.

Sháh Beg Arghún was succeeded by his son Mírzá Sháh Husain Arghún, who took Multán from Sulṭán Husain Langáh (*vide* Third Book, Çúbah of Multán). M. Sháh Husain Arghún was afflicted with a peculiar fever, which only left him when he was on the river Indus. He therefore used to travel down the Indus for six months of the year, and upwards for the remaining portion. On one occasion, he went towards Bhakkar, when some of the nobles deserted him, and elected Mírzá Muhammad 'Ísá, third ancestor of M. Jání Beg, as their chief. M. Sháh Husain, assisted by his foster brother, Sulṭán Mahmúd, Governor of Bhakkar, opposed him; but he had at last to come to terms, and cede a large part of Sindh to M. 'Ísá. On Sháh Husain's death, in 963, the whole country fell to 'Ísá.

In this manner the older branch of the Arghúns came to the throne of T'hat'hah.

'Ísá died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M. Muhammad Báqí, who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M. Ján Bábá. M. Báqí, in 993, committed suicide during an attack of insanity; and as his son, M. Páyandah Muhammad, was also subject to fits of madness, the government passed into the hands of M. Jání Beg, the son of M. Páyandah.

Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjáb, M. Jání Beg had shewn no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 35th year therefore (999), when the Khán Khánán was ordered to invade Qandahár, he was told to send some one to M. J. B., and draw his attention to this neglect; if no heed was paid, he was to invade Sindh on his return. Multán and Bhakkar being the *tuyúl* of the Khán Khánán, he did not move into Qandahár by way of Ghaznín and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his jágír. In the meantime the conquest of T'hat'hah had been determined upon at Court, and the Khán Khánán set

[1] Sháh Beg was a learned man, like his renowned opponent Bábar. He wrote a Commentary to the well known Arabic grammar *Káfiyah* (شرح كافيه), and commentaries to the *Maṭáli'*, (شرح مطالع) and the 'Aqáid i Nasafí (شرح عقايد نسفي).

out at once for Sindh (*vide* p. 335, and Brigg's *Firishtah*). After bravely defending the country, M. J. B. had at last to yield. In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khán Khánán, he paid his respects to Akbar at Láhor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Çúbah of Multán as *tuyúl*, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Sháhrukh (No. 7). But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghún clan, about 10000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M. J. B. to his new *tuyúl*, and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the emigrants and those who were left behind. Akbar felt that under such circumstances policy should yield to mercy, and M. J. B. was appointed to Sindh. Láharí Bandar, however, became *khálíçah*, and the Sirkár of Siwistán which had formerly paid *peshkash*, was parcelled out among several grandees.

In the 42nd year, M. J. B. was promoted to a command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. He was much liked by Akbar for his character, religious views (*vide* p. 209), pleasing manners, and practical wisdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Abulfazl has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though names much more renowned follow. From his youth, M. J. B. had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excesses; his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (*sarsám*), of which he died, in 1008, at Burhánpúr in the Dak'hin, after the conquest of A'sír.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an A'sír, he would have held it for a hundred years.

M. J. B. was fond of poetry; he was himself a poet and wrote under the *takhalluç* of *Halímí*.[1]

Mírzá Ghází Beg, son of M. Jání Beg. At the death of his father, he was only 17 years old; and though not at Court, Akbar conferred Sindh on him. He was opposed by Mírzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, son of Mírzá Ján Babá (brother of M. Muhammad Báqí, grandfather of M. Jání Beg); but Khusrau Khán Chirgis, an old servant of the Arghúns and *Vakíl* of his father, espoused his cause, and M. 'Ísá Tarkhán fled from Sindh. The army which M. Ghází Beg and Khusrau Khán had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly Sa'íd Khán (No. 25) and his son Sa'dullah[2] to Bhakkar, and M. Ghází Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh.

After the accession of Jahángír, M. Ghází Beg received Multán in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahár (*Tuzuk* p. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Husain Khán Shámlü, the Persian Governor of Harát. He also received the title of *Farzand* (son). Sháh 'Abbás of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several *khil'ats*.

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[1] Here follows in the *Maásir ul Umará* a description of Sindh taken from the Third Book of the A'ín, concluding with the following remark:—

'At present (when the author of the *Maásir* wrote), the whole of Sindh is under Khudá Yár Khán Latí (لتی). From a long time he had farmed (*ijárah kard*) the Çúbah of T'hat'hah, and the Sirkárs of Siwistán and Bhakkar. Subsequently when the districts on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nádir Sháh, Khudá Yár Khán administered them for Nádir Sháh.'

[2] Sa'dullah has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 332. He received the title of *Nawázish Khán* in 1020; *vide Tuzuk*, pp. 31, 96.

He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018,[1] the word *Ghází* being the *Táríkh* of his death. Suspicion attaches to Lutfullah, his *Vakíl* and son of Khusrau Khán Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghází does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the *takhalluç* of *Vaqárí*, which he had bought of a Qandahár poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Ṭálibí of A'mul, Mullá Murshid i Yazdjirdí, Mír Ni'matullah Váçilí, Mullá Asad Qiççah-khwán, and especially Fughfúrí of Gílán enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for *dakhl* (*vide* p. 102, note 6). In his private life, M. Ghází was dissolute. Not only was he given to wine, but he required every night a virgin; girls from all places were brought to him, and the women of the town of T'hat'hah are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mírzá.

Note on the meaning of the title of 'Tarkhán.'

Abulfazl, in the Akbarnámah (38th year), has a valuable note regarding the meaning and the history of this ancient title. The title was hereditary, and but rarely given. Chingiz Khán conferred it on Qishliq and Bátá for having given him correct information regarding the enemy. The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at Court (*taklíf i bár*). Chingiz Khán, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Timur, a Tarkhán had free access to every place of the palace, and could not be stopped by the macebearers; nor was he or his children liable to be punished for any crime, provided the number of his or their crimes did not exceed the number *nine*.[2]

Some say, a Tarkhán had *seven* distinctions and privileges—1. a *ṭabl*; 2. a *túmán-togh;* 3. a *naqqárah;* 4. he can confer on two of his men a *qushún togh*, or *chatr togh;*[3] 5. his *Qur* (*p.* 109) was carried (*qúr i ú níz bardárand*). Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (*qurq*) a forest as his private hunting ground, and if any one entered the enclosure, he forfeited his personal liberty. 7. He was looked upon as the head of the clan to which he

[1] So the *Maásir*. The *Tuzuk* (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghází in the 7th year of Jahángír's reign, 1021.

After M. Ghází Beg's death, Sindh was taken away from the Tarkháns, and M. Rustam was appointed Governor (*vide* p. 314).

Khusrau Chirgis tried to set up some 'Abdul 'Alí Tarkhán, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahángír bestowed his favors on Mírzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, son of M. Ján Bábá (uncle of M. Jání Beg). He rose to the highest honors under Sháhjahán, and died more than hundred year old, in 1062, at Sámbhar. He had *four* sons—1. Mírzá 'Ináyatullah, who died in the 21st year of Sháhjahán; 2. Mírzá Muhammad Çálih, who played some part during Aurangzeb's war with Dárá Shikoh; 3. Fathullah; 4. M. 'Áqil. Mírzá Bihrúz, M. Muhammad Çálih's son, is mentioned as a Commander of Five Hundred under Sháhjahán.

[2] *Nine* was looked upon as an important number by the Mughuls. Thus kings received *nine* presents, or the present consisted of *nine* pieces of the same article. Hence also the Chaghtái *tuquz* (or *túqúz*, or *tuqúz*), nine, came to mean *a present*, in which sense it occurs in the *Pádisháhnámah* and the *'A'lamgírnámah*, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as *haft tuquz párchah*, 'a present of seven pieces of cloth.'

[3] *Vide* p. 50.

belonged. In the statehall the Amírs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (*kamánwár*).

When Tughluq Timur conferred this title upon an Amír,[1] he put all financial matters (*dád o sitad*) 'as far as a Hazárí' (?) in his charge; nor were his descendants, to the ninth generation, liable to be called to account; but should their crimes exceed the number nine, they were to be called to account. When a Tarkhán had to answer for blood shed by him (*pádásh i khún*), he was placed on a silver white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal. His statement was made by a chief of the Barlás clan (*vide* p. 341, note), and the sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkíwat (اركيوت) clan. His neck vein was then opened, the two chiefs remaining at his side, and watching over him till he was dead. The king was then led forth from the palace, and sat down to mourn over him.

Khizr Khwájah in making Mír Khudádád a *Tarkhán*, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (*túí*), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the *yasáwal* (chief mace bearer) of the king is on horseback to keep back the crowds, the *Tarkhán* also proceeds on horseback. 2. When during the feast the cup is handed to the king from the right side, another cup is at the same time handed to the Tarkhán from the left. 3. The Tarkhán's seal is put on all orders; but the seal of the king is put to the beginning of the last line and below his.

Abulfazl, in concluding these remarks, says that these distinctions are extraordinary enough; he believes it possible that a king may grant a virtuous man immunity for nine crimes; but he thinks it absurd to extend the immunity to nine generations.

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48. Iskandar Kha'n, a descendant of the Uzbak Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humáyún who on his return to India made him a *Khán*. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Ágrah. On Hemú's approach, he left Ágrah, and joined Tardí Beg at Dihlí. Both opposed Hemú, Iskandar commanding the left wing (*júranghár*). His wing defeated the right wing (*burunghár*) and the van (*harával*) of Hemú, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favor of the Imperialists, when Hemú with his whole force broke upon Tardí Beg, and put him to flight. The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return. He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khán Zamán (No. 13) against Hemú, and received after the battle for his bravery the title of *Khán 'A'lam*.

As Khizr Khwájah Khán,[2] the Governor of the Panjáb, had retreated before Sikandar Khán Súr, and fortified himself in Láhor, leaving the country to the Afghána, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyálkoṭ and assist Khizr Khwájah.

[1] The MSS. call him لولاحی or دولاحی, with every variety of diacritical points.

[2] Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughulistán; but according to the *Ṭabaqát* from the kings of *Káshghar*. He was a grandee of Humáyún, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. 'Askarí in Qandahár, when Humáyún on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwájah threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humáyún's tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favor, was made *Amír ul Umará*. and married Gulbadan Begum, H.'s sister. When Akbar marched against

Afterwards he received Audh as *tuyúl*. 'From want of occupation,' he rebelled in the tenth year. Akbar ordered Ashraf Khán (No. 74) to bring him to Court but Isk. joined Khán Zamán (No. 13). Together with Bahádur Khán (No. 22), he occupied Khairábád (Audh), and attacked Mír Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61). Bahádur ultimately defeated the Imperialists; but Isk. had in the first fight been defeated and fled to the north of Audh.

When in the 12th year Khán Zamán and Bahádur again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khán Zamán and Bahádar had been defeated and killed, he made proposals of peace, and managed during the negotiation to escape by boat with his family to Gorák'hpúr, which then belonged to Sulaimán, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Báyazíd, Sulaimán's son, over Jhárkand to Oṛísá. After Sulaimán's return from the conquest of Oṛísá,[1] Isk.'s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaimán wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afgháns waited for a favorable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Mun'im Khán, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sirkár of Lak'hnau as *tuyúl*, and died there in the following year (980).

49. A'caf Kha'n 'Abdul Maji'd (of Harát), a descendant of Shaikh Abú Bakr i Táibádí.

His brother Vazír Khán has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shaikh Zainuddín Abú Bakr i Táibádí[2] was a saint (*Çáhib kamál*) at the time of Timur. When Timur, in 782, set out for the conquest of Harát, which was in the hands of Malik Ghiásuddín, he sent, on his arrival at Táibád, a messenger to the Shaikh, to ask him why he had not paid his respects to the conqueror of the world. "What have I," replied the Shaikh, "to do with Timur?" Timur, struck with this answer, went himself to the

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Hemú. Khizr Khán was made Governor of the Panjáb and ordered to operate against Sikandar Súr, who during Humáyún's lifetime had retreated to the Sawáliks. Leaving Hájí Khán Sístání in Láhor, Khizr Khán moved against Sikandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. چبهاری. Kh. selected two thousand horsemen to reconnoitre; but Sikandar was on the alert, fell upon the detachment, and defeated the Imperialists. Kh. without further fighting retreated to Láhor. Sikandar used the respite, and collected a large army, till Akbar himself had to move against him. Finding Akbar's army too strong, Sikandar shut himself up in Mánkoṭ. After a siege of six months, Sikandar bribed Shamsuddín Atgah (No. 15) and Pír Muhammad (No. 20), who prevailed upon Akbar to pardon him. Sikandar sent his son 'Abdurrahmán with some elephants as *peshkash*, and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihár as *tuyúl* (*vide* p. 319, *l.* 10 from below). Mánkoṭ surrendered on the 27th Ramazán 964. Sikandar died two years later.

It is difficult to say why Abulfazl has not entered Khizr Khán in the List of Grandees. His name is given in the *Ṭabaqát*. Similarly Khwájah Mu'azzim and Mír Sháh Abulma'álí are left out. For Kh.'s son *vide* No. 153.

[1] On Sulaimán's return from Oṛísá, he appointed Khán Jahán Lodhí, his Amír ul Umará, Governor of Oṛísá. Qutlú Khán, who subsequently made himself king of Oṛísá, was then Governor of Púrí (Jaggarnath.) Bad. II., 174.

[2] He died A. H. 791. His biography is given in Jámí's *Nafhát ul Uns*. Táibád belongs to Jám i Khurásán.

Shaikh, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik Ghiás. "I have indeed done so," said the Shaikh, "but he would not listen, and God has now appointed you over him. However, I now advise you, too, to be just, and if you likewise do not listen, God will appoint another over you." Timur afterwards said that he had seen many dervishes; every one of them had said something from selfish motives, but not so Shaikh Abú Bakr, who had said nothing with reference to himself.

Khwájah 'Abdul Majíd was a Grandee of Humáyún, whom he served as Díwán. On Akbar's accession, he also performed military duties. When the Emperor moved to the Panjáb, to crush Bairám's rebellion, 'Abdul Majíd received the title of *Áçaf Khán*, regarding which *vide* the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently Áçaf was appointed Governor of Dihlí, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand. When Fattú, a servant of 'Adlí, made overtures to surrender Fort Chanáḍh (Chunar), A., in concert with Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kaṛah-Mánikpúr on the Ganges. About the same time, Ghází Khán Tannúrí, an Afghán noble who had for a time been in Akbar's services, fled to Bhat'h G'horá, and stirred up the Zamíndárs against Akbar. A., in the 7th year, sent a message to Rájah Rám Chandr, the ruler of Bhat'h, to pay tribute to Akbar, and surrender the enemies. But the Rájah prepared for resistance. A. marched against the Rájah, defeated him, and executed Ghází Khán. The Rájah, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bándhú,[1] but obtained Akbar's pardon by timely submission, chiefly through the influence of several Rájahs at Court. A. then left the Rájah in peace; but the spoils which he had collected and the strong contingent which he had at his disposal (*vide* p. 241, l. 18) made him desirous of further warfare, and he planned the famous expedition against Gaḍha-Katangah,[2] or Gondwánah, south of Bhat'h, which was then governed by Durgáwatí,[3] the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bír Sáh, at the conquest of Chaurágaḍh (about 70 miles west of Jabalpúr), are wellknown. The immense spoils which A. carried off, led him temporarily into rebellion, and of the 1000 elephants which he had captured, he only sent 200 to Court. But when Khán Zamán (No. 13), in the 10th year, rebelled and besieged Majnún Khán Qáqshál (No. 50) in Mánikpúr, A. came with 5,000 troopers to his relief, presented himself before Akbar, who had marched against Khán Zamán, and handed over the remainder of the Gaḍha spoils.

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[1] Abulfazl, in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarnámah, says that 'Aláuddín-i-Khiljí besieged Bándhú in vain.

[2] Gaḍha (Gurh, Gurbah, Gurrah) lies close to Jabalpúr in Central India. Katangah is the name of two small places, one due south of Jabalpúr below Lat. 22, as on the Map in Journal A. S. B., Decr. 1837, Pl. LVII; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpúr and Gaḍha, about Lat. 23° 30′, as on the Map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm's Malwa; but both are called on the maps *Katangí*. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gaḍha-Katangah. Abulfazl says, it had an extent of 150 *kos* by 80 *kos*, and there were in ancient times 80000 flourishing cities. The inhabitants, he says, are all Gonds, who are looked upon by Hindús as very low.

The Rájahs of Gaḍha-Katangah are generally called the Gaḍha-Mandlá Rájahs. Mandlá lies S. E. of Jabalpúr, on the right side of the Narbaddah.

[3] Capt. Sleeman in his 'History of the Gurha Mandala Rájas,' Journal A. S. Bengal, Vol. VI., p. 627, spells her name *Durghoutee*. He calls her son *Bír Naráin*. *Vide* also *Badáoní* II, 66.

He thereby regained Akbar's confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture, the imperial Mutaçaddís, whom A. before had handsomely bribed, reported from envy his former unwillingness to hand over the spoils, and exaggerated his wealth. Hypocritical friends mentioned this to A.; and afraid of his personal safety, he fled to Gaḍha (Çafar, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdí Qásim Khán (No. 36) to Gaḍhá. A. then left Central India 'with a sorrowful heart,' and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khán Zamán at Jaunpúr. But he soon saw that Khán Zamán only wanted his wealth and watched for a favorable moment to kill him. A. therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape. Khán Zamán had sent his brother Bahádur (No. 22) against the Afgháns, and A. was to accompany him. Vazír Khán, whom Khán Zamán had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Mánikpúr, which A. had appointed as place of rendez-vous. No sooner had A. escaped than Bahádur followed him up, defeated his men, and took A. prisoner. Bahádur's men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazír Khán fell over Bahádur. Bahádur made some one a sign to kill A., who sat fettered on an elephant, and A. had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazír in time saved his life, and carried him away. Both reached, in 973, Kaṛah, and asked Muzaffar Khán (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muzaffar, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Panjáb, he took Vazír with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers. A. was ordered to join Majnún Qáqshál at Kaṛah-Mánikpúr. His bravery in the last struggle with Khán Zamán induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piyág as *tuyúl*, *vice* Hájí Muhammad Sístání (No. 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against Ráná Udai Singh. A. was sent in advance *(manqalá)*. In the middle of Rabí' I, 975, Akbar left Ágrah for Chítor. The Ráná had commissioned Jai Mall, who had formerly been in Mírt'ha, to defend the fort, whilst he himself had withdrawn to the mountains. During the siege, which lasted four months and seven days, A. distinguished himself, and when, on the 25th Sha'bán, 975, the fort fell A. was made Governor of Chítor.

Neither the *Maásir*, nor the *Ṭabaqát*, mentions the year of his death. He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Áçaf Khán was bestowed upon another noble.[1]

Note on the Title of 'Áçaf Khán.'

Áçaf was the name of the Vazír of Sulaimán (Solomon), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three grandees received this title. Badáoní, to avoid confusion, numbers them Áçaf Khán I., II., and III. They are—

'Abdul Majíd, Áçaf Khán I., *d.* before 981. (No. 49).

Khwájah Mirzá Ghiásuddín 'Alí, Áçaf Khán II., *d.* 989. (No. 126).

Mírzá Ja'far Beg, Áçaf Khán III., (No. 98).

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[1] Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says, 'Abdul Majíd Áçaf Khán officiated in 1013 for Mán Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Farídduddín i Bukhárí [No. 99] is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahángír.

The three A'çafs were Díwáns or Mír Bakshís. The third was nephew to the second, as the following tree will shew :

Ághá Mullá Dawátdár.

1. Ghiásuddín 'Alí, *Áçaf Khán II.* — 2. Mírzá Badí'uzzamán. — 3. Mírzá Ahmad Beg.

Children of 1: Mírzá Núruddín. — A daughter (her child: Mumtáz Mahall, (Sháhjahán's wife)).

Child of 2: Mírzá Ja'far Beg, *Áçaf Khán III.*

Jahángír conferred the title of 'A'çaf Khán' (IV.) on Abul Hasan, elder brother of Núr Jahán, and father of Mumtáz Mahall (or Táj Bíbí, Sháhjahán's wife), whose mother was a daughter of Áçaf Khán II. During the reign of Sháhjahán when titles containing the word *Daulah*[1] were revived, *A'çaf Khán* was changed to *A'çafud-daulah,* and this title was conferred on A'çafuddaulah Jumlatul Mulk Asadjang (Sháhjahán-Aurangzeb), a relation of Áçaf Khán IV. Under Ahmad Sháh, lastly, we find A'çafuddaulah Amír ul Mamálik, whose name like that of his father, Nizám ul Mulk Áçaf-Jáh, occurs so often in later Indian History.

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50. Majnu'n Kha'n i Qa'qsha'l.[2]

He was a grandee of Humáyún, and held Nárnaul as *jágír.* When Humáyún fled to Persia, Hájí Khán besieged Nárnaul, but allowed Majnún Khán to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Rájah Bihárí Mall, who, at that time, was with Hájí Khán (*vide* p. 329).

On Akbar's accession, he was made Jágírdár of Mánikpúr, then the east frontier of the Empire. He remained there till after the death of Khán Zamán (No. 13), bravely defending Akbar's cause. In the 14th year, he besieged Kálinjar. This fort was in the hands of Rájah Rám Chand, ruler of Bhat'h, who during the Afghán troubles had bought it, for a heavy sum, from Bijlí Khán, the adopted son of Pahár Khán. When, during the siege, the Rájah heard of the fall of Chítor and Rantanbhúr, he surrendered Kálinjar to M. (29th Çafar, 977). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Mun'im Khán (No. 11) on his expedition to Gorák'hpúr. At the same time the Gujrátí war had commenced, and as Bábá Khán Qáqshál[3] had words with Shahbáz Khán, (No. 80), the Mír Tozak, regarding certain

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[1] They had been in use among the Khalífahs and the Ghaznawís. Thus *Yamín ud-daulah* which title Sháhjahán bestowed on Abul Hasan A'çaf Khán IV.), had also been the title of Mahmúd of Ghazní when prince. The kings of the Dak'hin occasionally conferred titles with *Daulah.* This is very likely the reason why Akbar conferred the title of Azad *ud-daulah* on Mír Fathullah of Shíráz, who had come from the Dak'hin. The title *Malik,* so common among the Pat'háns, was never conferred by the Mughul (Chaghtái) Kings of Delhi.

Titles with *Jang,* as *Fírúzjang, Nuçratjang, &c.,* came into fashion with Jahángír.

[2] Name of a Turkish clan. Like the Uzbaks, they were disliked by Akbar, and rebelled. Majnún Khán was certainly the best of them.

[3] *Bábá Khán Qáqshál* also was a grandee of Akbar, but Abulfazl has left him out in this list. Like Majnún he distin-

arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Mun'im's army that Bábá Khán, Jabárí (Majnún's son), Mírzá Muhammad, and other Qáqshâls, had killed Shahbáz Khán, and joined the rebellion of the Mírzás in Gujrát; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Mun'im to imprison Majnún. In consequence of these false rumours, M. and others of his clan withdrew from Mun'im, who in vain tried to convince them of the absurdity of the rumours; but when M. soon after heard that Bábá Khán and Jabárí had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujrátí war, he was ashamed of his hastiness, and rejoined Mun'im who, in the meantime, had taken Gorák'hpúr.

M. accompanied Mun'im on his Bengal expedition. When, in 982, Dáúd retired to Oṛísá, and Kálá Paháṛ,[1] Sulaimán Manklí and Bábú Manklí had gone to G'horág'hát, Mun'im sent M. against them. M. conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils. On the death of Sulaimán Manklí, the acknowledged ruler of G'horág'hát, a great number of the principal Afghán nobles were caught, and M. with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulaimán Manklí to his son Jabárí. He also parcelled out the whole country among his clan. But Bábú Manklí and Kálá Paháṛ had taken refuge in Kúch Bihár, and when Mun'im was in Kaṭak, they were joined by the sons of Jaláluddín Súr, and fell upon the Qáqshâls. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Ṭánḍah, and waited for Mun'im, who, on his return from Oṛísá, sent them with reinforcements to G'horág'hát. The Qáqshâls re-occupied the district. Majnún died soon after at G'horág'hát.

The *Ṭabaqát* says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers.

His son Jabárí[2] distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion. The enforcing of the *Dágh* law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jabárí then assumed the title of *Khán Jahán*. When the Qáqshâls left Ma'çúm (p. 326), Jabárí went to Court. Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year.

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guished himself in the war with Khán Zamán and the Mírzás. During Mun'im's expedition to Bengal, the Qáqshâls received extensive jágírs in G'horág'hát. Bábá Khán was looked upon as the head of the clan after Majnún's death. He rebelled with Ma'çúm Khán i Kábulí, partly in consequence of Muzaffar Khán's (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Khán Khánán. He died in the same year in which Muzaffar died, of cancer in the face (*khúrah*), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

[1] The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannat'h at Púrí in S. Oṛísá. *Vide* below Third Book, Çúbahs of Bengal and Oṛísá. A minute description of his conquest is given in the *Makhzan i Afghání*, and by Stirling in his Account of Orissa, Asiatic Researches, Vol. xv. But Stirling's account, taken as they are from the Púrí Vynsavali (a chronicle kept for the last six hundred years in the temple of Púrí) differs considerably from the Akbarnámah. Kálá Paháṛ was killed by a gun shot in one of the fights between Ma'çúm and Qutlú of Oṛísá, and 'Azíz Kokah (*vide* p. 326), which, in 990, took place between K'halgánw (Colgong) and Gaḍhí (near Rajmahall).

Bábú Manklí subsequently entered Akbar's service (*vide* No. 202). European Historians generally spell his name Bábú *Mangalí*, as if it came from the Hindí *mangal*, Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But *manklí* is perhaps preferable. Two of Tímúr's ancestors had the same name. The Turkish *manklí* means خالدار, *kháldár*, spotted.

[2] The best MSS. of the Akbarnámah, Badáoní, and the Maásir have جباری. Stewart (p. 109) calls him *Jebbaburdy (?)*.

51. Shujá'at Khán, Muqím i 'Arab.

He is the son of Tardí Beg's sister (No. 12). Humáyún made Muqím a *Khán*. On the emperor's flight to Persia, he joined Mírzá 'Askarí. When Humáyún took Qandahár on his return, Muqím, like most old nobles, presented himself before the emperor with a sword hanging from his neck, and was for a short time confined. After his release, he remained with Mun'im Khán (No. 11) in Kábul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Mun'im to take Bairám's place.

In the 9th year, Muqím distinguished himself in the pursuit of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14), 'the king of Mandú', and received the title of *Shujá'at Khán*, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious 'Abdullah.

In the beginning of the 15th year, Akbar honored him by being his guest for a day.

In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Ahmadábád (p. 325). Once he slandered Mun'im, and Akbar sent him to the Khán Khánán to do with him what he liked; but Mun'im generously forgave him, and had him restored.

In the 22nd year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Málwah.

In 988, when troubles in Bihár and Bengal had broken out, Shujá'at Khán, at Akbar's order, left Sárangpúr for Fathpúr (*Badáoní* II, 284). At the first stage, 'Iwaz Beg Barlás who complained of arrears of pay and harsh treatment of the men, created a tumult, made a man of the name Hájí Shiháb Khán leader, fell upon Shujá'at's tent, and killed his son Qawím Khán.[1] Shujá'at himself was mortally wounded. Some of his adherents, at last, managed to put the dying Sh. on an elephant, and led him off to Sárangpúr. Though Sh. had expired before they reached the town, they did not spread the news of his death, and thus kept the greater part of the soldiers together, and joined Akbar in Sárangpúr.

Akbar punished the rebels severely. According to p. 284, Akbar once saved Shujá'at's life in the jungles.

From Badáoní (II, 284), we learn that Qawím Khán was a young man, renowned for his musical talents.

Muqím Khán (No. 386) is Shujá'at Khán's second son. He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred.

Qáim Khán was the son of Muqím Khán. Qáim's son, 'Abdurrahím, was under Jahángír a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khán, and was made, in the 5th year, Faujdár of Alwar. Qáim's daughter, *Çálihah Bánú*, was received (3rd year) by Jahángír in his harem, and went by the title of *Pádisháh Mahall*. She adopted *Miyán Joh*, son of the above 'Abdurrahím. Miyán Joh was killed by Mahábat Khán, when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahángír's person.

No. 52. Sháh Budágh Khán, a descendant of Uymáq[2] Kál of Samarqand.

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[1] So the Maásir and the Akbarnámah. Badáoní (II, 284) has *Qáim Khán;* but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibl. Indica.

[2] There were two tribes of the Qará Turks called ایماق or اویماق, *üymáq*. They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence ایماق, as the word is generally spelt by Mughul Historians, means *a kind of superior cavalry; vide* Tuzuk p. 147, l. 17. How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India, may

The Turkish *Budágh* means 'a branch of a tree.' He distinguished himself under Humáyún, and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year, he accompanied Mír Mu'izzul Mulk (No. 61) against Bahádur No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son, 'Abdul Maṭlab (No. 83), ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shibábuddín Ahmad (No. 26) against the Mírzás in Málwah, received Sárangpúr as *tuyúl,* fought under 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in the battle at Patan (18th Ramazán 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandú, where he died. The *Ṭabaqát* says, he had the title of *Amírul Umará.* He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohiní.

Inside Fort Mandú, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of *Nílkánt'h,* regarding the inscriptions on which the *Maásir* gives a few interesting particulars.

No. 53. Husain Khán (Tukriyah), sister's son of Mahdí Qásim Khán (No. 36).

'He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign.' In his *jihádś* he was *sans peur,* and in his private life *sans reproche;* he surpassed all grandees by his faithfulness and attachment to his masters, but his contingent was never in order; he was always poor, though his servants in consequence of his liberality lived in affluence. He slept on the ground, because his Prophet had enjoyed no greater luxuries; and his motto in fight was 'death or victory;' and when people asked him, why he did not invert the order and say 'victory or death,' he would reply, 'O! I do long to be with the saints that have gone before.'

He was the patron of the Historian Badáoní,[1] who served Husain as almoner to his estate (Shamsábád and Patiálí).

Husain Khán was not only sister's son, but also son-in-law to Mahdí Qásim Khán (No. 36). He was in Bairám's service. In the second year, after the conquest of Mánkoṭ, Akbar made him Governor of Láhor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar, in Çafar 965, marched to Dihlí, he appointed H. Kh. Governor of the Panjáb. During his incumbency, he shewed himself a zealous Sunní. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindús as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. *tukrá*) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of *Tukriyah,* 'Patcher.'

Like Sháh Qulí Khán Mahram (No. 45), he stuck to Bairám to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhújhar; but after Bairám had been pardoned, he entered Akbar's service. When Mahdí Qásim Khán, from dislike to Gaḍha, went by way of the Dak'hin to Makkah, H. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwás in Málwah, when the rebellion of the Mírzás broke out,

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be seen from p. 57, l. 1, of the second volume of my Áin text, where Abulfazl applies the word to Rájpút cavalry of the Ráṭhor clan. The word is pronounced *aimáq* in India.

The meaning of *Miyán Kál* is still unclear to me. To judge from Abulfazl's phrase, it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan. The adjective *Miyán Kálí* occurs frequently. Two Miyán Kális may be found below among the list of learned men (Qází 'Abdussamí') and the poets (Qásim i Káhí).

[1] *Vide* my Essay on Badáoní and his Works in J. A. S. Bengal, for 1869, p. 120.

and in concert with Muqarrib Khán, the *tuyúldár* of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwás. But Muqarrib lost heart and fled; and H. Kh. was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibráhím Husain Mírzá for an interview. Though urged to join the Mírzá, H. Kh. remained faithful to Akbar.

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khán Zamán, H. Kh. was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready. In the 13th year his jágír was transferred from Lak'hnau, where he and Badáoní had been for about a year, to Kánt o Golah.[1] His exacting behaviour towards Hindús and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much. In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihár, H. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hájípúr, he confiscated H.'s jágír; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jágír, and told him to get his contingent ready. His *mania*, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpúr in Kamáon, which was proverbially rich, and got wounded by a bullet in the shoulder. Akbar was almost convinced that he had gone into rebellion, and sent Çádiq Khán (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. H. Kh. therefore left Gaṛh Muktesar, with the view of going to Mun'im Khán, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bárha, and was taken to Fathpúr Síkrí, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

The Ṭabaqát says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnámah, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yúsuf Khán, was a grandee of Jahángír. He served in the Dak'hin in the corps of 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parwíz, the Khán Khánán, and Mán Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khán Khánán (*Tuzuk* p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (*vide* pp. 327 and 336). Yúsuf's son, 'Izzat Khán, served under Sháhjahán, (*Pádisháhn.* II, 121).

54. Murád Khán, son of Amír Khán Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muhammad Murád Khán. In the 9th year, he served under Áçaf Khán (No. 49) in Gaḍha Katangah. In the 12th year, he got a jágír in Málwah, and fought under Shihábuddín Ahmad against the Mírzás. After the Mírzás had returned to Gujrát, M. got Ujjain as *tuyúl*.

In the 13th year, the Mírzás invaded Málwah from Khandesh, and Murád Khán, together with Mír 'Azízullah, the Díwán of Málwah, having received the news two days before the arrival of the enemies, shut themselves up in Ujjain, determined to hold it for Akbar. The Emperor sent Qulij Khán (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mírzás retreated to Mandú. Followed up by Qulij and Murád, they retreated at last across the Narbaddah.

In the 17th year, the Mírzás broke out in Gujrát, and the jágírdárs of Málwah assembled under the command of M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21). Murád held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramazán, 980).

[1] Elliot (Index, p. 235, First Edition) has by mistake *Lak'hnor* (on the Rámganga) instead of *Lak'hnau* (in Audh), and he calls Husain Khán a *Kashmírí*. This must be an oversight.

In 982, he was attached to Mun'im's expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Fathábád, Sirkár Boglá (S. E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jellasore) in Oṛísá, after Dáúd had made peace with Mun'im.

When in 983, after Mun'im's death, Dáúd fell upon Nazar Bahádur, Akbar's Governor of Bhadrak (Oṛísá), and treacherously killed him, Murád wisely retreated to Ṭáṅḍah.[1]

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fathábád, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murád at Fathábád, Qiyá Khán in Oṛísá, Mirzá Naját at Sátgáṇw, were almost the only officers of Akbar's Bengal corps, that did not take part in the great military revolt of 988. Qiyá was killed by Qutlú (p. 343), and Murád died at Fathábád, immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 988, 'before the veil of his loyalty was rent.'

After his death, Mukand, the principal Zamíndár of Fathábád, invited Murád's sons to a feast, and treacherously murdered them.

Vide No. 369.

55. Ha'ji' Muhammad Kha'n of Sístán.

He was in the service of Bairám, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bairám held Qandahár, rumours of treason reached Humáyún. The Emperor went from Kábul to Qandahár, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bairám innocent, he went back, taking Hájí Muhammad with him, who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion.[2]

After the conquest of Hindústán, H. M., at Bairám's request, was made a Khán, and was rapidly promoted.

In the 1st year of Akbar's reign, H. M. was ordered to accompany Khizr Khwájah (*p.* 365, note 2) on his expedition against Sikandar Súr. Tardí Beg's (No. 12) defeat by Hemú had a bad effect on the Emperor's cause; and Mullá 'Abdullah Makhdúm ulmulk who, though in Akbar's service, was said to be devoted to the interests of the Afgháns, represented to Sikandar that he should use this favorable opportunity and leave the Sawáliks. As related above, Khizr Khwájah moved against Sikandar, leaving H. M. in charge of Láhor. Being convinced of Makhdúm's treason, H. M. tortured him, and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed.

In 966, Bairám fell out with Pír Muhammad (No. 20), and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to H. M. When Bairám fell into disgrace, he sent H. M. with several other Amírs to Dihlí with expressions of his humility and desire to be pardoned. But H. M. soon saw that all was lost. He did not receive permission to go back to Bairám. After Bairám had been pardoned (p. 318), H. M.

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[1] As Mun'im left T'hánahdárs in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Dáúd must have been restricted to Kaṭak Proper. Mun'im's invasion of Oṛísá was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar's reign.

Having mentioned Kaṭak, I may here state that the name 'Aṭak', (Attock, in the Panjáb) was chosen by Akbar who built the town, because *it rhymes with Kaṭak*. The two frontier towns of his empire were to have similar names. *Akbarnámah.*

[2] Hájí Muhammad is the same to whom Erskine's remark refers quoted by Elphinstone (Fifth Edition), p. 470, note.

and Muhammad Tarson Khán (No. 32) accompanied him on his way to Hijáz as far as Nágor, then the frontier of the Empire. Once, on the road, Bairám charged H. M. with faithlessness, when the latter gently reminded him that he had at least never drawn his sword against his master.

H. M. was present in almost every campaign, and was promoted to the post of *Sih-hazárí*. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chítor, he sent H. M. and Shibábuddín Ahmad (No. 26) from Gágrún against the sons of Sulṭán Muhammad Mírzá, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Málwah. H. M. then received the Sirkár of Mandú as *jágír*.

In the 20th year, H. M. accompanied Mun'im Khan on his expedition to Bengal and Oṛísá, and got wounded in the battle of Takaroí (20th Zí Qa'dah, 982). He then accompanied the Khán Khánán to Gaur, where soon after Mun'im's death he, too, died of malaria (983).

Note on the Battle of Takaroí, or Mughulmárí, in Oṛísá.

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's generals. It crushed the Afgháns, and decided the possession of Bengal and Upper Oṛísá. The MSS. of the *Akbarnámah* and the *Maásir* have تكروهي *Takarohí*, and تكروئى *Takaroí*. My copy of the Sawánih has the former spelling. A few copies of the Akbarnámah have نكرو هي *Nakrohí*. In *Badáoní* and the *Ṭabaqát* the battle of Takaroí is called the battle of بجهوره (*vide* p. 318), which may be *Bajhorah*, *Bachhorah*, *Bajhorh*, or *Bachhorh*. Stewart's account of Mun'im's Oṛísá expedition (Vth Section), differs in many particulars from the Akbarnámah and the Ṭabaqát. He places the battle in the environs of Kaṭak, which is impossible, and his 'Bukhtore' is a blunder for بچتوا *ba chittuá*, 'in Chittuá,' the final *alif* having assumed the shape of a ر *re*, and the ج that of خ. The Lucknow lithograph of the Akbarnámah, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS., has *ba chitor*, in Chitor!

The Akbarnámah, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details. Todar Mall moved from Bardwán over Madáran[1] into the Parganah of Chittuá (چتوه), where he was subsequently joined by Mun'im. Dáúd had taken up a strong position at هريور, Harpúr or Haripúr, "which lies intermediate (*barzakhe*) between Bengal and Oṛísá." The same phrase (*barzakhe*), in other passages of the Akbarnámah, is applied to Chittuá itself. Dáúd's object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Oṛísá, into which led but few other roads; "but Ilyás Khán Langáh shewed the victorious army an easier road," and Mun'im entered the country, and thus turned Dáúd's position. The battle then takes place (20th Zí Qa'dah, 982, or A. D., 3rd March, 1575). After the battle Todar Mall leads the pursuit, and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrak. Not long after, he writes to Mun'im to come and join him, as Dáúd had collected his troops near Kaṭak, and the whole army

[1] Madáran lies in Jahánábád, a Parganah of the Húglí district, between Bardwán and Mednípúr (Midnapore). Regarding the importance and history of this town *vide* my 'Places of Historical Interest in the Húglí District,' in the April Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal for 1870.

moves to Kaṭak, where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dáúd in the possession of Kaṭak.

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittuá, which lies a little E. E. N. of Mednípúr (Midnapore), and that after the victory Rájah Todar Mall, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadrak, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jellasore), and probably north of it, as Abulfazl would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town. On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Oṛísá lately published, I found on the road from Mednipúr to Jalesar the village of Mogulmaree[1] (Mughulmárí, *i. e.*, Mughul's Fight), and about seven miles southwards, half ways between Mughulmárí and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, the village of Tookaroe.

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmárí is 22°, and that of Tookaroe, 21° 53 nearly.

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroe is the تکروئی, *Takaroí*, of the Akbarnámah.

The battle extended over a large ground. Badáoní (II, p. 195, l. 3) speaks of *three, four kos*, *i. e.*, about six miles, and thus the distance of Takaroí from Mughulmárí is accounted for.

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name بجهوره, by which the battle is called in the Ṭabaqát and Badáoní (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word *chaur* which occurs so often in the names of Parganahs in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Badáoní (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 196), and the *Ṭabaqát*, it is said that Todar Mall in his pursuit reached کلکلگهاتی *Kalkalgháṭí* (?), not Bhadrak.

List of Officers who died in 983, *after their return from Oṛísá, at Gaur of malaria.*

1. Mun'im Khán, Khán Khánán, (18th Rajab). *Vide* p. 318.
2. Hájí Khán Sístání, (No. 55).
3. Haidar Khán, (No. 66).
4. Mírzá Qulí Khán, his brother.
5. Ashraf Khán, (No. 74).
6. Mu'inuddín Ahmad, (No. 128).
7. La'l Khán, (No. 209).
8. Hájí Yúsuf Khán, (No. 224).
9. Sháh Ṭáhir, (No. 236).
10. Háshim Khán.
11. Muhsin Khán.
12. Qunduz Khán.
13. Abul Husain.
14. Sháh Khalíl.

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56. Afzal Kha'n, Khwájah Sulṭán 'Alí[2] i Turbatí.

Regarding *Turbatí*, *vide* No. 37. He was *Mushrif* (accountant) of Humáyún's Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of *Mushrif i Buyútát* (store accountant). In 957, when Mírzá Kámrán took Kábul, he imprisoned A. Kh., and forced

[1] Another 'Mughulmárí' lies in the Bardwán district, between Bardwán and Jahánábád (Húglí District) on the old high road from Bardwán over Madáran to Mednípúr.

[2] The word 'Alí has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.

him to pay large sums of money. On Humáyún's return to India, A. Kh. was made *Mír Bakhshí*, and got an *'alam*. He was together with Tardí Beg (No. 12) in Dihlí, when Humáyún died. In the battle with Hemú, he held a command in the centre (*qol*), and his detachment gave way during Hemú's charge. A. Kh., together with Pír Muhammad (No. 20) and Ashraf Khán (No. 74), fled from the battle-field, partly from hatred towards Tardí Beg—the old hatred of Khurásánís towards Uzbaks—, and retreated to Akbar and Bairám. As related above, Tardí Beg was executed by Bairám for this retreat, and A. Kh. and Ashraf Khán were convicted of malice and imprisoned. But both escaped and went to Makkah. They returned in the 5th year, when Bairám had lost his power, and were favorably received at Court. A. Kh. was made a Commander of three thousand.

'Nothing else is known of him.' *Maásir*.

57. Sháhbeg Khán, son of Ibráhím Beg Harík (?)[1]

He is sometimes called *Beg Khán* (p. 313). He was an *Arghún;* hence his full name is *Sháh Beg Khán Arghún*. Under Jahángír he got the title of *Khán Daurán*.

He was in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím of Kábul, Akbar's brother, and was Governor of Pasháwar. When after the Prince's death, Mán Singh, in 993, crossed the Níláb (p. 340) for Kábul, Sháh Beg took M. M. Hakím's two sons, Kai Qubád and Afrásiyáb, to Akbar, and received a *mançab*. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yúsufzaís, and got *Khusháb* as *jágír*. He then served under the Khán Khánán in Sindh, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2500. In the 39th year Akkar sent him to Qandahár (p. 313), which Muzaffar Husain had ceded. During the time of his Governorship, Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kákar (کاکر) tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3500. In the 47th year, Ghaznín was placed in his charge (*vide* No. 63).

Immediately after the accession of Jahángír, Husain Khán Shámlú, the Persian Governor at Harát, thinking Akbar's death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Sh. B. and besieged Qandahár, which he hoped to starve out. To vex him, Sh. B. gave every night feasts on the top of the castle before the very eyes of the enemies (*Tuzuk*, p. 33). One day, Husain Khán sent an ambassador into the Fort, and Sh. B., though provisions had got low, had every available store of grain spread out in the streets, in order to deceive the enemies. Not long after, Husain Sháh received a reprimand from Sháh 'Abbás for having besieged Qandahár 'without orders,' and Husain Khán, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahángír in 1016 (18th Çafar) visited Kábul,[2] Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of 5000, and received the title of *Khán Daurán*. He was also made Governor of Kábul (in addition to Qandahár), and was ordered to prepare a financial settlement for the whole of Afghánistán. After having held this office till the end of 1027, he complained of the fatigues incident to a residence in Kábul, horse-travelling and the

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[1] So the Maásir. My MSS. of the Áín have حرلك, which may be *Haríl*, *Harmak*, *Harbak*, &c. Some MSS. read clearly *Harmak*.

[2] According to the *Tuzuk* (*p*. 53), Sh. B. then held the Parganah of Shor as *jágír*, regarding which *vide* Elliot's Index, first edition, p. 198.

drizzly state of the atmosphere of the country,[1] paid in the beginning of 1028 his respects at Court (*Tuz.*, p. 257), and was appointed Governor of T'hat'hah.[2] He resigned, however, in the same year (*Tuz.*, p. 275) and got the revenue of the Parganah of Khusháb assigned as pension (75,000 Rs.).

Before he went to T'hat'hah, he called on Áçaf Khán to take leave, and Áçaf recommended to him the brothers of Mullá Muhammad of T'hat'hah, who had been a friend of Áçaf. Sháhbeg had heard before that the Mullá's brothers, in consequence of Áçaf's support, had never cared for the Governors of the province; hence he said to Áçaf, "Certainly, I will take an interest in their welfare, if they are sensible (*sarhisáb*); but if not, I shall flay them." Áçaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

Sh. B. was a frank Turk. When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahár, he conferred upon him an *'alam* and a *naqqárah* (*p.* 50); but on receiving the *insignia*, he said to Faríd (No. 99), "What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my *mançab*, and a *jágír*, to enable me to get better troopers for his service." On his return, in 1028, from Kábul, he paraded before Jahángír his contingent of 1000 picked Mughul troopers, whose appearance and horses created much sensation.

He was much given to wine drinking. He drank, in fact, wine, *cannabis*, opium, and *kúknár*, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients *Chár Bughrá* (*p.* 60, *l.* 13), which gave rise to his nickname *Chár Bughrá Khur*.

His sons. 1. *Mírzá Sháh Muhammad, Ghaznín Khán*, a well educated man. Jahángír, in 1028, made him a Commander of One Thousand, 600 horse.

2. *Ya'qúb Beg*, son-in-law to Mírzá Ja'far Áçaf Khán (III) (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The *Maásir* says, he was a fatalist (*azalparast*), and died obscure.

3. *Asad Beg* (*Tuz.* p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The *Maásir* does not mention him.

The *Tuzuk*, p. 34, mentions a Qásim Beg Khán, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Sháhbeg Khán Arghún must not be confounded with No. 148.

58. Kha'n 'A'lam Chalmah Beg,[3] son of Hamdam who was Mírzá Kámrán's foster brother.

Chalmah Beg was Humáyún's *Safarchí*, or table attendant. Mírzá Kámrán had, in 960, been blinded, and at the Indus asked for permission to go to Makkah.

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[1] The text has *qaṭrah*, which is mentioned as a peculiarity of Kábul. I do not know whether I have correctly translated the term.

[2] Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the *Tuzuk*, (p. 266) makes him governor of *Patnah*—a confusion of پتنه and. تته.

[3] For *Chalmah*, the MSS. of the Áín have, at this place, *Halím*. In No. 100, the same name occurs. The *Maásir* and good MSS. of the *Akbarnámah* have *Chalmah*. Turkish dictionaries give *chalmah* (چلمه) in the meaning of *wild goat's dung*, and *chálmah* (چالمه) in that of *dastár*, a turban.

In the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badáoní Khán 'Alam is wrongly called خان اعلم, instead of خان عالم.

Before he left, Humáyún, accompanied by some of his courtiers, paid him a visit, when the unfortunate prince, after greeting his brother, quoted the verse—

کلاهٔ گوشهٔ درویش برفلک ساید که سایه همچو تو شاهی فکند بر سر او

'The fold of the poor man's turban touches the heaven, when a king like thee casts his shadow upon his head.'

And immediately afterwards he said the following verse *extempore*—

بر جانم از تو هرچه رسد جاي منت است گر ناوک جفاست وگر خنجر ستم

'Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty.'

Humáyún felt uncomfortable and tried to console him. He gave next day orders that any of Kámrán's old friends might accompany him free to Makkah; but as no one came forward, he turned to Chalmah Beg, and said, "Will you go with him, or stay with me?" Chalmah Beg, though he knew that Humáyún was much attached to him, replied that he thought he should accompany the Prince in the 'gloomy days of need and the darkness of his solitude.' The Emperor approved of his resolution, and made liberal provisions for Kámrán and his companion.

After Kámrán's death, Chalmah Beg returned to India, and was favorably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3000, bestowing upon him the title of ***Khán 'Álam***. He served under the emperor against the Mírzás in Gujrát, and was preseent in the fight at Sarnál (p. 330, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Dáúd in Patna, Khán 'Álam commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats towards the mouth of the G'handak, effected a landing, though continually exposed to the volleys of the enemies. Akbar praised him much for his daring. In the same year he was attached to Mun'im's corps. In the battle of Takaroí (p. 375), he commanded the *haráwal* (van). He charged the Afgháns, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon hard pressed upon and gave way, when Mun'im sent him an angry order to fall back. But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gújar Khán, Dáúd's best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line of elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black *quṭáses* (Yak tails) and skins of wild beasts attached to them. The horses of the Imperialists got frightened, nothing could make them stand, and their ranks were utterly broken. Kh. 'Á.'s horse got a sword cut, and reared, throwing him on the ground. He sprang up, and mounted it again, but was immediately thrown over by an elephant, and killed by the Afgháns who rushed from all sides upon him (20th Zí Qa'dah, 982).

It is said that before the battle he had presentiment of his death, and begged of his friends not to forget to tell the Emperor that he had willingly sacrificed his life.

Kh. 'Á. was a poet and wrote under the *Takhalluç* of *Hamdamí* (in allusion to the name of his father).

A brother of his, Muzaffar, is mentioned below (No. 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for اعظم, in my Text edition, p. 229, read عالم.

59. Qa'sim Kha'n, Mír Bahr Chamanárái (?) Khurásán.[1]

[1] I am doubtful regarding the true meaning of the odd title *chaman-árái Khurásán*, 'Ruler of Khurásán.' The Maásir, not knowing what to do with

He is the son of Mírzá Dost's sister, who was an old servant of the Tímúrides. When Mírzá Kámrán was, in 954, besieged in Kábul, Humáyún had occupied Mount Aqábín, which lies opposite the Fort of Kábul. Whilst the siege was going on, Qásim Khán and his younger brother, Khwájagí Muhammad Husain (No. 241), threw themselves down from a turret between the Áhanín Darwázah and the Qásim Barlás bastion, and went over to Humáyún, who received them with distinction.

Soon after Akbar's accession, Q. Kh. was made a Commander of Three Thousand. He superintended the building of the Fort of Ágrah, which he completed "after eight years at a cost of 7 *krors* of *tankahs*, or 35 lacs of rupees. The Fort stands on the banks of the Jamnah river, E. of the town of Agrah, on the place of the old Fort, which had much decayed. The breadth of the walls is 30 yards, and the height from the foundation to the pinnacles 60 *gaz*. It is built of red sandstone, the stones being well joined together and fastened to each other by iron rings which pass through them. The foundation every where reaches water."[1]

In the 23rd year, Q. was made Commander of Ágrah. In the beginning of Sha'bán 995 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmír, 'a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dihlí.' Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmír, the passes are all so narrow, that a few old men might repel a large army. The then ruler of Kashmír was Ya'qúb Khán, son of Yúsuf Khán Chak. He had fortified a pass;[2] but as his rule was disliked, a portion of his men went over to Q., whilst others raised a revolt in Srínagar. Thinking it more important to crush the revolt, Ya'qúb left his fortified position, and allowed Q. to enter the country. No longer able to oppose the Imperialists, he withdrew to the mountains, and trusted to an active guerilla warfare; but disappointed even in this hope, he submitted and became 'a servant of Akbar.' The Kashmíris, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country. Q. tired of the incessant petty annoyances, resigned his appointment (*vide* No. 35). In the 34th year he was made Governor of Kábul. At that time a young man from Andaján (Farghánah) gave out that he was a son of Sháhrukh.[3] He met with some success in Badakhshán, but was defeated by the Túrán

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it, has left it out. *Mír Bahr* means 'admiral.' If *chamanárái Kh.* be a genitive, the words mean, 'Admiral of the ruler of Khurásán,' which from his biography does not appear to be correct. His brother (No. 241) is styled *Mír Bar*, an officer whose duties seem to have been confined to looking after arrangements during trips, hunting expeditions, &c.

[1] The old Fort of Ágrah was called *Badalgaṛh* (Bad. I. 429). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Çafar), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 962.

The Fort *Bádalgar* بادلگدہ, not بدلگدہ, which Elliot (Index, First Edit., p. 229) identifies with the Fort of Ágrah, cannot be the old Fort of Ágrah, because Badáoní (I, 327) clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwáliár, not "one of the Forts dependent on Gwáliár."

For *Udantgír*, on the same page in Elliot, read *Untgar* (اونتگر). It was a Fort in the Sirkár of Mandláir, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have *Ootgir or Deogurh.*

[2] Called in the MSS. کتل کنہریل. The word *kutal*, means 'a mountain,' or 'a mountainpass.'

[3] In 1016 another false son of Mírzá Sháhrukh (p. 313) created disturbances and asked Jahángír for assistance against the Túránís.

The fate of Mírzá Sháhrukh's second son, Mírzá Husain, is involved in obscu-

Sháh. The pretender then made friendship with the Zábulí Hazárahs, and when Q., on one occasion, had repaired to Court, he entered Akbar's territory, giving out that he was going to pay his respects to the Emperor. But Háshim Beg, Q.'s son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazárahs. But Háshim Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kábul. Q., on his return from India, let him off, and even allowed him to enter his service. The pretender in the meantime re-engaged his old men, and when he had five hundred together, he waited for an opportunity to fall on Q. At this juncture, Akbar ordered the pretender to repair to Court. Accompanied by his ruffians, he entered at noon Q.'s sleeping apartments, when only a few females were present, and murdered his benefactor (1002). Háshim Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pretender and his men. In the *melée*, the murderer was killed.

For Qásim's brother *vide* No. 241, and for his son, No. 226.

60. Báqí Khán, (elder) brother of Adham Khán (No. 19).

His mother is the same Máhum Anagah, mentioned on p. 323. "From Badáoní [II, 340] we learn that Báqí Khán died in the 30th year as Governor of Gaḍha-Katangah." This is all the *Maásir* says of him.

His full name is Muhammad Báqí Khán Kokah. From Badáoní II. 81, we see that Báqí Khán took part in the war against Iskandar Khán and Bahádur Khán (972-73), and fought under Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khairábád, in which Budágh Khán (No. 52) was captured. The battle was lost, chiefly because Báqí Khán, Mahdí Qásim Khán (No. 36), and Husain Khán Tukriyah (No. 53) had personal grievances—their Uzbak hatred—against Mu'izzul-Mulk and Rájah Todar Mall.

61. Mír Mu'izzul-Mulk i Músawí, of Mashhad.

He belongs to the Músawí Sayyids of Mashhad the Holy, who trace their descent to 'Alí Músá Razá, the 8th Imám of the Shí'ahs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called *Razawís*.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaunpúr to punish Khán Zamán (No. 13), who had despatched his brother Bahádur and Iskandar Khán Uzbak (No. 48) to the district of *Sarwár*.[1] Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (*vide* No. 60) under Mu'izzulmulk. Bahádur, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to negotiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants.

rity, "He ran away from Burhánpúr, went to sea and to Persia, from where he went to Badakhshán. People say that he is still alive [1016]; but no one knows whether this new pretender is Sháhrukh's son or not. Sháhrukh left Badakhshán about twenty-five years ago, and since then the Badakhshís have set up several false Mírzás, in order to shake off the yoke of the Uzbaks. This pretender collected a large number of Uymáqs (p. 371, note 2) and Badakhshí Mountaineers, who go by the name of *Gharjahs* [غرجه, whence *Gharjistán*], and took from the Uzbaks a part of the country. But the enemies pressed upon him, caught him, and cut off his head which was carried on a spear all over Badakhshán. Several false Mírzás have since been killed: but I really think their race will continue, as long as a trace of Badakhshís remain on earth." *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, p. 57.

[1] Most MSS. have سروار. The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badáoní, p. 78, has سردار *Sardár*; but again سروار, on p. 83. There is no doubt that the district got its name from the *Sarw* River (آب سرو, آب سروار, آب سروُ).

M. M., however, desired war, and though he granted Bahádur an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood. But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Lashkar Khán (No. 90) and Rájah Todar Mall to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahádur, if he was satisfied of his good intentions. But here also the rancour of Khurásánís towards Uzbaks decided matters, and Todar Mall only confirmed M. M. in his resolution.[1] Although a few days later the news arrived that Akbar had pardoned Khán Zamán, because he sent his mother and his uncle Ibráhím Khán (No. 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M. M. attacked Bahádur near Khairábád. Muhammad Yár, son of Iskandar Khán's brother, who commanded the van of the rebels, fell in the first attack, and Iskandar who stood behind him, was carried along and fled from the field. The Imperialists thinking that the battle was decided, commenced to plunder, when suddenly Bahádur, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M. M.'s left wing and put it to flight. Not only was Budágh Khán (No. 52) taken prisoner, but many soldiers went over to Bahádur. Flushed with victory, he attacked the centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from malice (*vide* No. 60). Todar Mall's firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost.

After the conquest of Bihár, M. M. got the Parganah of Árah (Arrah) as *jágír*. In the 24th year, the nobles of Bihár under Ma'çúm i Kábulí, *tuyúldár* of Patna, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mír 'Alí Akbar (No. 62); but both soon left the rebels, and M. M. went to Jaunpúr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others. In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khán Turkmán, *jágírdár* of Mánikpúr, to hasten to Jaunpúr, and convey M. M. with all his suspicious adherents to Court. Asad Khán succeeded in catching M. M., and sent him by boat to the Emperor. Near Itáwah, however, the boat 'foundered,' and M. M. lost his life.

62. Mír 'Alí Akbar, (younger) brother of the preceding.

He generally served with his brother, and held the same rank. In the 22nd year, he presented Akbar, according to the *Ṭabaqát*, with a *Maulúdnámah*, or History of the birth of the Emperor. It was in the hand-writing of Qází Ghiásuddín i Jámí, a man of learning, who had served under Humáyún, and contained an account of the vision which Humáyún had in the night Akbar was born. The Emperor saw in his dream the new born babe, and was told to call his name Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar. This Maulúdnámah Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mír 'Alí Akbar with a Parganah[2] as *in'ám*.

When his brother was sent to Bihár, M. 'A. A. was ordered to accompany him. He established himself at Zamániyah, which "lies 6 *kos* from Gházípúr" (*vide* p. 320),

[1] Badáoní says Todar Mall's arrival was "*naphta* on Mu'izzul Mulk's fire." Throughout his work, Badáoní shews himself an admirer of Khán Zamán and his brother Bahádur. With Mu'izz, a Shí'ah of the Shí'ahs, he has no patience. 'Mu'izz's ideas, he says, were 'I and nobody else;' he behaved as proud as Fir'aun and Shaddád ; for pride is the inheritance of all Sayyids of Mashhad. Hence people say—'*Ahl i Mashhad, bajuz Imám i shumá, La'natulláhi bar tamám i shumá,*' 'O people of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imám [Músá Razá], may God's curse rest upon all of you! And also, 'The surface of the earth rejoices in its inhabitants ; how fortunate would it be, if a certain Mashhad vanished from the surface of the earth.'

[2] Called in the *Maásir* ندیه, (though it cannot be Nuddea in Bengal); in my copy of the *Sawánih* مدینه ; but Nadínah in Sambhal appears to be meant.

and rebelled like his brother in Jaunpúr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. 'Azíz (No. 21), who had been appointed to Bihár, to send M. 'A. A. fettered to Court. Notwithstanding his protests that he was innocent, he was taken to the Emperor who imprisoned him for life.

63. Shari'f Kha'n, brother of Atgah Khán (No. 15).

He was born at Ghaznín. After Bairám's fall, he held a *tuyúl* in the Panjáb, and generally served with his elder brother Mír Muhammad Khán (No. 16).

On the transfer of the *Atgah Khail* from the Panjáb, Sh. was appointed to the Sirkár of Qannauj. In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Mohiní, he sent Sh., together with Qází Khán i Badakhshí (No. 223), Mujáhid Khán, Subhán Qulí Turk, against the Ráná. He afterwards distinguished himself in the conquest of Koṇbhalmír. In the 25th year, he was made *atáliq* to Prince Murád, and was in the same year sent to Málwah as Governor, Shujá'at Khán (No. 51) having been killed. His son Báz Bahádur (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrát. In the 28th year, he served against Muzaffar, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bahroṇch, which was held for Muzaffar by Chirkis i Rúmí and Naçírá, brother of Muzaffar's wife. The former having been killed, Naçírá escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by Sharíf, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihábuddín (No. 26) to the Dak'hin, to assist Mírzá 'Azíz (No. 21).

In the 35th year, he went from Málwah to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ghaznín, an appointment which he had long desired. There he remained till the 47th year, when Sháh Beg (No. 57) was sent there.

'Nothing else is known of him.' *Maásir.*

His son, Báz Bahádur (No. 188), held a *jágír* in Gujrát, and was transferred to Málwah as related above. He served in the siege of Ásír, and in the Ahmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talingahs, but was released, when Abulfazl made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. Ibra'hi'm Kha'n i Shaiba'ni' (uncle of Khán Zamán, No. 13).

He served under Humáyún. After the conquest of Hindústán, Humáyún sent him with Sháh Abul Ma'álí to Láhor, to oppose Sikandar Súr, should he leave the Sawáliks. After the fall of Mánkoṭ, he received the Parganah of Sarharpúr,[1] near Jaunpúr, as *jágír*, and remained with Khán Zamán. During Khán Zamán's first rebellion, Ibráhím Khán and Khán Zamán's mother repaired at Mun'im Khan's request to Court as hostages of his loyalty, Ibráhím appearing, as was customary, with a shroud and a sword round his neck, which were only taken off when the Emperor's pardon had been obtained.

In the 12th year, however, Khán Zamán again rebelled, and Ibráhím went with Iskandar (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ibráhím, at Mun'im's request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khán Khánán.

In the *Ṭabaqát*, Ibr. is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

[1] It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badáoní II. 23, where Sarharpúr, which "lies 18 *kos* from Jaunpúr," is mentioned as the *jágír* of 'Abdurrahmán, Sikandar Súr's son, who got it after the surrender of Mánkoṭ.

His son, Ismá'íl Khán, held from Khán Zamán the town of Sandelah in Audh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sultán Husain Khán Jaláir. Ismá'íl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khán Zamán; but he was defeated and killed.

65. Khwa'jah Jala'luddi'n Mahmu'd Buju'q, of Khurásán.

The MSS. of the Áín have *Muhammad*, instead of *Mahmúd*, which other histories have, and have besides a word after *Muhammad* which reads like احمق and بحق. This should be no doubt بجق *bujuq*, the *scriptio defectiva* of the Turkish بجوق *bujúq*, 'having the nose cut,' as given in the copy of the *Maásir*.

Jaláluddín was in the service of M. 'Askarí. He had sent him from Qandahár to Garmsír, to collect taxes, when Humáyún passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalál presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humáyún conferred on him the title of *Mír Sámán*, which under the circumstances was an empty distinction. On Humáyún's return from Persia, Jalál joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznín, the *tuyúl* of the Prince. His devotion to his master rendered him so confident of the Emperor's protection, that he treated the grandees rudely, and incessantly annoyed them by satirical remarks. In fact, he had not a single friend.

Akbar on his accession made him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and appointed him to Ghaznín. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Mun'im Khán, who owed Jalál an old grudge. Jalál soon found his post in Ghaznín so disagreeable, that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznín, when Mun'im called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Mun'im imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced. Jalál's sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India. Before he reached the frontier, Mun'im's men caught him and his son Jaláluddín Mas'úd.[1] Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Mun'im.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Mun'im's character, and takes us the more by surprise, as on all other occasions he shewed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

66. Haidar Muhammad Kha'n, Akhtah Begí.

He was an old servant of Humáyún, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when in the defeat near Balkh Humáyún's horse had been shot. On the march against Kámrán who had left Kábul for Afghánistán, the imperialists came to the River Surkháb, Haidar, with several other faithful Amírs, leading the van. They reached the river Siyáh-áb, which flows near the Surkháb, before the army could come up. Kámrán suddenly attacked them by night; but Haidar bravely held his ground. He accompanied the Emperor to Qandahár and to India, and was appointed to Bayánah (*Bad.* I., 463), which was held by Ghází Khán Súr, father of Ibráhím Khán. After the siege had lasted some time, Haidar allowed Ghází to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghází. Humáyún was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Haidar do so again.

[1] He must not be confounded with the Jaláluddín Mas'úd mentioned *Tuzuk*, p. 67, who 'ate opium like cheese out of the hands of his mother.'

After Akbar's accession, H. was with Tardí Beg (No. 12) in Dihlí, and fought under Khán Zamán (No. 13) against Hemú. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kábul. At Mun'im's request, he assisted Ghaní Khán (*vide* p. 318) in Kábul. But they could not agree, and H. was called to India. He accompanied Mun'im, in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kábul and continued to serve under him in India.

In the 17th year, H. served with Khán i Kalán (No. 16) in Gujrát. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mírzá Qulí, attached to the Bengal army, under Mun'im. Both died of fever, in 983, at Gaur (*vide* p. 376).

A son of H. is mentioned below (No. 326.)

Mírzá Qulí, or *Mírzá Qulí Khán*, Haidar's brother, distinguished himself under Humáyún during the expedition to Badakhshán. When Kámrán, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Humáyún, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, *Dost Muhammad*, saved him in time.

According to the *Ṭabaqát*, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (*umará i kibár*), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand. His name occurs also often in the Akbarnámah. It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abulfazl in this list.

67. I'tima'd Kha'n, of Gujrát.

He must not be confounded with No. 119.

I'timád Khán was originally a Hindú servant of Sulṭán Mahmúd, king of Gujrát. He was 'trusted' (*i'timád*) by his master, who had allowed him to enter the harem, and had put him in charge of the women. It is said that, from gratitude, he used to eat camphor, and thus rendered himself impotent. He rose in the king's favor, and was at last made an Amír. In 961, after a reign of 18 years, the king was foully murdered by a slave of the name of Burhán, who besides killed twelve nobles. I'timád next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhán. Sulṭán Mahmúd having died without issue, I't. raised Razíul Mulk, under the title of Ahmad Sháh, to the throne. Razí was a son of Sulṭán Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadábád; but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in I't.'s hands. Five years later, the young king left Ahmadábád, and fled to Sayyid Mubárik of Bukhárá,[1] a principal courtier; but I't. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sulṭán Ahmad then thought it better to return to I't., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister; and I't. at last felt so insecure, that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. I't. now raised a child of the name of Nat'hú (نتهو)[2] to the throne, "who did not belong to the line of kings;" but on introducing him to the grandees, I't. swore upon the Qorán, that Nat'hú was a son of Sulṭán Mahmúd: his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sulṭán Mahmúd, to make her miscarry; but the child had been five months old, and he had not carried out the order. The Amírs

[1] Regarding this distinguished Gujrátí noble, *vide* the biography of his grandson, S. Hámid, (No. 78).

[2] Some MSS. read *Nahtú*.

had to believe the story, and Nat'hú was raised to the throne under the title of Sulṭán Muzaffar.

This is the origin of Sulṭán Muzaffar, who subsequently caused Akbar's generals so much trouble (*vide* pp. 326, 334, 335).

I't. was thus again at the head of the government; but the Amírs parcelled out the country among themselves, so that each was almost independent. The consequence was, that incessant feuds broke out among them. I't. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khán, son of I'timádul Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sulṭán Muzaffar, if genuine, should be the head of the state; and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mírzás, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, I't. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sulṭán, and went to Dúngarpúr. Two nobles, Alif Khán and Jhujhár Khán, took Sulṭán Muzaffar to him, went to Chingiz in Ahmadábád, and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mírzás seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahronch and Súrat. The general confusion only increased, when Sulṭán Muzaffar fled one day to Sher Khán Fúládí and his party, and I't. retaliated by informing Sher Khán that Nat'hú was no prince at all. But Sher Khán's party attributed this to I't.'s malice, and besieged him in Ahmadábád. I't. then fled to the Mírzás, and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujrát.

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khán's party had broken up. The Mírzás still held Bahronch; and Sulṭán Muzaffar, who had left Sher Khán, fell into the hands of Akbar's officers (*vide* No. 362). I'timád and other Gujrátí nobles had in the meantime proclaimed Akbar's accession from the pulpits of the mosques and struck coins in his name. They now waited on the Emperor. Barodah, Champánír, and Súrat were given to I't. as *tuyúl;* the other Amírs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mírzás. But they delayed and did nothing; some of them, as Ikhtiyárul-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took I't. and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. I't. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) as prisoner.

In the 20th year, I't. was released, and charged with the superintendence of the Imperial jewels and gold vessels. In the 22nd year, he was permitted to join the party who under Mír Abú Turáb (*vide* p. 198) went to Makkah. On his return, he received Patan as *jágír*.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shihábuddín Ahmad (No. 26), he was put in charge of Gujrát, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles, though Akbar had been warned; for people remembered I't.'s former inability to allay the factions in Gujrát. No sooner had Shiháb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. I't. did nothing, alleging that Shiháb was responsible for his men; but as Sulṭán Muzaffar had been successful in Kát'híwár, I't. left Ahmadábád, and went to Shiháb, who on his way to Court had reached Karí, 20 *kos* from Ahmadábád. Muzaffar used the opportunity and took Ahmadábád, Shiháb's men joining his standard.

Shiháb and I't. then shut themselves up in Patan, and had agreed to withdraw from Gujrát, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly in a party of Gujrátís who had left Muzaffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. I't. paid them well, and

sent them under the command of his son, Sher Khán, against Sher Khán Fúládí, who was repulsed. In the meantime M. 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) arrived. Leaving I't. at Patan, he marched with Shiháb against Muzaffar.

I'timád died at Patan in 995. The *Ṭabaqát* puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

In Abulfazl's opinion, Gujrátís are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness; and I'timád was the very type of a Gujrátí.

No. 68. Pa'yandah Kha'n, Mughul, son of Hájí Muhammad Khán Kokí's brother.

Hájí Muhammad and Sháh Muhammad, his brother, had been killed by Humáyún for treason on his return from Persia. Hájí Muhammad was a man of great daring, and his value, when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor.

Páyandah, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign came with Mun'im from Kábul, and was ordered to accompany Adham Khán (No. 19) to Málwah. In the 19th year, he accompanied Mun'im to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he served under Bhagwán Dás against Ráná Partáb. In the Gujrát war, he commanded M. 'Abdurrahím's (No. 29) *haráwal.*

In the 32nd year, he received G'horág'hát as jágír, whither he went.

This is all the *Maásir* says regarding Páyandah.

His full name was Muhammad Páyandah. He had a son Walí Beg who is mentioned below (No. 359).

From the *Tuzuk*, p. 144, we see that Páyandah died in 1024 A. H. Jahángír, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. *Tuz., p.* 68.

No. 69. Jagannat'h, son of Rájah Bihárí Mall (No. 23).

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17; *vide* p. 329). After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar. He generally served with Mán Singh. In the 21st year, when Ráná Partáb of Maiwár opposed the Imperialists, Jagannát'h during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Rám Dás, son of Jai Mall. In the 23rd year, he received a jágír in the Panjáb, and was, in the 25th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mírzá Muhammad Hakím from invading the Panjáb. In the 29th year, he again served against the Ráná. Later he accompanied Mírzá Yúsuf Khán (No. 35) to Kashmír. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murád in Kábul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Málwah, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dak'hin, he left Murád without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar's return from the Dak'hin, J. met the emperor at Rantanbhúr, his jágír, and was then again sent to the Dak'hin.

In the 1st year of Jahángír, he served under Prince Parwíz against the Ráná, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khusrau had been captured, called Parwíz to Court (*Tuzuk*, p. 33). In the same year, J. suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p. 359) had raised at Nágor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3000 horse.

Rám Chand,[1] his son. He was under Jahángír a Commander of Two Thousand, 1500 horse.

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[1] The *Tuzuk*, p. 74, calls him Karm Chand. *Vide* also *Pádisháhnámah*, I., *b.*, 318.

Rájah Manrúp, a son of Rám Chand. He accompanied Prince Sháhjahán on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2000 horse. He died in the 4th year of Sháhjahán. He had a son *Gopál Sing'h.*

70. Makhsu's Kha'n, (younger) brother of Sa'íd Khán (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multán. In the 23rd year, he served under Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) against Gajpatí, and three years later, he accompanied Prince Murád to Kábul, where he also served under Akbar, who had gone thither and pardoned his brother, M. Muhammad Hakím.

Subsequently, Makhçúç served under Prince Salím. In the 49th year, he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

He was alive in the beginning of Jahángír's reign. The author of the *Maásir* has not recorded the date of his death.

He had a son Maqçúd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahángír would not give him a *mançab.*

71. The author of the A'i'n, Abulfazl, son of Shaik Mubárik of Nágor.

Abulfazl's biography will be found elsewhere.

X. Commanders of Two Thousand.

72. Isma'i'l Kha'n Duldai.

Duldai, or Dúldai, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlás clan (*vide* p. 341, note).

The *Maásir* calls him Ismá'íl Qulí *Beg* Dúldai. A similar difference was observed in the name of Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24), and we may conclude that *Beg*, at least in India, was considered a lower title than *Khán*, just as *Beglar Begí* was considered inferior to *Khán Khánán.*

Ismá'íl Qulí was a grandee of Bábar and Humáyún, distinguished in the field and in council. When Humáyún besieged Qandahár, and the Grandees one after the other left M. 'Askarí, Ism. also joined the Emperor, and was appointed, after the conquest of Qandahár, Governor of Dáwar. When Kábul was besieged, Ism. and Khizr Khwájah (*vide* p. 365, note 2) attacked Sher 'Alí, an officer of Mírzá Kámrán, who at the prince's order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (*qáfilah i wiláyat*) on its way to Chárikán;[1] but as the roads were occupied by the Imperialists, Sher 'Alí could not reach Kábul, and marched towards Ghaznín, when he was overtaken and defeated. Ism. and Khizr spoiled the plunderer, and went again to Humáyún. A short time after, Ism. and several other grandees left the emperor, because they resented the elevation of Qaráchah Khán, and followed Mírzá Kámrán to Badakhshán. Humáyún followed them up and caught them together with Kámrán, Ism. among them. Ism. was, however, pardoned at Mun'im's request.

Ism. accompanied the emperor on his march to India, and was sent, after the capture of Dihlí, together with Sháh Abul Ma'álí to Láhor.

"Nothing else is known of him." *Maásir.*

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[1] So the *Maásir*. Our maps have *Charikar* (Lat. 35°. Long. 69), which lies north of Kábul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Istálif (إستالف or استاليف) lies half way between Kábul and Charikar.

73. Mi'r Babus (?), the I'ghur.

The Ighurs are a well known Chaghtái tribe. The correct name of this grandee is a matter of doubt, as every MS. has a different *lectio ; vide* my Text edition, p. 224, note 6. The *Maásir* has left out the name of this grandee ; nor do I find it in the List of the Ṭabaqát.

74. Ashraf Kha'n Mi'r Munshi', Muhammad Açghar of Sabzwár (?).

He was a Husainí Sayyid of Mashhad (*Maásir, Mir-át ul'Alam*). The author of the *Ṭabaqát* says, he belonged to the *'Arabsháhí* Sayyids; 'but people rarely make such fine distinctions.' Abulfazl says, he was of Sabzwár; but in the opinion of the Maásir, this is an error of the copyists.

Ashraf Khán was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the *Ta'líq* and *Nasta'líq* characters (p. 101, l. 14). He also understood *jafar*, or witchcraft.

Ashraf was in Humáyún's service, and had received from him the post and title of Mír Munshí. After the conquest of Hindústán, he was made *Mír 'Arz* and *Mír Mál.* At Akbar's accession, he was in Dihlí and took part in the battle with Hemú (p. 365, No. 48). He was imprisoned by Bairám, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Máchhíwárah on his way to the Siwáliks where Bairám was. He was well received and got a *mançab.* In the 6th year, when the emperor returned from Málwah, he bestowed upon him the title of *Ashraf Khán.*

In the 19th year, he went with Mun'im to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroí, and died in the twentieth year (983)[1] at Gaur (*vide* p. 376).

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.

His son, Mír Abul Muzaffar (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ashraf's grandsons, Husainí and Burhání, held inferior commands under Sháhjahán.

75. Sayyid Mahmu'd of Ba'rha, [Kúndlíwál].

'Sayyid Mahmúd was the first of the Bárha Sayyids that held office under the Tímúrides.' He was with Sikandar Súr (*Badáoní* II, 17) in Mánkoṭ, but seeing that the cause of the Afgháns was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Akbar. He was a friend of Bairám, and served in the first year under 'Alí Qulí Khán Zamán (No. 13) against Hemú. In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Hájí Khán in Ajmír (*vide* Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Sháh Qulí Mahram (No. 45) Fort Jaitáran,[2] and served in the same year under Adham Kokah against the Bhadauriyahs of Hatkánt'h (*vide* p. 323, last line).

After Bairám's fall, Sayyid Mahmúd got a jágír near Dihlí. In the 7th year, he brought Mun'im Khán to Court (*vide* p. 318). In the 17th year, he served under the Khán i Kalán (No. 16) and the emperor in Gujrát, was present in the battle of Sarnál, and followed up Mírzá Ibráhím Husain. On every occasion he fought with much bravery. Towards the end of the 18th year, he was sent with other Sayyids of Bárha, and Sayyid Muhammad of Amrohah (No. 140) against Rájah Madhukar, who had

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[1] The *Mir-át* says in the tenth year (973), as stated on p. 101, note 6. This is clearly a mistake of the author of the *Mir-át*.

[2] The best MSS. have جیتارن. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmír over Pálí to Jálor.

invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwáliár. S. Mahmud drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981.

Sayyid Mahmúd was a man of rustic habits, and great personal courage and generosity. Akbar's court admired his valour and chuckled at his boorishness and unadorned language; but he stood in high favor with the emperor. Once on his return from the war with Madhukar, he gave in the State hall a verbal account of his expedition, in which his "I" occurred oftener than was deemed proper by the assembled Amírs. "You have gained the victory," interrupted Áçaf Khán, in order to give him a gentle hint, "because His Majesty's good fortune (*iqbál i pádishḍhí*) accompanied you." Mistaking the word 'Iqbál' for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Mahmúd, "Iqbál i Pádisháhí did not accompany me: I was there, and my brothers: *we* licked them with our sabres." The emperor smiled, and bestowed upon him praise and more substantial favors.

But more malicious were the remarks of the Amírs regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood. Jahángír (*Tuzuk*, p. 366) also says that people doubt the claim of the Bárha family to be Sayyids. Once Mahmúd was asked how many generations backwards the Sayyids of Bárha traced their descent. Accidentally a fire was burning on the ground near the spot where Mahmúd stood. Jumping into it, he exclaimed, "If I am a Sayyid, the fire will not hurt me; if I am no Sayyid, I shall get burnt." He stood for nearly an hour in the fire, and only left it at the earnest request of the bystanders. "His velvet-slippers shewed, indeed, no trace of being singed."

For Sayyid Mahmúd's brother and sons, *vide* Nos. 91, 105, and 143.

Note on the Sayyids of Bárha (Sádát i Bárha).

In MSS. we find the spelling بارهه *bárha*, and باره *bárah*. The lexicographist Bahár i 'Ajam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled *Jawáhir ul Hurúf*, says that the names of Indian towns ending in ه form adjectives in وي, as تته, *Tattah* or تهتهه *T'hat'ha*, forms an adjective تتوي *tatawí*; but of بارهه no adjective is formed, and you say *sádát i bárha*, instead of *sádát i barhawí*.

The name *Bárha* has been differently explained. Whether the derivation from the Hindí numeral *bárah*, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahángír; for both the *Ṭabaqát* and the *Tuzuk* derive the name from 12 villages in the Duáb (Muzaffarnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgrám, the Bárha family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abul Farah of Wásiṭ;[1] but their *nasabnámah*, or genealogical tree, was sneered at, and even Jahangír, in the above quoted passage from the *Tuzuk*, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bárha—but nothing else—was the best proof that they were Sayyids. But they clung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed

[1] "From him are descended the most renowned Musalmán families in Northern India, the Barha and Belgram Syuds, and in Khyrábád, Futtehpore Huswá, and many other places, branches of the same stem are found." *C. A. Elliott, The Chronicles of Onao*, Allahabad, 1862, p. 93.

the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul emperors, as Sayyid Khán Jahán (Sayyid Abul Muzaffar), and several others.

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their bravery and valour had become a by-word. Their place in battle was the van (*hardwal*); they claimed to be the leaders of the onset, and every emperor from the times of Akbar gladly availed himself of the prestige of their name. They delighted in looking upon themselves as Hindústánís (*vide* p. 336). Their military fame completely threw to the background the renown of the Sayyids of Amrohah, of Mánikpúr, the Khánzádahs of Mewát, and even families of royal blood as the Çafawís.

The Sayyids of Bárha are divided into four branches, whose names are—1. *Tihanpúrí;* 2. *Chatbanúrí*, or *Chátraurí;*[1] 3. *Kúndlíwál;* 4. *Jagnerí*. The chief town of the first branch was Jánsaṭh; of the second, Sambalhaṛah; of the third, Majhaṛah; of the fourth Biḍaulí on the Jamnah. Of these four lines Muhammadan Historians, perhaps accidentally, only mention two, *viz.*, the *Kúndlíwál* (کوندلي وال) to which Sayyid Mahmúd (No. 75) belonged; and the *Tihanpúrí* (تهنپوري), of which Sayyid Khán Jahán was a member.

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids of Bárha before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of some importance under the Súrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Mahmúd in Akbar's camp (p. 389) is recorded by all Historians as an event of importance. He and other Sayyids were, moreover, at once appointed to high *mançabs*. The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered to Humáyún; but this is at variance with Abulfazl's statement that Sayyid Mahmúd was the first that served under a Timuride.

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of Muhammad, Sháh (1131 to 1161), who deposed the brothers Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán and Sayyid Husain 'Alí Khán, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Mahmúd under Akbar, and the above two brothers, who made four Timurides emperors, dethroned and killed two, and blinded and imprisoned three![2]

The Sayyids of Bárha are even now-a-days numerous and 'form the characteristic element in the population of the Muzaffarnagar district' (Leeds' Report).

Abulfazl mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees, *viz.*—

1. Sayyid Mahmúd (No. 75).
2. Sayyid Ahmad, his brother, (No. 91).
3. Sayyid Qásim (No. 105). } sons of 1.
4. Sayyid Háshim (No. 143). } sons of 1.
5. Sayyid Rájú (No. 165).
6. Sayyid Jamáluddín (No. 217), son of 2.
7. Sayyid Jhajhú (No. 221).
8. Sayyid Báyazíd (No. 295).
9. Sayyid Láḍ (No. 409).

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[1] *Vide* Sir H. Elliot's Glossary (Beames' Edition) I, p. 11 and p. 297. On p. 12 of the Glossary read *Sayyid Mahmúd* twice for *Sayyid Muhammad; Sayyid 'Alí Açghar* for *Sayyid 'Alí Asaf; Dilír Khán* for *Debí Khán*. Instead of *Chatbanúrí* (or *Chátraurí*), which Mr. R. J. Leeds, C. S. gives in his valuable Report on the Castes and Races of the Muzaffarnagar District (Glossary, p. 297, ff.), Sir H. Elliot has *Chantraudí*.

[2] They made Farrukh Siyar, Rafí'uddarajját, Rafí'uddaulah, and Muhammad Sháh, emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahándár Sháh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Princes A'azzuddín, 'Alí Tabár, and Humáyún Bakht.

The Akbarnámah mentions several other Sayyids without indicating to what family they belong. Thus S. Jamáluddín, a *grandson* of S. Mahmúd (*vide* under 91); S. Sálim; S. Fáth Khán, (Bad. II., 180); &c.

The following trees are compiled from the *Tuzuk*, *Pádisháhnámah*, and *Maásir*.

(*a.*) Sayyid Mahmúd of Bárha, Kúndlíwál.——Sayyid Ahmad, his brother. (No. 91).

Sons of Sayyid Mahmúd:

1. S. Qásim. (No. 105.)
   - 1. S. Ádam, *Tuz.* 80.
   - 2. S. Sulaimán, *Pád.* I, *b.* 320.
2. S. Háshim. (No. 143.)
   - S. Báyazíd. (No. 295, ?)
     - S. Sultán, Çalábat Khán, *alias* Ikhtiçáç Khán.
3. S. 'Alí Açghar, Saif Khán. *d.* 1025.
   - S. Núrul 'Iyán. *Pád.* II, 735.
4. Sayyid Jahángír, (*Pád.* I, 439.)
   - S. Ja'far Shujá'at Khán, *d.* 1052.
     - 1. S. Muzaffar, Himmat Khán, *Pád.* II, 735.
     - 2. S. Qutb. *Pád.* II, 746.
     - 3. S. Najábat. *Pád.* II, 749.

Son of Sayyid Ahmad: S. Jamáluddín, (No. 217.)

(*b.*) Sayyid Dilír Khán ('Abdul Wahháb), *d.* 1042.

1. S. Hasan, *Pád.* I, *b.*, 323.
2. S. Khalílullah, *Pád.* I, *b.*, 323.

(*c.*) Sayyid Hizabr Khán, *d.* 1047.——Sayyid 'Álam, his brother. Perished with Prince Shujá', in Rakhang (Arracan).

- S. Zabardast.

(*d.*) Sayyid Khán Jahán i Sháhjahání, Tihanpúrí. (*alias* S. Abul Muzaffar Khán), *d.* 1055.——A brother.

Sons of Sayyid Khán Jahán:

1. S. Mançúr.
2. S. Sher Zamán, *title*, S. Muzaffar Khán.
3. S. Munawwar, Lashkar Khán.
   - S. Wajíhuddín Khán.

Sons of the brother:

1. S. 'Alí. *Pád.* II, 748.
2. S. Fírúz, Ikhtiçáç Khán, *d.* 1077.

The *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., 312, 319; II., p. 733, 734, 735, 741, 752) mentions also S. Mák'han, *d.* 9th year of Sháhjahán; S. Síkhan; S. 'Abdullah; S. Muhammad, son of S. Afzal; S. Khádim; S. Sálár; S. Shiháb.

(*e.*) Sayyid Qásim, Shahámat Khán [Chátraurí] (was alive in the 24th year of Aurangzíb).——a brother

Son of the brother: 1. S. Nuçrat Yár Khán (under Muhammad Sháh).

(*f.*) Sayyid Husain Khán, *d.* 1120.

1. S. Abú Sa'íd Khán.
2. Ghairat Khán.
3. Hasan Khán.

(*g.*) Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán, [Tihanpúrí]. *alias* Sayyid Miyán (under Sháh 'Álam I.)

1. S. Hasan 'Alí Khán; *title*, Qutbulmulk S. 'Abdullah Khán.
2. Amírul Mamálik S. Husain 'Alí Khán. (killed by Muhammad Sháh).
3. S. Saifuddín Husain 'Alí Khán.
4. S. Najmuddín 'Alí Khán.

For the following notes, I am indebted to R. J. Leeds, Esq., C. S., Mirzapore, who kindly sent me two Urdú MSS. containing a short family history of the *Sádát i Bárha*, composed in 1864 and 1869 by one of the Sayyids themselves. As Mr. Leeds has submitted together with his Report ' a detailed account in English of the history of the Sayyids,' the following extracts from the Urdú MSS. will suffice.

The date of the arrival in India of the above-mentioned Abul Farah from Wásiṭ is doubtful. The two MSS. mention the time of Iltitmish (Altamsh), and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulágú's invasion of Baghdád and the overthrow of the empire of the Khalífahs; while the sons of Abul Farah are said to have been in the service of Shihábuddín Ghorí—two palpable anachronisms.

Abul Farah is said to have arrived in India with his twelve sons, of whom four remained in India on his return to his country. These four brothers are the ancestors of the four branches of the Sayyids. Their names are—

1. Sayyid Dáúd, who settled in the *mauza'* of *Tihanpúr*.
2. Sayyid Abulfazl, who settled in the *qaçbah* of *Chhatbanúrá* (چهتبنورا).
3. Sayyid Abulfazáil, who settled in the *mauza'* of *Kúndlí*.
4. Sayyid Najmuddín Husain, who settled in the *mauza'* of *Jhujar*.

These four places are said to lie near Patiálá in the Panjáb, and have given rise to the names of the four branches. Instead of *Chhatbanúrí*, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also *Chhátrauḍí*, چهاترودي, or چهاتروڑي, and *Jagnerí* (جگنيري) instead of جهجري *Jhujarí*, although no explanation is given of these alterations.

From Patiálá, the four brothers went to the Duáb between the Ganges and Jamnah, from where a branch was established at Bilgrám in Audh.

The etymology of *bárha* is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it frrm *báhir*, outside, because the Sayyids excamped *outside* the imperial camp; some from *bárah imám*, the twelve Imáms of the Shí'ahs, as the Sayyids were Shí'ahs; some derive it from twelve (*bárah*) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahr, Tahçíl Anúpshahr, is said to contain a *bárha* of Pat'háns, *i. e.* 12 villages belonging to a Pathán family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic *abrár*, pious.

The descendants of S. Dáúd settled at *Dhásirí;* and form the *Tihanpúrí* branch, those of S. Abulfazl at Sambalhaṛah, and form the Chhatbanúrí or Chhátrauṛí branch; those of S. Abulfazáil went to Majhaṛah, and are the Kúndlíwáls; and those of S. Najmuddín occupied Biḍaulí, and form the Jhujarí, or Jagnerí, branch.

A. The Tihanpúrís.

The eighth descendant of S. Dáúd was S. Khán Qír (?) (خان قير)[1]. He had four sons—

[1] The word قير occurs also in the lists of Pat'hán nobles in the *Tárikh i Fírúzsháhí*. The title of قيربك *qírbak*, which is mentioned in the same work, appears to be the same as the later قوربيگ or قوربيگي, *qurbegí*, the officer in charge of the *qúr* (p. 110). But the name *Khán Qír* is perhaps wrong; the MS. calls him خوان فير, or خوان قير, *Khwán Fír* or *Khwán Qír* (?).

1. *Sayyid 'Umar Shahíd*, who settled in Jánsaṭh, a village then inhabited by Játs and Brahmins. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 392, (*g*).

The occurrence of the name *'Umar* shews that he, at any rate, was no Shí'ah.

2. *Sayyid Chaman*, who settled at Chatorah (چتوره), in the Parganah of Jolí-Jánsaṭh. To his descendants belongs S. Jalál, who during the reign of Sháhjahán[1] is said to have founded K'harwah Jalálpúr in 'Iláqah Sirdhanah, district Mírat'h. His son S. Shams left the imperial service; hence the family declined. He had two sons, Asad 'Alí and 'Alí Açghar, whose descendants still exist in Chatorah and Jalálpúr respectively. They are very poor, and sold in 1843-44 the bricks of the ruined family dwellings in Chatorah for Rs. 10,000 to the Government for the construction of works of irrigation. The buildings in Chatorah are ascribed to S. Muhammad Çaláh Khán, who served in Audh, and died childless.

3. *Sayyid Huná* (هنا). He settled at Bihárí, Muzaffarnagar. He had six sons—

I. Sayyid Quṭb, whose descendants occupy the village of Biláspúr in the Muzaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Rat'herí Sayyids.

II. S. Sulṭán, whose descendants hold Sirdháolí.

III. S. Yúsuf, whose posterity is to be found in Bihárí and Dhalnah (one MS. reads *Dubalnah*).

IV. and *V. S. Ján* and *S. Mán*, had no offspring.

VI. S. Naçíruddín. To his descendants belongs S. Khán Jahán i Sháhjahání, p. 392 (*d*.). On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family. His first son, *S. Mançúr* built Mançúrpúr, and his descendant hold now-a-days Mançúrpúr and K'hataulí; his second son *Muzaffar Khán* [Sher Zamán] built Muzaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. *Sayyid Ahmad*. He settled at كوال in Jolí-Jánsaṭh, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tátár Khán, and Díwán Yár Muhammad Khán as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Aurangzíb.

B. The Chhatbanúrí, or Chhátrauṛí, Clan.

One of the descendants of S. Abulfazl is called S. Hasan Fakhruddín who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambalhaṛah, the rájahs of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Nadhah, is said to have had four sons—

I. Sayyid 'Alí.

II. Sayyid Ahmad, a descendant of whom, S. Raushan 'Alí Khán, served under Muhammad Sháh.

III. S. Tájuddín, whose son, S. 'Umar, settled at Kakraulí.

IV. S. Sálár (perhaps the same on p. 392, l. 11 from below), who had two sons S. Haidar Khán, and S. Muhammad Khán. The descendants of the former settled at Míránpúr, which was founded by Nawáb S. Shahámat Khán, evidently the same as on p. 392, (*l*. 10). S. Muhammad Khán settled at K'hatorah ("a village so called, be-

[1] The *Pádisháhnámah*, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalál and S. Shams. A *S. Jalál* is mentioned *Tuz.*, p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhaironwál (*vide* No. 99).

cause it was at first inhabited by Káiths"). Among his descendants are S. Nuçrat Yár Khán, (p. 392), and Ruknuddaulah.

C. *The Kúndlíwáls.*

S. Abul Fazáil settled at Majharah, which is said to have been so called, because the site was formerly a jungle of *múnj* grass. The MSS. say that many Sayyids of the branch are *mafqúd-ulkhabar*, *i. e.*, it is not known what became of them. The Kúndlíwáls which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Majharah being altogether deplorable.

The Kúndlíwals are now scattered over Majharah, Háshimpúr, Tang,[1] Tanderah, &c.

D. *The Jagnerís.*

The son of S. Najmuddín, S. Qamaruddín, settled at Bidaulí. A descendant of his, S. Fakhruddín left Bidaulí and settled at بلري in Jolí-Jánsath, and had also zamíndárís in Chandaurí Chandaurah, Tulsípúr, and K'harí. Now-a-days many of this branch are in Bidaulí, 'Iláqah Pánípat, and Dihlí.

* * *

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bárha still exist are—Míránpúr, K'hataulí, Muzaffarnagar, Jolí, Tas-ha, Bak'herah, Majharah, Chataurah, Sambalharah, Tang, Biláspúr, Mornah, Sirdháolí, Kíláodah, Jánsath.

After the overthrow of the Tihanpúrí brothers [p. 392, (*g.*)], many emigrated. Sayyids of Bárha exist also in Lak'hnau, Barelí, 'Anwlah, in Audh ; also in Nagínah, Maiman, and Chándpúr in the Bijnor district. A branch of the Jolí Sayyids is said to exist in Púrniah (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint 'Abdullah Kirmání of Bírbhúm claim likewise to be related to the Bárha Sayyids.

During the reign of Aurangzíb, the Sayyids are said to have professed Sunní tendencies.

The political overthrow of the Sádát i Bárha under Muhammad Sháh (*vide* Elphinstone, Vth edition, p. 693) was followed by the disastrous fight at Bhasí (بهسي), which lies on the K'hataulí road, where the Sayyids were defeated by the Imperialists, and robbed of the jewels and gold vessels which their ancestors during their palmy days had collected.

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[1] As this place is said to have been founded by Hizabr Khán [p. 392, (*c.*)] it would seem as if this Sayyid also was a Kúndlíwál. His brother, S. 'Álam perished with Prince Shujá' in Arracan ; and it is noticeable that of the 22 companions of the unfortunate prince, *ten* were Bárha Sayyids, the remaining twelve being Mughuls.

The value of the above-mentioned two Urdú MSS. lies in their geographical details and traditional information. A more exhaustive History of the Sádát i Bárha, based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India,—now so accessible—and completed from inscriptions and sanads and other documents still in the possession of the clan, would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History, and none are better suited for such a task than the Sayyids themselves.

There is no doubt that the Sayyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kúndlíwáls, who are the very opposite of *mafqúd-ulkhabar*.

76. 'Abdullah Khán Mughul.

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the *Maásir* or the *Ṭabaqát.* He has been mentioned above, p. 309, l. 21. Akbar's marriage with his daughter displeased Bairám, because 'Abdullah's sister was married to Kámrán, of whose party Bairám believed him to be. When Bairám, during his rebellion (p. 317), marched from Dípálpúr to Jálindhar, he passed over Tihárah, where 'Abdullah defeated a party of his friends under Walí Beg (p. 329, No. 24).

'Abdullah Khan *Mughul* must not be confounded with 'Abdullah Khán *Uzbak* (No. 14).

77. Shaikh Muhammad i Bukhárí.

He was a distinguished Hindústání Sayyid, and maternal uncle (*tughái*) to Shaikh Faríd i Bukhárí (No. 99). Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness. Fattú Kháçah Khail Afghán handed over the Fort of Chanáṛ to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaikh Muhammad.

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a *tuyúl* in Ajmír, and ordered him to take charge of Shaikh Mu'ín i Chishtí's tomb, as the *khádims* were generally at feud about the emoluments and distribution of vows presented by pilgrims. Nor had the efficacy of their prayers been proved, though they claimed to possess sufficient influence with God to promise offspring to the barren and childless.

In the 17th year, Shaikh M. was attached to the corps under Mírzá 'Azíz (No. 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Ahmadábád. After the Emperor's victory at Sarnál, Ibráhím Mírzá joined Husain Mírzá, Sháh Mírzá, and 'A'qil Mírzá, at Patan (Gujrát); but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Ágrah. The other three Mírzás remained in Patan, and entered into a league with the Fúládí party (*vide* No. 67). Mírzá 'Azíz had been re-inforced by the Málwah contingent under Quṭbuddín (No. 28), Sháh Budágh (No. 52), and Maṭlab Khán (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaikh M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholqah to Súrat. Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah left Sayyid Hámid (No. 78) in Ahmadábád, and moved against the Mírzás in Patan. The Mírzás and Sher Khán Fúládí, however, wished to delay the fight, as their re-inforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khán sent proposals of peace through Shaikh M. to M. 'Azíz. Sháh Budágh advised M. 'Azíz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and 'Azíz drew up his army. He himself, Sháh Budágh, Mu'ínuddín i Farankhúdí (No. 128), Ma'çúm Khán and his son, and Maṭlab Khán (No. 83) stood in the centre (*qol*); Quṭbuddín (No. 28), and Jamáluddín Injú (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaikh Muhammad, Murád Khán (No. 54), Sháh Muhammad (No. 95), Sháh Fakhruddín (No. 88), Muzaffar Mughul, Páyandah (No. 68), Hájí Khán Afghán, and the son of Khawáç Khán, on the left wing; Dastam Khán (No. 79), Naurang Khán (*vide* p. 334), Muhammad Qulí Toqbái (No. 129), and Mihr 'Alí Sildoz (No. 130), led the van (*haráwal*); Báz Bahádur (No. 188) occupied the *Altimash* (between the van and the commander); and Mírzá Muqím and Chirgis Khán formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khán Fúládí and Junaid i Kararání; the right wing by the three Mírzás; the left wing by Muhammad Khán (Sher Khán's eldest son) and Sádát Khán; and their van was led by Badr Khán, younger son of Sher Khán. The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of

Patan, 18th Ramazán, 980 (22nd January, 1573). The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mírzás. Murád Khán (No. 54) preferred to look on. Sháh Muhammad (No. 95) was wounded, and carried off by his men to Ahmadábád. Shaikh Muhammad himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bahá-uddín, and Sayyid Ja'far, brother of Shaikh Faríd (No. 99). The Mírzás also fell upon Sháh Fakhruddín and repulsed him. Quṭbuddín even was hard pressed, when M. 'Azíz by a timely attack with his centre put the enemies to flight. As usual, the soldiers of the enemies had too early commenced to plunder.

Sher Khán fled to Júnágaḍh, and the Mírzás to the Dak'hin.

78. Sayyid Ha'mid i Bukhárí.

Sayyid Hámid was the son of S. Mírán, son of S. Mubárik. Sayyid Mubárik was a Gujrátí Courtier (*vide* p. 385, note) who, it is said, arrived from Bukhárá with but a horse. One day he was attacked by a *mast* elephant, when he discharged an arrow that entered the forehead of the animal so deep, that only the notch of the arrow was visible. From this event, the people of Gujrát swore by S. Mubárik's arrow. He gradually rose to higher dignities. When I'timád Khán (No. 67) raised Nat'hú to the throne, under the title of Muzaffar Sháh, S. Mubárik got several Mahalls of the Patan, Dholqah, and Dandoqah (W. of the Peninsula) Districts. After his death, Dholqah and Dandoqah were given to his son, Sayyid Mírán, and after him to his grandson Sayyid Hámid.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrát, arrived on 1st Rajab, 980, at Patan, Sayyid Hámid went over to him, and was favorably received. During the war of Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah with the Mírzás (*vide* No. 77), S. H. was put in charge of Ahmadábád. In the 18th year, Dholqah and Dandoqah were again given him as *tuyúl.* Subsequently, he served under Quṭbuddín in Kambháit.

In the 22nd year, he was appointed to Multán, and served in the end of the same year with M. Yúsuf Khán i Razawí (No. 35), against the Balúchís. In the 25th year, when M. Muhammad Hakím invaded Láhor, S. H. with the other *tuyúldárs* of the Panjáb assembled and joined the army of Prince Murád, S. H. commanding the left wing. He also served under Akbar in Kábul. On the Emperor's return, he was permitted to go from Sirhind to his *jágír.*

In the 30th year, he served under Mán Singh in Kábul. On his arrival at Pasháwar, his jágír, S. H. sent most of his men to Hindústán, and lived securely in Bigrám (on our Maps, *Beghram*), leaving his affairs in the hands of a man of the name of Músá. This man oppressed the Mahmand and Gharbah (?) Khail tribes, 'who have ten thousand homes near Pasháwar'. The oppressed Afgháns, instead of complaining to Akbar, chose Jalálah i Taríkí as leader, and attacked S. H. He first resolved to shut himself up in Bigrám; but having received an erroneous report regarding the strength of the enemies, he left the town, and was defeated and killed (31st year). The *Maásir* says, he was killed in 993. In this fight, forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afgháns then besieged the Fort, which was held by Kamál, son of S. H. He held it till he was relieved.

S. Kamál, during Akbar's reign, was promoted to a command of Seven Hundred, and, on the accession of Jahángír, to a Hazáríship. He was made Governor of Dilhí, *vice* Shaikh 'Abdul Wahháb, also a Bukhárí Sayyid (*Tuz.* p. 35, l. 8 from below).

Kamál served under Faríd i Bukhárí (No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusrau, and commanded the left wing in the fight near Bhaironwál, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Bárha who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Ya'qúb, son of S. Kamál, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1000 horse, and died in the third year of Sháhjahán's reign. The *Maásir* says, in the 2nd year.

The two lists of Sháhjahán's grandees given in the *Pádisháhnámah* (I, b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Hámid, of the name of Sayyid Báqir, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse.

79. Dastam Khán, son of Rustam i Turkistání.

The correct name of this grandee is *Dastam* دستم, a very unusual name, though most MSS. of the Áín and many of the Akbarnámah give رستم, *Rustam*. The *Maásir* correctly places his name under the letter *D*.

His father's name was Rustam. His mother—her name is not clearly written in the MSS. of the *Maásir* and *Akbarnámah*, which I have seen, either *Najíbah* or *Bakhyah*—was a friend of Máhum Anagah (*vide* No. 19), and had free access to the Harem. Dastam appears to have been a play-fellow of Prince Akbar.

Dastam Khán, in the 9th year, served under Mu'izzul Mulk (No. 61) against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served under Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah in the battle of Patan (*vide* No. 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husain Mírzá, and got a flag. In the 22nd year, he was appointed to the Çúbah of Ajmír, and got Rantanbhúr as *tuyúl*. His administration was praiseworthy: he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year, Uchlá, son of Balbhadr, and Mohan, Súr Dás, Tilúksí, sons of Rájah Bihárí Mall's brother, came without permission from the Panjáb to Lúní (?), their native town, and caused disturbances. Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachhwáhahs, advised them to return to obedience; but his leniency only rendered the rebels more audacious. Akbar then ordered D. to hold out threats, and if this was not sufficient, to proceed against them. D. had at last to do so; but he did it hastily, without collecting a sufficient number of troops. In the fight,[1] the three

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[1] The geographical details given in the Akbarnámah are unsatisfactory.

Abulfazl mentions the *Qaçbah* (small town) of Lúní (لونی) as the birth-place of the Kachhwáhah rebels; the fight, he says, took place in a village *(mauza')* of the name of تهوری *Thorí*, and Dastam died at *Sherpúr*, which is also called a *Qaçbah*. But the Akbarnámah leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The *Tabaqát*, in its list of grandees, fortunately says that Dastam Khán was killed in the neighbourhood of Rantanbhúr. The only places near Rantanbhúr which resemble the above three, are Bounlee, Tohra, and Shergaṛh, as given on the Trig. Map of the Jodhpúr Territory for 1850. The road from Shergaṛh (about 4 miles S. E. of Rantanbhúr to Bounlee is bisected by the Banas River. Rantanbhúr lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Chambal and the Banas, and Bounlee lies about 30 miles N. W. of it. There are two villages of the names of *Tohra*, one about 3 miles S. W. of Bounlee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banas. *Bounlee*, or Baunlí, would be بونلی, or بولی, which will be found below as the head of a Parganah in Sirkár Rantanbhúr, and the change of بولی to لونی is very simple. The greatest difference lies in *Sherpúr* and *Shergaṛh*.

The Akbarnámah says, the fight took place on the 10th Ábán of the 25th year.

nephews of the Rájah were killed. Dastam received a wound from Uchlá, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchlá, and killed him. Immediately afterwards he fainted and fell from his horse. His men put him again on horseback—a usual expedient, in order not to dishearten the soldiers. The rebels were totally defeated and their estates plundered (988).

Dastam died of his wounds, two days later, at Sherpúr. Akbar said that even D.'s mother could not feel the loss of her son as much as he did, because D., with the exception of three years, had never been away from him.

The Maásir says, he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantanbhúr was then given to Mírzá 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) as jágír.

A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. Shahba'z Kha'n i Kambú.

Regarding the tribe called *Kambú*, *vide* Beames' Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, I, 304. The Persian hemistich quoted (Metre *Hazaj*)—

یکی افغان دوم کنبو سیوم بدذات کشمیری

'The Afgháns are the first, the Kambús the second, and the Kashmírís the third, set of scoundrels' must be very modern; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahángír, it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, as will be seen just now.

The sixth ancestor of Shahbáz was Hájí Ismá'íl, a disciple of the renowned saint Baháuddín Zakariyá of Multán. Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an *ashrafí*, or goldmuhr, for the name of every prophet he would mention; but as Baháuddín could not pay the money, Hájí Ismá'íl took the beggar to his house, and gave him an Ashrafí for each of the ten or twenty names he mentioned. Another time, Hájí Ismá'íl acknowledged to the saint that his power of understanding was defective, whereupon the saint prayed for him, and from that time the Kambús are proverbial in Hindústán for sagacity and quickness of apprehension.

Shahbáz at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his ancestors had done; but the excellent way in which he performed the duties of *kotwál*, drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Amír and appointed *Mír Tozak* (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khán (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was appointed Mír Bakhshí. In the 21st year, he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpúr, especially against Kallah, son of Rái Rám, and grandson of Rái Máldeo, and was ordered to take Fort Siwánah. Shahbáz first took Fort Daigúr (?)[1], where a large num- of Ráṭhor rebels were killed; after this he took Dúnárah, from where he passed on to Siwánah, which on his arrival capitulated (984).

In the same year, Shahbáz was sent against Rájah Gajpatí.[2] This Rájah was the

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[1] The MSS. have دیگور, which I cannot find on the maps. There are many places of a similar name, S. W. of Jodhpúr, near which it must lie. *Dúnárah* (most MSS. have دوناره) lies on the right bank of the Lúní, S. W. of Jodhpúr. Here Shahbáz crossed (*'ubúr*) and went to *Siwánah*, which lies N. W. S. of Dúnárah, about 10 miles from the left bank of the Lúní.

[2] So according to the best MSS. Stewart calls him *Gujety*, the Lak'hnau Akbarnámah (III., 140) *Kají*, and the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badáoní, *Kachítí*, (p. 179, 284, 285,) and *Kajítí* (p. 237), which forms are also found in the Lak'hnau edition of the Akbarnámah.

greatest Zamíndár in Bihár, and had rendered good services during Mun'im's expedition to Bengal. But when Dáúd, king of Oṛísá, invaded Bengal after Mun'im's death at Gaur in 983, Gajpatí rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihár. Farhat Khán (No. 145) *tuyúldár* of A'rah, his son Farhang Khán, and Qaráṭáq Khán, opposed the Rájah, but perished in the fight. When Shahbáz approached, Gajpatí fled; but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdespúr, where the whole family of the Rájah was captured. Sh. then conquered Shergaḍh, which was held by Srí Rám, Gajpatí's son. About the same time, Sh. took possession of Rahtás. Its Afghán commander, Sayyid Muhammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Junaid i Kararání, had been hard pressed by Muzaffar (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shahbáz, asked for protection, and handed over the Fort. Sh. then repaired to court, where he received every distinction due to his eminent services.

In the 23rd year (986), Sh. marched against the proudRáná Partáb, and besieged the renowned Fort of Konbhalmír (called on our maps Komalnair, on the frontier between Udaipúr and Jodhpúr, Lat. 25° 10'). The Ráná, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a *Sannási*, when the Fort was taken. Gogandah and Udaipúr submitted likewise. Sh. erected no less than 50 t'hánahs in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Udaipúr to Púr Manḍal. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Daudá, son of Rái Surjan Háḍá (No. 96), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajmír, where disturbances frequently occurred.

When the military revolt of Bengal broke out, Sh. was ordered to go to Bihár; but he did not agree with M. 'Azíz Kokah—for Sh. could not bear to be second or third —and carried on the war independently of him, defeated 'Arab Bahádur, and marched to Jagdespúr. At that time the report reached him that Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí (No. 157) had rebelled, and 'Arab Bahádur and Niyábat Khán had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sulṭánpúr Bilkarí, 25 *kos* from Awadh (Faizábád). Ma'çúm, by a timely centre-attack, put Sh. to flight, and followed him up, Sh. fighting all the way to Jaunpúr, a distance of 30 *kos*. Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemies, that Ma'çúm had been killed, which caused some disorder. At this moment, Sh.'s right wing attacked the enemies, Ma'çúm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Faizábád). Sh. now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him. Ma'çúm could not hold himself in Awadh, and his army dispersed.

After this, Sh. went again to Court, where he was received by the emperor on his return from Kábul. At court, Sh. generally gave offence by his pride; and when once, at a parade, the Bakhshís had placed the young Mírzá Khán (No. 29) above him, he gave openly vent to his anger, was arrested, and put under the charge of Rái Sál Darbárí (No. 106).

But an officer of Sh.'s usefulness could ill be spared, and when M. 'Azíz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihár, Sh. with other Amírs was sent there. He followed up Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí to G'horág'hát, and defeated him. He then followed him to Bháṭí (p. 342), plundered Baktarápúr, the residence of 'Isá, took Sunnárgánw, and encamped on the Brahmaputra. 'Isá afforded Ma'çúm means and shelter; but being hard pressed by the imperialists, he made proposals of peace: an Imperial officer was to reside as Sunnárgánw; Ma'çúm was to go to Makkah; and

Sh. was to withdraw. This was accepted, and Sh. crossed the river expecting the terms would be carried out. But the enemies did nothing; and when Sh. prepared to return, his officers shewed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to Ṭáṇḍah, all advantages being thus lost. He reported matters to Court, and the *tuyúldárs* of Bihár were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Ma'çúm. In the 30th year, he and Çádiq Khán (*vide* No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bháṭí, and even sent a detachment 'to Kokrah (ککره), which lies between Oṛísá and the Dak'hin.' Modhú Singh, the Zamíndár of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Sa'íd (No. 25) was made Governor of Bengal, and the disturbances had mostly been suppressed, Sh. returned to Court. In the 34th year, he was made *Kotwál* of the army. He was then sent against the Afgháns of Sawád; but he left his duties without order, and was again imprisoned.

After two years he was released, was made *atálíq* to M. Sháhrukh, who had been appointed to Málwah and was on his way to Prince Murád in the Dak'hin. During the siege of Ahmadnagar, the inhabitants of Shahr i Nau, 'which is called *Burhánábád*,' asked the Imperialists for protection; but as they were mostly Shí'ahs, Sh., in his bigotry, fell upon them, plundered their houses, especially the quarter called *Langar i Duwázdah Imám*, the very name of which must have stunk in Sh.'s nostrils. The inhabitants 'seeing that they could not rely on the word of the Mughuls,' emigrated. The Prince was irritated; and when Çádiq Khán (No. 43) was appointed his *atálíq*, Sh. left without permission for Málwah. Akbar gave his jágír to Sháhrukh, and transferred Shahbáz.

In the 43rd year, Sh. was sent to Ajmír as Commander of the *manqalá* of Prince Salím (Jahángír), whom Akbar has asked to go from Iláhábád against the Ráná. But Sh. was now above seventy years old, and as he had been in the habit of eating quicksilver, he commenced to suffer from pain in his hands and wrists. He got well again, but had in Ajmír another attack; he rallied again, but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008). Salím took quickly possession of Sh.'s treasures, went back to Iláhábád without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father.

Shahbáz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmír within the hallowed enclosure of Mu'ín i Chishtí. But the custodians of the sacred shrine refused to comply, and Sh. was buried outside. At night, however, the saint appeared in the dreams of the custodians, and told them that Shahbáz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome.

Shahbáz was proverbial for his rigid piety and his enormous wealth. His opposition to Akbar's 'Divine Faith' has been mentioned above (p. 188). He would neither remove his beard to please the emperor, nor put the word *muríd* (disciple) on his signet. His Sunní zeal, no doubt, retarded his promotion as much as his arrogance; for other less deserving officers held higher commands. He observed with great strictness the five daily prayers, and was never seen without the rosary in his hand. One day the emperor took a walk along the tank at Fathpúr and seized Shahbáz's hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the *'açr*, or afternoon prayer, and Sh. was restless and often looked up to the sun, not to miss the proper

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time. Hakím Abul Fath (No. 112) saw it from a distance, and said to Hakím 'Alí who stood near him, "I shall indeed call Shahbáz a pious man, if he insists on saying the prayer, alone as he is with the emperor;" (for the prayer had been abolished by Akbar at Court). When the time of prayer had come, Sh. mentioned it to the emperor. "Oh," replied Akbar, "you can pray another time, and make amends for this omission." But Sh. drew away his hand from the grasp of the emperor, spread his *dupaṭṭah* shawl on the ground, and said not only his prayer, but also his *vird* (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar slapping all the while his head, saying, 'Get up!' Abul Fath stepped up, and interceded for Shahbáz, whose persistency he admired.

Abulfazl says that Shahbáz was an excellent and faithful servant; but he blames him for his bigotry. In liberality, he says, he had no equal, and people whispered that he found the *Páras* stone (*vide* Book III, Çúbah of Málwah). His military contingent was always complete and in good order; during his fights near the Brahmaputr he had 9000 horse. Every Thursday evening, he distributed 100 *Ashrafís* to the memory of the renowned Ghaususṣiqlain ('Abdul Qádir i Jílání). To Kambús he gave so much, that no Kambú in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mír Bakhshí, he introduced the *Dágh* law, the most important military reform of Akbar's reign (*vide* pp. 242, 255, 256).

Shahbáz's brother, Karamullah, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Saronj (*Maásir*). The *Maásir* mentions a son of Shahbáz, Ilhámullah. He was *Wáqi'ahnawís* (p. 258) of the Sirkár of Baglánah, where he died.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbáz Khán, who during the reign of Sháhjahán was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse. He was, in the 13th year, *Bakhshí* and *Wáqi'ahnawís* of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Sháhjahán's reign.[1]

81. Darwísh Muhammad Uzbak.

The *Maásir* says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the Ṭabaqát merely say that he was dead in 1001.

From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bairám. He was sent by Bairám together with Muzaffar 'Alí (No. 37, and p. 317, *l.* 3) to Sher Muhammad Díwánah, who despatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 250,—where for *Darwísh Uzbak Khwájah*, read *Darwísh Uzbak o Muzaffar Khwájah*). From the fact that Abulfazl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bairám's submission.

82. Shaikh Ibráhím, son of Shaikh Músá, elder brother of Shaikh Salím of Fathpúr Síkrí.

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[1] Ranbáz Khán is wrongly called *Niáz Khán* in the Ed. Bibl. Indica of the Pádisháhn. I, b., p. 314; but in II, p. 740, of the same work, *Ranbáz Khán*, as in the Tuzuk.

Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tuzuk*, p. 159, says that Ranbáz's name was *Khúbullah;* but this is a most extraordinary name, and therefore likely to be wrong. It should perhaps be *Habíbullah*.

In the list of Akbar's grandees in the *Ṭabaqát*, Nizám says, 'At present (in 1001) Shahbáz is Mír Bakhshí of Málwah.'

His father, Shaikh Músá, lived a retired life in Síkrí. As Akbar had at first no children, he asked the Síkrí Shaikhs to pray for him, which they did; and as at that time one of Akbar's wives became pregnant (with Salím), Akbar looked upon the Shaikhs with particular favor. To this lucky circumstance, the Síkrí family owes its elevation.

Shaikh Ibráhím lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes. In the 22nd year, he was made T'hánahdár of Láḍlái, and suppressed the disturbances. In the 23rd year, he was made Governor of Fathpúr Síkrí. In the 28th year, he served with distinction under M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in Bihár and Bengal, and was with Vazír Khán (No. 41) in his expedition against Qutlú of Oṛísá. When Akbar, in the 30th year went to Kábul, he was made Governor of A'grah, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year).

According to the *Ṭabaqát*, he was not only the brother, but also the son-in-law of Shaikh Salím i Síkríwál.

83. 'Abdul Matlab Kha'n, son of Sháh Budágh Khán (No. 52).

The *Maásir* makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

'Abdul Maṭlab accompanied Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17) on his expedition to Mírt'ha. In the 10th year, he served together with his father under Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahádur Khán, and fled from the battle-field of Khairábád (pp. 372, 382). In the 12th year, he served under Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás (No. 31) against Iskandar Khán in Audh. He then retired to his *tuyúl* in Málwah.

In the 17th year, he belonged to the auxiliaries of M. 'Azíz Kokah and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 396). In the 23rd year, when Quṭbuddín's men (No. 28) brought Muzaffar Husain Mírzá from the Dak'hin to Court, 'Abdul Maṭlab attached himself as convoy, and saw the Mírzá safely to Court. In the 25th year, he accompanied Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46) on his expedition against Niyábat Khán 'Arab. In the following year, he received a reprimand for having murdered Fath Daulat, son of 'Alí Dost. He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kábul. In the 27th year, Akbar honored him by being his guest in Kálpí, his jágír.

In the 30th year, he accompanied M. 'Azíz Kokah to the Dak'hin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalálah Táríkí, the Afghán rebel. One day, Jalálah fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Núrín Khán (No. 212), Salím Khán (No. 132), and Sheroyah Khán (No. 168). They were in time assisted by Muhammad Qulí Beg, and routed Jalálah, who escaped to the mountains. 'Abdulmaṭlab "had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight." He seems to have taken this to heart; for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzád, was under Jahángír, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. I'tiba'r Kha'n, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was 'Ambar. He was one of Bábar's Eunuchs. When Humáyún left Qandahár for 'Iráq, he despatched I'tibár and others

to conduct Maryam Makání (Akbar's mother) to his camp. In 952, he left Kábul and joined the emperor, who attached him to Prince Akbar's suite.

In the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, he accompanied Akbar's mother and the other Begums from Kábul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Dihlí, where he died.

He must not be confounded with No. 86.

85. Ra'jah Bi'r Bal [Bír Baṛ], **the Brahman.**

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Dás (*Maásir;* the Ed. Bibl. Indica of *Badáoní*, II. p. 161, calls him *Brahman Dás*), and was a *Bhát*, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call *bádfarosh*, 'dealers in encomiums.' He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Badáoní, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kálpí to Court, where his *bonmots* in a short time made him a general favourite. His Hindí verses also were much liked, and Akbar conferred on him the title of *Kab Rái*, or (Hindu) Poet Laureate,[1] and had him constantly near himself.

In the 18th year, Rájah Jai Chand of Nagarkoṭ, who was at Court, happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned. Nagarkoṭ was given to Kab Rái as jágír. He also received the title of Rájah Bír Baṛ. But Jai Chand's son, Budh Chand (or Budhí Ch., or Badí Ch.,—the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkoṭ, and Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibráhím Husain Mírzá, as related above, forced Husain Qulí to raise the siege, and Bír Baṛ, in all probability, did not get his jágír. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád, 24th Rabí' II, 981. (*Vide* note to No. 101.)

He was often employed in missions. Thus in the 21st year, he was sent with Rái Lon Karan to Dúngarpúr, the Rái of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar's Harem. In the 28th year, again, B. B. and Zain Kokah (No. 34) conducted Rájah Rám Chand (No. 89) to Court.

Bír Baṛ spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year, Zain Khán Kokah marched against the Yúsufzaís in Bijor[2] and Sawád; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bír Baṛ was sent there together with Hakím Abul Fath (No. 112). It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abulfazl or Bír Baṛ should go, and the lot fell on the latter, much against Akbar's wish.

The result of this campaign has been related above (pp. 204, 344). Bír Baṛ and nearly 8000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar's army ever suffered.[3]

How Akbar felt Bír Baṛ's loss, has been mentioned on p. 205. There is also a letter on this subject in Abulfazl's *Maktúbát*.

The following passages from Badáoní (Ed. Bibl. Ind., pp. 357, 358) are of interest—

"Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year

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[1] Just as *Jotik Rái*, the (Hindú) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Faizí] had the title of *Malik-ushshu'ará*, or 'King of Poets.'

[2] On p. 344, read *Bijor* for *Waijúr*.

[3] A similar catastrophe befell Aurangzíb, when several thousand soldiers of the army commanded by Amín Khán were killed in the Khaibar Pass, on the 3rd Muharram, 1083, or 21st April, 1672. *Maásir i 'Alamgírí*, p. 117. *Vide* Journal A. S. Bengal, for 1862, p. 261.

(995) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bír Baṛ, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. The Hindús by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bír Baṛ's loss, and invented the story that Bír Baṛ had been seen in the hills of Nagarkoṭ, walking about with Jogís and Sannásís. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bír Baṛ was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yúsufzaís; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogís, inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Ahadí was therefore sent to Nagarkoṭ, to enquire into the truth of the rumour, when it was proved that the whole story was an absurdity."

"Soon after, His Majesty received a report that Bír Baṛ had been seen at Kálinjar (which was the jágír of this dog), and the collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Bír Baṛ had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bír Baṛ had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to court; and the Hindú Krorí (collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bír Baṛ. The Krorí could, of course, send no barber to Court; he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bír Baṛ in reality, but he had since died. His Majesty went actually through a second mourning; but he ordered the Krorí and several others to come to Court. They were for some time tortured as a punishment for not having informed His Majesty before, and the Krorí had, moreover, to pay a heavy fine."

Bír Baṛ was as much renowned for his liberality, as for his musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindústán.

The hatred which Badáoní, Shahbáz Khán (No. 80), and other pious Muslims shewed towards Bír Baṛ (*vide* pp. 183, 188, 192, 199, 204) arose from the belief that Bír Baṛ had influenced Akbar to abjure Islám.

Bír Baṛ's eldest son, *Lálah*, is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Hundred (No. 387). He was a spendthrift; and as he got no promotion, and his property was squandered away, he resigned court life, and turned *faqír*, in order to live free and independent (end of 46th year).

86. Ikhla's Kha'n I'tibár, the Eunuch.

The *Maásir* does not give his name. The list of Akbar's grandees in the *Ṭabaqát* has the short remark that Ikhláç Khán was a Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of *One Thousand*.

87. Baha'r Kha'n, (Muhammad) Açghar, a servant of Humáyún.

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS. read *Bahádur Khán*. The *Maásir* does not give his name. The list of the Ṭabaqát mentions a 'Bahár Khán, a Kháçah Khail Afghán, who held a command of Two Thousand.' Bahár Khán Kháçah Khail is also mentioned in several places in the Akbarnámah. He is therefore most probably the same as given by Abulfazl in this list. Perhaps we have to read *Pahár Khán*, instead of *Bahár Khán*; *vide* No. 407. The notice in the Ṭabaqát implies that he was dead in 1001.

88. Sha'h Fakhruddi'n, son of Mír Qásim, a Músawí Sayyid of Mashhad.

Sháh Fakhruddín came, in 961, with Humáyún to India. In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he served in the army which was sent against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the 16th year, he was in the *manqalá*, or advance corps, commanded by Khán i Kalán (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh. F. and Hakím 'Ainulmulk to Mír Abú Turáb and I'timád Khán (No. 67). On the road he fell in with the former, and went to I'timád whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 396). He was also among the grandees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrát (p. 325, note, where according to the *Akbarnámah* we have to read *24th Rabí'* II., for *4th Rabí'* I). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of *Naqábat Khán*.[1] In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrát), *vice* Tarson Muhammad Khán (No. 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 987, died (986, *Ṭabaqát*).

89. Ra'jah Ra'm Chand Baghelah.

A few MSS. read *Bhagelah*, which form Tod says is the correct one. *Baghelah*, however, is the usual spelling.

Rám Chand was Rájah of Bhat'h (or *Bhattah*, as the *Maásir* spells it). Among the three great Rájahs of Hindústán, whom Bábar mentions in his Memoirs, the Rájahs of Bhat'h are the third.

Rám Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tánsín, regarding whom *vide* the List of Musicians at the end of this book. His fame had reached Akbar; and in the 7th year, the emperor sent Jaláluddín Qúrchí (No. 213) to Bhat'h, to induce Tánsín to come to Ágrah. Rám Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Ágrah, and the first time that Tánsín performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lak'hs of Rupees. Tánsín remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindústán.

When Áçaf Khán (I.) led his expedition to Gaḍha (p. 367),[2] he came in contact with Rám Chand; but by timely submission the Rájah became 'a servant' of Akbar. In the 14th year, Rám Chand lost Fort Kálinjar, as related on p. 369. He sent his son, Bír Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Sháhábád, he ordered a corps to march to Bhat'h; but Bír Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to court. Rájah Bír Baṛ and Zain Kokah were selected for this office, and Rám Chand came at last to court, where he was well received.

R. Ch. died in the 37th year, and Bír Bhadr succeeded to the title of Rájah. But on his way from court to Bhat'h, he fell from his palanquin, and died soon after, in the

[1] The Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnámah* (III., p. 222) calls him *Naqíb-Khán* (?).

[2] On p. 367, *Rám Chand* is by mistake called *Rám Chandr*.

38th year (1001; *vide* p. 358). His sudden death led to disturbances in Bándhú of which Bikramájít, a young relation of Rám Chand, had taken possession. Akbar therefore sent Rájah Patrdás (No. 196) with troops to Bándhú, and the Mughuls, according to custom, erected throughout the district military stations (*t'hánahs*). At the request of the inhabitants, Akbar sent Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46) to Bándhú, to convey Bikramájít to court (41st year), their intention being to prevent Bándhú from being conquered. But Akbar would not yield; he dismissed Bikramájít, and after a siege of eight months and several days, Bándhú was conquered (42nd year).

In the 47th year, Durjodhan, a grandson of Rám Chand, was made Rájah of Bándhú. In the 21st year of Jahángír's reign, Amr Singh, another grandson of Rám Chand, acknowledged himself a vassal of Dihlí. In the 8th year of Sháhjahán, when 'Abdullah Khán Bahádur marched against the refractory zamíndár of Ratanpúr, Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission. Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anúp Singh. In the 24th year, when Rájah Pahár Singh Bandelah, Jágírdár of Chaurágadh, attacked Anúp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairám, a zamindár of Chaurágadh, Anúp Singh, with his whole family, withdrew from Rewá (which after the destruction of Bándhú had been the family seat) to the hills. In the 30th year, however, Sayyid Çalábat Khán, Governor of Iláhábád (*vide* p. 392) conducted him to Court, where Anúp turned Muhammadan. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bándhú and the surrounding districts.

90. Lashkar Khán, Muhammad Husain of Khurásán.

He was *Mír Bakshí* and *Mír 'Arz*. In the 11th year, Muzaffar Khán (No. 37) had him deposed. In the 16th year, he came one day drunk to the Darbár, and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse, and then put him into prison.

He was subsequently released, and attached to Mun'im's Bengal corps. In the battle of Takaroí (p. 375), he was severely wounded. Though his wounds commenced to heal, he did not take sufficient care of his health, and died, a few days after the battle, in Orísá.

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (*Maásir*, 1,000).

The *Maásir* has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment, which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of *Lashkar Khán* was conferred by Jahángír on Abul Hasan Mashhadí, and by Sháhjahán on Ján Nisár Khán Yádgár Beg.

91. Sayyid Ahmad of Bárha.

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Mahmúd (p. 392). In the 17th year, he served in the *manqalá*, which, under the command of Khán i Kalán (No. 16) was sent to Gujrát. After the conquest of Ahmadábád, he was ordered with other Amírs to pursue the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí (p. 396), who had removed their families and property from Patan to Ídar. A portion of their property fell into the hands of the Imperialists. When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patan, he gave the town to Mírzá 'Abdurrahím (No. 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muhammad Husain Mírzá, Sháh Mírzá, and Sher Khán Fúládí, besieged Patan; but they dispersed on the approach of M. 'Azíz.

In the 20th year, S. A. and his nephews S. Qásim and S. Háshim quelled the

disturbances in which Jaláluddín Qúrchí (No. 213) had lost his life. In 984, he served under Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwánah. According to the *Ṭabaqát*, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.

Abulfazl mentioned Sayyid Ahmad above on p. 289, l. 4 from below.

Sayyid Ahmad's son, *S. Jamáluddín*, was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chítor (p. 368).

This S. Jamáluddín must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamáluddín who was executed in 993 (*Badáoní* II, 345). He was a grandson of S. Mahmúd (No. 75), S. Qásim being called his uncle.

92. Ka'kar 'Ali' Kha'n i Chishtí.

He came with Humáyún to Hindústán. In the 11th year (973), he was sent together with Sháh Qulí Náranjí (No. 231) to Gaḍha-Katangah, because Mahdí Qásim Khán (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kákar served also under Mu'izzul-Mulk (No. 61), and was present in the battle of Khairábád. He took part in the bloody fight at Sarnál (middle of Sha'bán, 980; *vide* p. 333). He was then attached to Mun'im's corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and his son were killed (end of 981; *Maásir*, 980).

93. Ra'i Kalya'n Mall, Zamíndár of Bíkánír.

He is the father of Rái Singh (No. 44), and has been mentioned above, p. 357.

94. Ta'hir Kha'n, Mír Farághat, son of Mír Khurd, who was *atáliq* to Prince Hindál.

His name is not given in the *Maásir*. Tha *Ṭabaqát* merely says that he was a grandee of Humáyún, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. According to the same work, he had a son *Báqí Khán*, who likewise served under Akbar.

From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 274) we see that he was one of Akbar's companions. Together with Dastam Khán (No. 79), Qutluq Qadam Khán (No. 123), Peshrau Khán (No. 280), Hakím ul Mulk, Muqbil Khán, Shimál Khán (No. 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwájah Mu'azzam, brother of Akbar's mother.

95. Sha'h Muhammad Kha'n of Qalát.

As Qalát belongs to Qandahár, he is often called Sháh Muhammad Khán i Qandahárí. The *Maásir* says, that the name of the town of Qalát is generally spelt with a ق, *Q*; but that the Hazárahs pronounce *Kalát*, with a *K*.

Sháh Muhammad Khán was a friend of Bairám, and was with him in Qandahár, which Humáyún had given Bairám as *jágír*. Bairám, however, left it entirely in S. M.'s hands. Bahádur Khán (No. 22) was then Governor of Dáwar, and had bribed several grandees to hand over Qandahár to him; but S. M. discovered the plot and killed the conspirators. Bahádur then marched against Qandahár. S. M. knew that he could expect no assistance from Humáyún, and wrote to Sháh Ṭahmásp of Persia that it was Humáyún's intention to cede Qandahár; he should therefore send troops, defeat Bahádur, and take possession of the town. Ṭahmásp sent 3000 Turkmán troopers furnished by the *jágírdárs* of Sístán, Faráh, and Garmsír. Their leader, 'Alí Yár, surprised Bahádur and defeated him so completely, that Bahádur could not

even keep Dáwar. He therefore fled to India. S. M. had thus got rid of one danger; he treated the Persian Commander with all submissiveness, but would not hand over the town. Sháh Ṭahmásp then ordered his nephew, Sulṭán Husain Mírzá, son of Bahrám Mírzá (*vide* No. 8, p 313), Walí Khalífah Shámlü, and others, to besiege Qandahár. The siege had lasted for some time, when Sulṭán Husain Mírzá felt disgusted and withdrew. Ṭahmásp felt annoyed, and sent again Sulṭán Husain Mírzá with 'Alí Sulṭán, Governor of Shíráz, to Qandahár with positive orders to take the town. 'Alí Sulṭán was shot during the siege, and Sulṭán Husain Mírzá remained encamped before the town without doing anything. At this juncture, Akbar, who in the meantime had succeeded to the throne, ordered S. M. to hand over Qandahár to the Persians, according to Humáyún's promise, and come to India.

This account of the cession of Qandahár, observes the author of the *Maásir*, differs from Munshí Sikandar's version in his great work entitled *'Alamárái Sikandarí*. According to that history, Ṭahmásp, at the very first request of Sháh Muhammad, sent Sulṭán Husain Mírzá with Walí Khalífah and other nobles to Qandahár. They defeated Bahádur; but as S. M. would not hand over Qandahár, Ṭahmásp sent 'Alí Sulṭán with a stronger army, and appointed Sulṭán Husain Mírzá governor of Dáwar and Qandahár. Sháh Muhammad held out for six months; but as he got no assistance from India, he capitulated, and withdrew to Hindústán.

Be this as it may, S. M. arrived in the end of the third year of Akbar's reign in India, was made a Khán, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (968), he led the van in the battle near Sárangpúr, in which Báz Bahádur lost Málwah, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the 12th year, he was made governor of Kot'ha. In the 17th year, he was among the auxiliaries of Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 396).

Regarding 'Ádil Khán, S. M.'s son, *vide* below, No. 125.

96. Ra'i Surjan Háḍá.

He is often merely called Rái Háḍá. The Háḍás are a branch of the Chauháns. The Sirkár of Rantanbhúr is called after them *Háḍautí*.

Rái Surjan was at first in the service of the Ráná, and defied the Mughuls, because he thought himself safe in Rantanbhúr. Akbar, after the conquest of Chítor (p. 368), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantanbhúr, and R. S., despairing of holding out longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Daudá and Bhoj (No. 175) to Akbar's camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well, and gave each a dress of honor. When they were taken behind the tent enclosure to put on the garments, one of their men, suspecting foul play, rushed sword in hand towards the audience tent, and killed several people, among them Shaikh Baháuddín Majzúb of Badáon, but was cut down by one of Muzaffar Khán's men. As R. S.'s sons were entirely innocent, the accident did not change Akbar's goodwill towards them; and he sent them back to their father. At R. S.'s request, Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R. S. to the Emperor. Rantanbhúr was annexed (Shawwál, 976, or beginning of the 14th year).

R. S. was made Governor of Gaḍha-Katangah from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanáḍh (Chunár).

Soon after, Daudá fled and created disturbances in Búndí. Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Búndí, which was conquered in the beginning of 985. After the conquest, R. S. was made a commander of Two Thousand. Daudá who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shahbáz Khán (*p.* 400). Not long after, Daudá fled again. He died in the 30th year.

R. S. served in the 25th year, after Muzaffar's (No. 37) death, in Bihár. The *Maásir* does not mention the year of his death. From the Ṭabaqát, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001.

For R. S.'s son, Rái Bhoj, *vide* below, No. 175.

97. Sha'ham Kha'n Jaláir.

Jaláir is the name of a Chaghtái tribe.

Sháham's father was Bábá Beg, who had been under Humáyún governor of Jaunpúr. Bábá Beg took also part in the battle of Chausá, in which Humáyún was defeated by Sher Sháh. The Emperor fled to A'grah, and ordered Bábá Beg and other grandees to bring up the camp and the Begums. In attempting to rescue the ladies of the Harem, Bábá Beg was killed by an Afghán near the imperial tent.

Sháham Khán was made an Amír by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966), he served together with the two Jaláirs mentioned below, Hájí Muhammad Khán i Sístání (No. 55), Chalmah Beg (58), Kamál Khán Ghakkar, and Qiyá Khán Gung (No. 33), under Khan Zamán (No. 13) in the Jaunpúr District against the Afgháns. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Sháh, son of 'Adlí, Mubáriz Khán, after Bairám's death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughuls. In the 10th year, Sh. Kh. served against Khán Zamán.

In the 19th year, he served under Mun'im in the Bengal and Oṛísá wars, was present in the battle of Takaroí and pursued with Todar Mall the Afgháns to Bhadrak (p. 375). After Mun'im's death at Gaur (p. 376), the grandees put Sh. Kh. in command of the army till the Emperor should send a new commander. In the 21st year, he took part in the battle near A'g Mahall (p. 331). In the 24th year, he was *jágírdár* of Hájípúr (opposite Patna). After Muzaffar's death (No. 37) in 988, before Todar Mall had arrived, he defeated and killed Sa'íd i Badakhshí, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued 'Arab Bahádúr, whom Shahbáz Khán (*p.* 400) had defeated. In the 26th year, Sh. Kh. was stationed at Narhan. In this year, Ma'çúm Khán i Farankhúdí (No. 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahráich over Kalyánpúr to Muhammadábád, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaunpúr. Sh. Kh. from Narhan, Pahâṛ Khán (No. 407) from Ghâzípúr, and Qásim from Jaldpúr, united their contingents, and pursued Ma'çúm so effectually, that he applied to M. 'Azíz Kokah, to intercede for him with the Emperor. In the 32nd year, he was made Governor of Gaḍha, and soon after, of Dihlí. In the end of the same year, he accompanied Sulṭán Murád, who conducted M. Sulaimán (No. 5) to court. In the beginning of the 33rd year, he assisted Çádiq Khán (No. 43) in his expedition against Jalálah Táríkí in Teráh.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjáb, Akbar made Dihlí his residence. It was proved that Sh. had been oppressive, and he was therefore repri-

manded. Two years later, he served in the Ásír war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zí Hajjah, 1009.

The *Ṭabaqát* says that Sháham Khán was in 1001, a Commander of Two Thousand.

The *Akbarnámah* mentions two other Jaláir Grandees—

1. *Sulṭán Husain Khán Jaláir.* He was mentioned above, p. 384, l. 2.

2. *Muhammad Khán Jaláir.* The *Ṭabáqat* says of him, 'he is an old Amír, and is at present (1001) mad.' He served under Khán Zamán in the war with Hemú. In the beginning of the 4th year, all three Jaláirs served under Khán Zamán against the Afgháns in the Jaunpúr District.

98. A'saf Kha'n (III.), [Mírzá Qiwámuddín] Ja'far Beg, son of Badí'uzzamán of Qazwín.

His father Mírzá Badí'uzzamán was the son of Ághá Mullá Dawátdár of Qazwín (*vide* p. 369). M. Badí', during the reign of Sháh Ṭahmásp, had been *vazír* of Káshán, and Ja'far had also been introduced at the Persian Court.

In the 22nd year of Akbar's reign (985), Ja'far Beg came to India, and was presented to Akbar by his uncle M. Ghiásuddín 'Alí Áçaf Khán II. (No. 126), on his return from the Ídar expedition. The new *Dágh* law having then been introduced (*vide* p. 242), Akbar made Ja'far a Commander of Twenty (*Bístí*) and attached him to the *Dákhilís* (*p.* 232) of his uncle. According to *Badáoní* (III., 216) people attributed this *minimum* of royal favour to the malice of Ja'far's uncle. The post was so low, that Ja'far threw it up in disgust, and went to Bengal, to which province Muzaffar Khán (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with him, when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shamsuddín i Kháfí (No. 159) into the hands of the rebels. Ja'far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners. On arriving at Fathpúr, Ja'far met with a better reception than before, was in a short time made a Commander of Two Thousand, and got the title of *Áçaf Khán*. He was also appointed Mír Bakhshí, *vice* Qází 'Alí. In his first expedition, against the Ráná of Udaipúr, Áçaf was successful.

In the 32nd year, he was appointed T'hánahdár of Sawád (Swat), *vice* Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, who had been reprimanded (*p.* 361, where for *Waijúr* read *Bijor*). In the 37th year, Jalálah Raushání fled to 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, king of Túrán; but finding no support, he returned to Teráh, and stirred up the Áfrídí and Úrakzaí Afgháns. Áçaf was sent against him, and with the assistance of Zain Khán Kokah, defeated Jalálah. The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists; his women were given to Wahdat 'Alí, who was said to be Jalálah's brother, while the other members of his family were taken to Court.

In the 39th year, Áçaf was sent to Kashmír, M. Yúsuf Khán (No. 35) having been recalled. He re-distributed the lands of the Jágír holders, of whom Ahmad Beg Kábulí (No. 191), Muhammad Qulí Afshár, and Hasan 'Arab, were the most important. The cultivation of *Za'farán* (saffron, *vide* p. 84) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qází 'Alí, *i. e.*, at one lac of *kharwárs*, at 24 *dáms* each (*vide* p. 346). Áçaf only stayed three days in Kashmír, and returned to Láhor. In the 42nd year, when Kashmír had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the Jágír holders, Áçaf was made Governor of

the province. In the 44th year, (beginning of 1008), he was appointed *Díwán i kul*, *vice* Patr Dás (No. 196).

In 1013, Prince Salím (Jahángír) rebelled against Akbar; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbar's mother, and Salím was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujrát as *tuyúl*, and gave up the Çúbahs of Iláhábád and Bihár, of which during his rebellion he had taken possession. Bihár was given to A'çaf who, moreover, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand.

On Jahángír's accession, A'çaf was called to court, and appointed *atálíq* to Prince Parwíz, who had taken the command against theRáná. The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khusrau. In the 2nd year, 1015, Jahángír, after suppressing Khusrau's revolt, left Láhor for Kábul, and as Sharíf Khán Amír ul Umará remained dangerously ill in India, A'çaf was made Vakíl and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels.[1] But he never trusted Jahángír, as the Emperor himself found out after A'çaf's death (*Tuzuk*, p. 109).

From the time of Akbar's death, the kings[2] of the Dak'hin had been restless, and Malik 'Ambar had seized upon several places in the Bálág'hát District. The Khán Khánán, (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jahángír sent Prince Parwíz to the Dak'hin, with A'çaf Khán as *atálíq*, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rájah Mán Singh (No. 30), Khán Jahán Lodí, Khán i A'zam, (No. 21), 'Abdullah Khán, "each in himself sufficient for the conquest of a country." But incessant drinking on the part of the Prince, and the jealousy and consequent insubordination of the Amírs, spoiled everything, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige (p. 326). Not long after, in 1021, A'çaf died at Burhánpúr. The *Táríkh* of his death is—

صد حیف ز آصفخان. A hundred times Alas! for Açaf Khán!

The *Tuzuk* (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

A'çaf Khán is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page. He was a great horticulturist, planting and lopping off branches with his own hands in his gardens; and he often transacted business with a garden spade in his hand. In religious matters, he was a free-thinker, and one of Akbar's disciples (p. 209). He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Masnawí, entitled *Núrnámah*, ranks after Nizám's *Shírín Khusrau*. *Vide* below among the poets of Akbar's reign.

A'çaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. *Mírzá Zain ul'ábidín.* He was a commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Sháhjahán's reign. He had a son *Mírzá Ja'far*, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same *takhalluç* (Ja'far). He, Záhid Khán Kokah, and M. Sháfí (*Pádisháhnámah;* Sáqí, *Maásir*), son of Saif

[1] It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden inkstand, or both, as *insignia* on Díwáns. When such officers were deposed, they generally returned the presents.

[2] Mughul Historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dak'hin *kings*. The word which they generally use, is *dunyádár*, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the *Akbarnámah*.

Khán, were such intimate friends, that Sháhjahán dubbed them *sih yár*, 'the three friends.' He later resigned the service, and lived in Ágrah on the pension which Sháhjahán granted and Aurangzíb increased. He died in 1094.

2. *Suhráb Khán.* He was under Sháhjahán a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Sháhjahán.

3. *Mírzá 'Alí Açghar.* He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Parendah expedition, he created dissensions between Sháh Shujá' and Mahábat Khán. He served in the war against Jujhár Bandelah, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamúní, as related in the *Pádisháhnámah.* He had just been married to the daughter of Mu'tamid Khán Bakhshí (author of the *Iqbálnámah i Jahángírí*); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Sháhjahán married her to Khán Daurán. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. *Mírzá 'Askarí.* He was in the 20th year of Sháhjahán a Commander of 500, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the *Pádisháhnámah* mention two relations of Áçaf—1. *Muhammad Çálih*, son of Mírzá Sháhí, brother or nephew of Áçaf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Sháhjahán's reign. 2. *Muqím*, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.

99. Shaikh Farí'd i Bukhá'rí'.

The *Iqbálnámah*, according to the *Maásir*, says, he belonged to the *Músawí* Sayyids; but this is extraordinary, because the Bukhárí Sayyid's trace their descent to Sayyid Jalál i Bukhárí, seventh descendant of Imám 'Alí Naqí Alhádí.

The fourth ancestor of Shaikh Faríd was Shaikh 'Abdulghaffár of Dihlí, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Sayúrghál tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaikh Faríd was born as Dihlí (*Tuzuk*, p. 68). He entered Akbar's service early. In the 28th year, when M. 'Azíz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Bihár army, S. F. accompanied Vazír Khán (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardwán, where Qutlú of Oṛísá had collected his Afgháns. Qutlú having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlú's treachery (*vide* Stewart's Bengal). In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of 700, and gradually rose, till the 40th year, to a command of 1500. He was also appointed Mír Bakhshí, and had also for some time the *Daftar i Tan* in his charge, *i. e.*, he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jágír holders.

His elevation under Jahángír, was due to the decided support he gave Jahángír, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince Khusrau at Bhaironwál. When Prince Salím occupied Iláhábád during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to *mançabs* and giving them jágírs, Akbar favoured Prince Khusrau so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor. Soon after, a sort of reconciliation was effected, and Salím's men were sent to Gujrát. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salím to stay outside the Fort of Ágrah; and M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) and Rájah Mán Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khusrau's succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and

asked Shaikh Faríd to take the command. But Sh. F. did not care for their arrangements and went over to Prince Salím outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar had closed his eyes. On the actual accession, S. F. was made a commander of 5000, received the title of *Çáhibussaif wa-lqalam*,[1] and was appointed *Mír Bakhshí*.

A short time after, on the 8th Zí Hajjah, 1014, Prince Khusrau suddenly left Ágrah, and went plundering and recruiting to Láhor. Sh. F., with other Bukhárí and many Bárha Sayyids, was sent after him, whilst Jahángír himself followed soon after, accompanied by Sharíf Khán Amír ul Umará, and Mahábat Khán, who were hostile to Sh. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him. Sulṭán Khusrau had gone to Láhor, and besieged the town, when he heard of Sh. F.'s arrival with 12000 horse at the *Ab i Sulṭánpúr*. He raised the siege, and arrived at the Biáh, which Sh. F. had just crossed. Khusrau was immediately attacked. The fight was unusually severe. The Bárha and Bukhárí Sayyids had to bear the brunt of the fight, the former in the van under the command of Saif Khán, son of Sayyid Mahmúd Khán Kundlíwál, (p. 392) and Sayyid Jalál. There were about 50 or 60 of the Bárha Sayyids opposed to 1500 Badakhshí troopers, and had not S. Kamál (p. 397) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with loud cries of *Pádisháh salamát*, the Bárha Sayyids would have been cut down to a man. Sayyid Saif Khán got seventeen wounds, and S. Jalál died a few days after the battle. About four hundred of Khusrau's troopers were killed, and the rest dispersed. Khusrau's jewel-box fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhaironwál.[2] In the evening Jahángír arrived, embraced S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Parganah of the name of Fathábád, and was given Sh. F. as a present. He received, besides, the title of *Murtazá Khán*, and was appointed governor of the Çúbah of Gujrát.

In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahángír an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 *misqál*, 15 *surkhs*, and was valued at 25000 Rs. As the relations of the Shaikh oppressed the people in Gujrát, he was recalled from Ahmadábád (*Tuzuk*, p. 73). In the 5th year, he was made governor of the Panjáb. In 1021, he made preparations to invade Kángrah. He died at Pat'hán in 1025, and was buried at

[1] This title we also find in old inscriptions, *e. g.* in those of Tribení and Sátgáṉw, Húglí District. It means *Lord of the sword and the pen*.

[2] Bhaironwál, on our maps *Bhyrowal*, lies on the road from Jálindhar to Amritsir, on the right bank of the Biáh. After the defeat, Khusrau fled northwards with the view of reaching Rahtás beyond the right bank of the Jhelum. He had therefore to cross the Ráwí, the Chanáb, and the Jhelam. On coming to the Chanáb, at a place called *Sháhpúr* (a very common name in the Panjáb), he could not get boats. He therefore went to Sodharah, which is also mentioned as a place for crossing in the *Tabaqát i Náçiri*,—on our maps *Sodra*, N. E. of Vazírábád—and induced some boatmen to take him over. But they left him in the lurch, landed him on an island in the middle of the Chanáb, and swam back. This came to the ears of the Chaudrí of Sodharah, and a report was sent to Abul Qásim Tamkín (No. 199), one of Jahángír's officers stationed at Gujrát (at some distance from the right bank of the Chanáb, opposite to Vazírábád). He came, took Khusrau from the island, and kept him confined in Gujrát. The news of the capture reached Jahángír at Láhor on the last Muharram 1015, *i. e.* 52 days after Khusrau's flight from Ágrah. On the 3rd Çafar, Khusrau, Hasan Beg i Badakhshí (No. 167), and 'Abdurrahím Khar, were brought to Jahángír in the Bágh i Mírzá Kámrán.

Dihlí (*Tuz.* p. 159). At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 5000 horse.

Sayyid Ahmad, in his work on the antiquities of Dihlí, entitled *Asáruççanádíd*, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Ahmad i Bukhárí. Of Faríd's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (*dálán*). But he wrongly places the death of the Shaikh *in the* 9*th year or* 1033 *A. H.*, instead of *in the eleventh year, or* 1025. Sayyid Ahmad also mentions a *Sarái* built by Shaikh Faríd in Dihlí, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (جیلخانه, *jel khánah*).

According to the *Tuzuk*, p. 65, Salímgaḍh (Dihlí) belonged to S. Faríd. It had been built by Salím Khán the Afghán during his reign in the midst (*dar miyán*) of the Jamnah. Akbar had given it to Faríd.[1]

When Shaikh Faríd died, only 1000 Ashrafís were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the *Táríkh* of his death—

داد خورد برد *dad, khurd burd* (1025, A. H.).

'He gave, and left (carried off) little.'

Shaikh Faríd was indeed a man of the greatest liberality. He always gave with his own hands. Once a beggar came to him seven times on one day, and received money; and when he returned the eighth time, Faríd gave him again money, but told him not to tell others; else they might take the money from him. He gave widows a great deal, and his jágír lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujrát, he had a list made of all Bukhárí Sayyids in the province,[2] and paid for every marriage feast and outfit; he even gave pregnant women of his clan money for the same purpose for the benefit of their yet unborn children. He never assisted singers, musicians, or flatterers.

He built many *sarâis*. The one in Dihlí has been mentioned above. In Ahmadábád, a *mahallah* was adorned by him and received as a memorial of him the name of Bukhárá. In the same town he built the Masjid and Tomb of Sháh Wajíhuddín (*died* 988; *Badáoní* III, 43). He also built *Farídábád* near Dihlí, the greater part of the old parganah of Tilpaṭ being included in the parganah of Farídábád (Elliot's Glossary, Beames' Edition, II, p. 123). In Láhor also, a Mahallah was built by him, a large bath, and a *chauk*, or bazar. The Government officers under him received annually three *khil'ats;* to his footmen he gave annually a blanket, and his sweepers got shoes. He never made alterations in his gifts.

His contingent consisted of 3000 picked troopers. Neither in the reign of Akbar, nor that of Jahángír, did he build a palace for himself. He always lived as if on the march. He paid his contingent personally, little caring for the noise and tumult incident to such offices. One of his best soldiers, an Afghán of the name of Sher Khán, had taken leave in Gujrát, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh.

[1] The family must have had large possessions in Dihlí; for when Akbar, in the 22nd year, visited Dihlí, he stayed in Sh. Faríd's mansion, and Abulfazl (*Akbarnámah* III, p. 196) speaks of his extensive possessions along the Jamnah.

[2] In Dihlí, Ahmadábád, and many other places in Gujrát, do we find Bukhárí Sayyids. *Vide* Nos. 77, 78.

Faríd was in Kalánúr on his march to Kángrah. The Shaikh ordered Dwárká Dás his Bakhshí, to pay the man his wages, and the Bakhshí wrote out the Descriptive Roll, and gave the man one day's pay. But Faríd got angry, and said, "He is an old servant, and though he comes rather late, my affairs have not fared ill on account of his absence; give him his whole pay." The man got 7000 Rs., his whole pay for six years.

"Night and day," exclaims the author of the *Maásir*, "change as before, and the stars walk and the heavens turn as of old, but India has no longer such men. Perhaps they have left for some other country!"

Shaikh Faríd had no son. His daughter also died childless. He had adopted two young men, Muhammad Sa'íd and Mír Khán. They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor. Though often warned, they would noisily pass the palace in pleasure boats to the annoyance of the Emperor, their boats being lighted up with torches and coloured lamps. One night they did so again, and Mahábat Khán, whom Jahángír had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mír Khán. Sh. F. demanded of the emperor Mahábat's blood; but Mahábat got together several 'respectable' witnesses who maintained before the emperor that Mír Khán had been killed by Muhammad Sa'íd, and Shaikh F. had to remain quiet.

Muhammad Sa'íd was alive in the 20th year of Sháhjahán, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (*Pádisháhn.* II, 743).

Sayyid Ja'far, Sh. F.'s brother, was also in Akbar's service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 397, l. 5).

The *Pádisháhnámah* (I, b., 316, 313; II, 739) also mentions *Sayyid Badr*, son of Shaikh Faríd's sister, a Commander of 700, 500 horse; and *Sayyid Bhakar*, son of Sh. F.'s brother, a Commander of Five Hundred, 300 horse.

100. Sama'nji' Kha'n, son of Chalmah Beg.

For *Samánjí* we often find in MSS. *Samájí*. The Turkish *samán* means *hay*, so that *Samánjí*, or *Samánchí* would mean *one who looks after the hay*.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the *Maásir*, nor the *Ṭabaqát*. Nor have I come across his name in the *Akbarnámah*. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Samánjí Khán will be found below, No. 147.

101. Tardi' Kha'n, son of Qiyá Khán Gung (No. 33).

He has been mentioned above, on p. 344. The *Ṭabaqát* says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrát).[1]

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[1] Tardí Khán is also mentioned in Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tuzuk*, p. 19, l. 15. But this a mistake. It should be *Tar Khán*, not *Tardí Khán*. The word *toqndí, l. c.*, also is a mistake, and should be *Toqbái*. Pages 18, 19 of the *Tuzuk* treat of Akbar's forced march to Patan in Gujrát (*vide* p. 325, note, and p. 406, l. 10). The *Maásir* (MS. 77 of the Library As. Soc. Bengal, p. 163, *b.*) mentions the 4th Rabí' I. as the day when Akbar left Ágrah; but from the Akbarnámah (Lucknow Edition, III, 18 ff.) it is clear that Akbar left Ágrah on the 24th Rabí' II, 981, and engaged the enemies on the 9th day after his departure, *i. e.*, on the 5th Jumáda I., 981. Hence the date 5th Jumáda I, 980, which Sayyid Ahmad gives, *Tuzuk*, p. 18, l. 16, should be corrected to 5th Jumáda I, 981.

The comparison of the several sources for a history of Akbar's reign, and the

102. Mihtar Kha'n, Anísuddín, a servant of Humáyún.

The word *mihtar*, pr. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humáyún's servants. Thus in the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, Vol. I. p. 269,—a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grandees, &c., who accompanied the emperor to Persia).

Mihtar Khán was the title of Anís (-uddín). He was Humáyún's treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Rantanbhúr had been conquered (*vide* No. 96), the fort was put in his charge. In the beginning of the 21st year (beginning of 984), he accompanied Mán Singh on his expedition against Răná Partáb of Maiwár, and distinguished himself as leader of the *Chandáwul* (rear). In the 25th year, he held a *jágír* in Audh, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí (No. 157).

Anís was gradually promoted. He was at the time of Akbar's death a Commander of Three Thousand. According to the *Ṭabaqát*, he was in 1001 a Commander of 2500.

He died in the 3rd year of Jahángír's reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the *Maásir* correctly, he was a Kátí, and looked upon his tribe with much favour. He was a man of great simplicity. It is said that he paid his contingent monthly.

Múnis Khán, his son, was during the reign of Jahángír a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse. *Abú Ṭálib*, son of Múnis Khán, was employed as treasurer (*Khizánchí*) of the Çúbah of Bengal.

103. Ra i Durga' Sísodiah.

Rái Durgá is generally called in the *Akbarnámah*, Rái Durgá Chandráwaṭ (چندراوت). The home of the family was the Parganah of Rámpúr, also called Islámpúr, near Chítor.

In the 26th year of Akbar's reign, Rái Durgá accompanied Prince Murád on his expedition against Mírzá Muhammad Hakím of Kábul. In the 28th year, he was attached to Mírzá Khán's (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrát war. In the 30th year, he was with M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in the Dak'hin. In the 36th year, he followed Prince Murád to Málwah, and later to the Dak'hin.

In the 45th year, Akbar sent him after Muzaffar Husain Mírzá. He then accompanied Abulfazl to Násik, and went afterwards home on leave. He returned, but after six weeks went again home, apparently without permission.

He died towards the end of the 2nd year of Jahángír's reign.

According to the *Tuzuk* (p. 63), he had served Akbar for upwards of forty years. Jahángír says, he had at first been in the service of Răná U'dai Singh, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the dignity of a Commander of Four Thousand. He is said to have been a good tactician.

The *Ṭabaqát* says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

The *Maásir* continues the history of his descendants, from which the following tree has been taken.

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correction of the MSS., is a truly herculean labour, which the want of critical acumen on the part of the editors of our printed historical editions has very much increased. *Vide* No. 104.

Genealogy of the Ráos of Rámpúr (Islámpúr), Chítor.

1. Rái Durgá Sísodiah (Chandráwaṭ)
2. Ráo Chandá (Jahángír)

(a.) A son ——— (b.) Rúp Mukund

3. Ráo Daudá (Sháhjahán)
4. Ráo Hattí Singh (Do.)[1] [died childless]

5. (a.) Ráo Rúp Singh [died childless] ——— 6. (b.) Ráo Amr Singh (Aurangzíb)

7. Ráo Muhkam Singh
8. Ráo Gopál Singh
9. Ráo Ratan Singh

Ráo Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan, and got the title of *Muslim Khán* (Aurangzíb-Jahándár Sháh).

104. Mádhú Singh, son of Rájah Bhagwán Dás (No. 27).

He was present in the fight at Sarnál (p. 333). In the beginning of the 21st year (Muharram, 984) he served under Mán Singh against Ráná Kíká, and distinguished himself in the battle of Gogandah (21st Rabí' I., 984).[2] In the 30th year, he accompanied Mírzá Sháhrukh (No. 7) on his expedition to Kashmír. In the 31st year, after the death of Sayyid Hámid (No. 78), he took the contingent of Rájah Bhagwán from T'hánah Langar, where he was stationed, to 'Alí Masjid, where Mán Singh was.

In the 48th year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2000 horse. According to the *Ṭabaqát*, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2000.

His son, *Chatr Sál*, or *Satr Sál*, was at the end of Jahángír's reign a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1000 horse. He was killed together with his two sons, Bhím Singh and Anand Singh, in the Dak'hin, in the 3rd year of Sháhjahán's reign. His third son, *Ugar Sen*, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (*vide* Pádisháhn. I., p, 294; I., b., pp. 305, 314.)

[1] There is some confusion in the MSS. and printed editions regarding his name. Thus in the *Pádisháhnámah*, Ed. Bibl. Indica, I, b., 305, he is called *Mat'hí Singh;* but *Hattí Singh* in the same work, Vol. II, p. 730, and *Hathí*, on p. 374.

[2] It was said above, p. 339, l. l., that the battle of Gogandah was fought in 985. This is the statement of the *Ṭabaqát*, which the *Maásir* follows in its biographical note of Rájah Mán Singh. But from the *Akbarnámah* and the History of Badáoní, who was present in the battle, and brought Akbar Mán Singh's report, it is clear that Mán Singh set out on the 2nd Muharram, 984, and that the battle took place on the 21st Rabí' I., of the same year.

It has been remarked above (p. 356, note 1), that the chronology of the *Ṭabaqát* is erroneous. Badáoní ascribes the errors to the omission of the intercalary days, and a confusion of solar and lunar years. Historians should bear this in mind. The Akbarnámah is the only source for a history of Akbar's reign, and the *Sawáni'h* should be the guide of Historians.

105. Sayyid Qásim, and 143. Sayyid Háshim, sons of Sayyid Mahmúd Khán of Bárha, Kúndlíwál (No. 75).

In the 17th year, S. Qásim served under Khán 'Alam (No. 58), in the pursuit of Muhammad Husain Mírzá, who after his defeat by M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dak'hin.

S. Háshim served, in the 21st year, with Rái Rái Singh (No. 44) against Sulṭán Deorah, ruler of Sarohí, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year, both brothers served under Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) against the Ráná. In the 25th year, when Chandr Sen, son of Máldeo, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had *jágírs* in Ajmír, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the *harával* of Mírzá Khán (No. 29) in the Gujrát war.

S. Háshim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Ahmadábád. S. Qásim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed T'hánahdár of Patan. When Mírzá Khán went to Court, leaving Qulij Khán as Governor of Ahmadábád, Qásim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muzaffar, Jám (zamíndár of Little Kachh), and K'hangár (zamíndár of Great Kachh).

On the transfer of Mírzá Khán, Khán i A'zam (No. 21) was appointed Governor of Gujrát. Qásim continued to serve in Gujrát, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year. Later, he commanded the left wing of Sulṭán Murád's Dak'hin corps.

Qásim died in the 44th year (1007). He was at his death a Commander of 1500.

Regarding their sons, *vide* p. 392.

XII. Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty.

106. Rái Sál Darbárí, Shaikháwat.

He is also called Rájah Rái Sál Darbárí, and is the son of Rái Rái Mall Shaikháwat, in whose service Hasan Khán Súr (father of Sher Sháh) was for some time.

As remarked above (p. 328, No. 23), the Kachhwáhahs are divided into Rájáwats and Shaikháwats. To the latter branch belong Rájahs Lon Karan, Rái Sál, &c.; the former contains Mán Singh's posterity (the present rulers of Jaipúr).

The term *Shaikháwat*, or *Shekháwat*, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons. A Muhammadan Shaikh, however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called *Shaikh*.[1] Hence his descendants are called the Shaikháwat Branch.

Rái Sál was employed at Court, as his title of *Darbárí* indicates. He was in charge of the Harem. During the reign of Jahángír, he was promoted, and served in the Dak'hin. He died there at an advanced age. He had twenty-one sons, each of whom had a numerous posterity.

Whilst Rái Sál was in the Dak'hin, Mádhú Singh and other grandchildren of his, collected a lot of ruffians, and occupied Rái Sál's paternal possessions.[2] But Mat'hurá

[1] He is the same as the *Shaikhjí* of Jaipúr genealogies. Shaikhjí is said to have been a grandson of Udaikaran, twelfth descendant of Dholá Rái (p. 329).

[2] Called in the *Maásir* کهندار, Khandár or Ghandár, 'near Amber.'

Dás, a Bengalí, who was Rái Sál's Munshí and Vakíl, recovered a portion of his master's lands.

After Rái Sál's death, his sons and grandsons lived, according to the custom of the Zamíndárs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other. Rájah Girdhar, Rái Sál's son, is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court.

From the Akbarnámah we see that Rái Sál entered early Akbar's service; for he was present in the battle of Khairábád (p. 382), in the fight at Sarnál (p. 333), and accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád (p. 416, note).

The *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., p. 314) mentions another son of Rái Sál's, Bhoj Ráj, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse.

The *Ṭabaqát* says that Rái Sál was, in 1001, a Commander of Two Thousand. Abulfazl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This *mançab* is unusual, and Rái Sál stands alone in this class. It does not occur in the lists of Grandees in the *Pádisháhnámah*. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Mançab after the *Hazárí* was the *Hazár o pánçadí*, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.

107. Muhibb 'Alí Khán, son of Mír Khalífah.

This grandee must not be confounded with *Muhibb 'Alí Khán Rahṭásí* (p. 422).

Muhibb 'Alí Khán is the son of Mír Nizámuddín 'Alí Khalífah, the "pillar of Bábar's government." He had no faith in Humáyún, and was opposed to his accession. He therefore favoured Mahdí Khwájah, Bábar's son-in-law. Mahdí, a short time before Bábar's death, assumed a royal deportment. One day, Mír Khalífah happened to be in Mahdí's tent; and when he left, Mahdí, thinking himself alone, put his hand to his beard, and exclaimed, "Thou shalt by and by follow me." He had scarcely uttered these words, when he observed Muqím i Harawí[1] in the corner of the tent. Muqím reported these words to Mír Khalífah, and upbraided him for giving Mahdí his support. Mír Khalífah thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdí, and raised, on Bábar's death, Humáyún to the throne.

His son Muhibb 'Alí Khán distinguished himself under Bábar and Humáyún. His wife was Náhíd Begum, daughter of Qásim Kokah. Qásim had sacrificed himself for Bábar. Bábar had fallen into the hands of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, when Qásim stepped forward and said that *he* was Bábar. He was cut to pieces, and Bábar escaped. In 975, Náhíd Begum went to T'hat'hah, to see her mother, Hájí Begum (daughter of Mírzá Muqím, son of Mírzá Zul-nún). After Qásim Kokah's death, Hájí Begum married Mírzá Hasan, and after him, Mírzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, king of Sindh (p. 362). Before Náhíd Begum reached T'hat'hah, Mírzá 'Ísá died. His successor, Mírzá Báqí ill-treated Hájí Begum and her daughter. Hájí Begum therefore collected a few desperate men and watched for an opportunity to get hold of M. Báqí's person. The plot was, however, discovered, and Hájí Begum was put into prison. Náhíd Begum escaped and went to Bhakkar, where she was well received by Sulṭán Mahmúd, ruler of the District. He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muhibb 'Alí

[1] Father of the Historian Nizámuddín Ahmad, author of the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*. Muqím was then *Díwán i Buyútát*.

to Bhakkar; and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack T'hat'hah. Náhíd Begum did so on coming to court, and Akbar, in the 16th year (978), called for Muhibb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muhibb set out, accompanied by ***Mujáhid Khán***, a son of his daughter. Sa'íd Khán (No. 25), Governor of Multán, had also received orders to assist Muhibb; but at Sulṭán Mahmúd's request, Muhibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers. When he arrived at Bhakkar, Sulṭán Mahmúd said that he had changed his mind: he might go and attack T'hat'hah without his assistance; but he should do so from Jaisalmír, and not from Bhakkar. Muhibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sulṭán Mahmúd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Mahmúd had 10000 horse assembled near Fort Máth'ílah (ماتهیله). Muhibb attacked them, dispersed them, and took soon after the fort itself. He then fitted out a larger corps, and moved to Bhakkar, where he again defeated Mahmúd. The consequence of this victory was, that Mubárak Khán, Sulṭán Mahmúd's *vazír*, left his master and went with 1500 horse over to Muhibb. But as Mubárak's son, Beg Oghlú, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sulṭán Mahmúd, Muhibb wished to kill Beg Oghlú. Mubárak, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muhibb's power. Muhibb therefore killed Mubárak, and used the money which fell into his hands, to complete his preparations for the siege of Bhakkar.

The siege had lasted three years, when famine and disease drove the inhabitants to despair. The swelling which is peculiar to the district, decimated the people; and the bark of the *Sirs* tree (p. 228), the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold. Sulṭán Mahmúd, at last, sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Salím, if Muhibb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Mahmúd) to court; for he said, he could not trust Muhibb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mír Gesú, Bakáwal-begí, to Bhakkar.[1] Before Mír Gesú arrived, Sulṭán Mahmúd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. Mujáhid Khán just besieged Fort Ganjábah,[2] and his mother Sámi'ah Begum (Muhibb's daughter) who felt offended at Akbar's proceedings, despatched a few ships against Mír Gesú, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muqím i Harawí also arrived and dissuaded Muhibb from hostilities against Mír Gesú. The latter now entered Bhakkar (981), and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him.

But neither Muhibb nor Mujáhid felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger. Muhibb therefore entered into an agreement with Mír Gesú, according to which Mujáhid should be allowed to go to T'hat'hah, and that he himself with his whole family should be accommodated in Loharí. The arrangement had been partially carried out, when Mír Gesú despatched a flotilla after Mujáhid. Muhibb upon this withdrew to Mát'hílah. Sámi'ah Begum fortified the environs, and when attacked by Gesú's men, she successfully repulsed them for one day and one

[1] The conquest of Bhakkar is minutely related in the *Táríkh i Ma'çúmí* (*vide* No. 329), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot's History of India (I, p. 240 ff.) has given extracts. But Abulfazl's account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson's Mír Kísú, we have to read *Mír Gesú*. His biography is given in the Maásir. [2] Generally called *Ganjáwah*.

night. Next day, Mujáhid arrived in forced marches, defeated the enemy,[1] and occupied the land east of the river.

In the meantime, Akbar had sent Muhammad Tarson Khán (No. 32) as governor to Bhakkar, and Muhibb thought it now wise to go to Court.

In the 21st year, Muhibb received an appointment at Court, as a sort of *Mír 'Arz*. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of *Mír 'Arz*, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dihlí. Muhibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dihlí in 989.

Muhibb is placed in the *Ṭabaqát* among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abulfazl says that it is called in old books *Mançúrah*. Six rivers united pass by it in several branches; two branches lie to the south, one to the north. The town at the latter branch, is called Bhakkar. On the second branch another town lies, called Loharí, and near it is the Indus.

Mírzá Sháh Husain Arghún, king of T'hat'hah, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother Sulṭán Mahmúd. After Sháh Husain's death, Sulṭán Mahmúd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mírzá 'Ísá Tarkhán (p. 362) at T'hat'hah. Both were often at war with each other. Sulṭan Mahmúd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before T'hat'hah, it was attached to the Çúbah of Multán.

[**Muhibb 'Alí Khán Rahtásí**].

Like Muhibb 'Alí Khán, son of Mír Khalífah, Muhibb 'Alí Khán Rahtásí is put in the *Ṭabaqát* among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abulfazl has not mentioned him in this list. His name, however, occurs frequently in the *Akbarnámah* and other histories. As he was a long time Governor of Rahtás in S. Bihár, he is generally called *Rahtásí*. This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Sháh. During his reign, as also that of Salím Sháh, Fath Khán Batní commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaimán and Junaid i Kararání. The latter appointed Sayyid Muhammad commander. As related above (p. 400), he handed it over to Shahbáz Khán (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpatí and his son Srí Rám (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muhibb 'Alí Khán governor of Rahtás, and Shahbáz Khán made over the Fort to him.

Muhibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Habíb 'Alí Khán (*vide* No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yúsuf Miṭṭí, who had collected a band of Afgháns and ravaged S. Bihár. His death affected his father so much, that he became temporarily insane.

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[1] If Prof. Dowson's MSS. agree with his version (I, p. 241), the *Táríkh i Ma'çúmí* would contradict the *Akbarnámah*. Mujáhid Khán is again mentioned, *l. c.*, p. 282.

In the 31st year, two officers having been appointed to each Çúbah, Muhibb was ordered to join Vazír Khán (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year, Bihár was given to the Kachhwáhahs as *jágír*, and Akbar called Muhibb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multán. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmír (997), Muhibb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmír, Muhibb took ill, and died, on the emperor's return, near the *Koh i Sulaimán*. Akbar went to his sick-bed and saw him the moment he died.

In the *Akbarnámah* (III, p. 245) a place *Muhibb 'Alípúr* [1] is mentioned, which Muhibb founded near Rahtás.

108. Sulṭán Khwájah, 'Abdul 'Azím, son of Khwájah Kháwand Dost.

He is also called Sulṭán Khwájah *Naqshbandí*.[2] His father Kháwand Dost was a pupil of Khwájah 'Abdushshahíd, fifth son of Khwájah 'Abdullah (generally called Khwájagán Khwájah; *vide* No. 17, p. 322), son of the renowned saint Khwájah Náçiruddín Ahrár (born 806, died 29th Rabí' I, 895).

When 'Abdushshahíd came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Parganah Chamárí. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later.

Sulṭan Khwájah, though neither learned in the sciences nor in *taçawwuf* (mysticism), had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the emperor. In 984, he was made *Mír Hajj*, and as such commanded a numerous party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia: Sulṭán Khwájah was to distribute six lacs of rupees and 12000 *khil'ats* to the people of Makkah.

On his return in 986 (23rd year), he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and appointed *Çadr* of the realm (p. 273). He held that office till his death, which took place in the 29th year (992). He was buried outside the Fort of Fathpúr, to the north.

His daughter, in the beginning of the 30th year, was married to Prince Dányál.

His son, Mír Khwájah, was in the 46th year a Commander of 500.

According to Badáoní and Abulfazl, Sulṭán Khwájah belonged to the elect of the 'Divine Faith' (*vide* p. 204).

109. Khwájah 'Abdullah, son of Khwájah 'Abdullaṭíf.

His name is not given in the *Maásir* and the *Ṭabaqát*. The *Akbarnámah* mentions a Khwájah 'Abdullah who served in the war against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14), in Málwah (971-72), during the last rebellion of Khán Zamán (No. 13), and in the fight at Sarnál (middle Sha'bán, 980; *vide* p. 333). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád. *Vide* the Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnámah*, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.

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[1] Not given on the maps.

[2] *Naqshband* was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwájah Baháuddín of Bukhárá, born 728, died 3rd Rabí' I., 791. He was called *naqshband*, because according to his own words, he and his parents used to weave *kamkhábs* adorned with figures (*naqsh*).

110. Khwa'jah Jaha'n, Amíná of Harát.

His full name is Khwájah Amínuddín Mahmúd of Harát. The form Amíná is modern Írání, which likes to add a long *á* to names.

Amín was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher. He accompanied Humáyún on his flight to Persia. On the return of the emperor, he was made Bakhshí of Prince Akbar.

On Akbar's accession, Amín was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of *Khwájah Jahán*. He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal. In the 11th year, he was accused by Muzaffar Khán (No. 37) of want of loyalty shewn in the rebellion of Khán Zamán. Amín was reprimanded, the great seal was taken from him, and he was dismissed to Makkah.

On his return, he was pardoned. In the 19th year (981-82), Akbar besieged Hájípúr; but Amín had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaunpúr. When the emperor returned from Hájípúr over Jaunpúr to Ágrah, Amín followed him. On the march, he was once charged by a *mast* elephant: his foot got entangled in a tent rope, and he fell to the ground. The accident had an injurious effect on Amín, convalescent as he was. He died near Lak'hnau, in the beginning of Sha'bán, 982.

According to the chronology of the *Ṭabaqát*, his death took place in 983.

A son of Amín's brother is mentioned. His name was Mírzá Beg. He was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluç* of *Shahrí*. He withdrew from Court, and died in 989.

Jahángír also conferred the title of Khwájah Jahán on the officer (Dost Muhammad of Kábul) who had served him as Bakhshí while Prince.

111. Ta'ta'r Kha'n, of Khurásán.

His name is Khwájah Ṭáhir Muhammad. In the 8th year, he accompanied Sháh Budágh Khán (No. 52) and Rúmí Khán (No. 146), and pursued Mír Sháh 'Abul Ma'álí, who withdrew from Hiçár Fírúzah to Kábul.

He was then made governor of Dihlí, where he died in 986.

The *Ṭabaqát* says, he was for some time *Vazír*, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with Mullá Núruddín Tarkhán, *vide* Badáoní III, 199.

112. Haki'm Abulfath, son of Mullá 'Abdurrazzáq of Gílán.

His name is Masíhuddín Abulfath. Mauláná 'Abdurrazzáq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of *Çádr* of Gílán. When Gílán, in 974, came into the possession of Ṭahmásp, Ahmad Khán, ruler of the country was imprisoned, and 'Abdurrazzáq was tortured to death. Hakím Abulfath, with his distinguished brothers Hakím Humám (No. 205) and Hakím Núruddín,[1] left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 175). They went to Court and were well received. Abulfath, in the 24th year, was made *Çadr* and *Amín* of Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt, he was captured with several other officers (*vide* Nos. 98 and 159); but he escaped from prison, and went again to Court. He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour, and possessed an immense influence in state matters

[1] He is mentioned below among the Poets of Akbar's reign. His *takhalluç* is 'Qarárí.' Their fourth brother, Hakím Luṭfullah, came later from Írán to India, and received through Abul Fath's influence a Command of Two Hundred (No. 354). He did not live long.

and on the emperor himself. Though only a commander of One Thousand, he is said to have had the power of a *Vakíl.*

As related above (p. 344), he accompanied Bír Baṛ on the expedition against the Yúsufzaís in Sawád and Bijor. On his return, he was reprimanded; for the emperor, correctly enough, ascribed the disastrous issue of the campaign to Abulfath's insubordinate conduct towards Zain Kokah (No. 34).

In the 34th year, (997), he went with the emperor to Kashmír, and from there to Zábulistán. On the march he fell sick, and died. According to Akbar's order, Khwájah Shamsuddín (No. 159) took his body to Hasan Abdál, and buried him in a vault which the Khwájah had made for himself (*Tuzuk*, p. 48). On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abulfath's tomb.

The great poet 'Urfí of Shíráz (*vide* below, among the poets) is Abul Fath's encomiast. Faizí also has composed a fine *marsiah*, or elegy, on his death.

Abulfazl and Badáoní speak of the vast attainments of Abulfath. A rare copy of his *Munshiát*[1] is preserved in the Library of the As. Soc. Bengal (No. 780) He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets: thus he called Anwarí diminutively *Anwariak*; and of Khaqání he said, he would give him a box on the ears if he were to come to him, to rouse him from his sleepiness, and would send him to Abulfazl, who would give him another box, and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Badáoní III, 167).

Badáoní mentions Abulfath's influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islám (p. 175).

Abulfath had a son, Fathullah. He was killed by Jahángír, as he was an accomplice of Khusrau (*Tuzuk*, p. 58).

A grandosn of Abulfath is mentioned in the *Pádisháhnámah* (II, p. 739). His name is Fath Ziá; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 150 horse.

113. Shaikh Jama'l, son of Muhammad Bakhtyár.

His full name is Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, son of Shaikh Muhammad Bakhtyár. The Bakhtyár clan had possessions in Jalesar, Çubah of Ágrah.

Shaikh Jamál's sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar's harem, and procured for her brother a command of One Thousand. Jamál's elevation excited much envy. One day, after taking some water, he felt suddenly ill. Rúp also, one of Akbar's servants, who had drunk of the same water, took immediately ill. Akbar had antidotes applied, and both recovered.

In the 25th year, he accompanied Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyábat Khán. Níyábat Khán was the son of Mír Háshim of Níshápúr; his name was 'Arab. Before his rebellion, he held Jhosí and Arail (Jalálábás) as jágír. In the fight, which took place near 'Kantit, a dependency of Pannah,'[2] Shaikh Jamál was nearly killed, Niyábat Khán having pulled him from his horse.

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[1] His *Munshiát* contain interesting letters addressed by Abulfath to his brother Hakím Humám, the Khán Khánán (No. 29), Khwájah Shams (No. 159), and others.

[2] The Bibl. Indica edition of *Badáoní* (II, 289) says, the fight took place *at Gasht* (گشت), *a dependency of Patnah* (پتنه); but this is a mistake of the

In the 26th year, he marched with Prince Murád against Mírzá Muhammad Hakím of Kábul.

Shaikh Jamál drank a great deal of wine. One day, he brought such a smell of wine to the audience hall, that Akbar felt offended, and excluded him from Court. Jamál therefore squandered and destroyed the things he had with him, and assumed the garb of a *jogí*. This annoyed the emperor more, and Jamál was put into prison. Soon after, he was pardoned; but he continued his old vice, and brought *delirium tremens* on himself. In the 30th year, when Akbar set out for Zábulistán, Shaikh Jamál had to remain sick in Lúdhiánah. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamál has been mentioned above on p. 191.

114. Ja'far Khán, son of Qazáq Khán.

He is generally called in the histories *Ja'far Khán Taklú*, Taklú being the name of a Qizilbásh tribe.

His grandfather, Muhammad Khán Sharafuddín Oghlú Taklú, was at the time of Humáyún's flight governor of Harát and *lallah*[1] to Sulṭán Muhammad Mírzá, eldest son of Sháh Ṭahmasp i Çafawí. At the Sháh's order, he entertained Humáyún in the most hospitable manner. When he died, he was succeeded in office by his son Qazáq Khán. But Qazáq shewed so little loyalty, that Ṭahmásp, in 972, sent Ma'çúm Beg i Çafawí against him. Qazáq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Harát, he died. Ma'çúm seized all his property.

Ja'far thinking himself no longer safe in Persia, emigrated to India, and was well received by Akbar. He distinguished himself in the war with Khán Zamán, and was made a *Khán* and a commander of One Thousand. From *Badáoní* (II, p. 161,) we see that he had a *jágír* in the Panjáb, and served under Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkoṭ.

According to the *Ṭabaqát*, Ja'far's father did not die a natural death, but was killed by the Persians.

Ja'far had been dead for some time in 1001.

115. Sháh Faná'í, son of Mír Najafí.

His name is not given in the *Maásir* and the *Ṭabaqát*. From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Málwah and took part in the battle near Sárangpúr (beginning of the 6th year; *vide* No. 120).

The poet *Fanáí* who is mentioned in *Badáoní* (III, 296), the *Ṭabaqát*, and the *Mir-át ul 'A'lam*, appears to be the same. He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war. Akbar con-

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editors. Sir H. Elliot (Beames' Glossary II, 166) has drawn attention to the frequent mistakes which MSS. make in the name of *Pannah* (پنه), to which Kantit belonged. There is no doubt, that above, on p. 122, *l*. 4 and *l*. 9 from below, we have likewise to read *Pannah*, which was famous for its wild elephants.

[1] The word *lallah* is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian Historians, as the *Memoirs of Ṭahmásp*, the *'Álamárá*, &c. I have never seen it used by Indian Historians. From the passages where it occurs, it is plain that it has the same meaning as *atáliq*, which so often occurs in Indian Histories. *Vide* p. 357, note.

ferred on him the title of *Khán*. He was a Chaghtái Turk of noble descent. Once he said, in Akbar's presence, that no one surpassed him in the three *C's*,—chess, combat, composition, when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, *viz.* conceit. For some reason, he was imprisoned, and when set at liberty, it was found that he had become mad. He ran into the wilderness, and was no more heard of.

116. Asadullah Kha'n, of Tabríz.

His name is not given in the *Maásir* and the *Ṭabaqát*. An Asadullah Khán is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (end of the 12th year). He served under Khán Zamán (No. 13), and commanded the town of *Zamániá* (p. 320, l. 4 from below). After Khán Zamán's death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaimán, king of Bengal. But Mun'im (No. 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and took quickly possession of the town, so that the Afgháns under their leader, Khán Khánán Lodí, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afgháns into contact with Mun'im; and as they found him a tractable man, a meeting was arranged, which took place in the neighbourhood of Patna. This meeting was of importance, inasmuch as Khán Khánán Lodí, on the part of Sulaimán, promised to read the *Khuṭbah*, and to strike coins in Akbar's name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaimán in 980[1].

The *Akbarnámah* mentions another officer of a similar name, *Asadullah Turkmán*. He was mentioned above on p. 382.

117. Sa'a'dat 'Ali' Kha'n, of Badakshán.

From the Akbarnámah (III, 295) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel 'Arab Bahádur. Shahbáz Khán had sent Sa'ádat to a Fort[2] near Rahtás, where he was surprised by 'Arab, defeated and slain. It is said that 'Arab drank some of his blood.

118. Ru'psi' Baira'gi', brother of Rájah Bihárí Mall (No. 23).

The *Maásir* says that Rúpsí was *the son* of Rájah Bihárí Mall's brother. He was introduced at Court in the 6th year.

According to the *Ṭabaqát*, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred.

Jaimall, Rúpsí's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (p. 329). He served some time under Sharafuddín (No. 17), jágírdár of Ajmír, and was T'hánahdár of Mírt'ha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaimall went to Court. In the 17th year, he served in *Manqalá* of Khán Kalán (*Vide* No. 129), and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád (p. 416, note). In the 21st year, he served in the expedition against Daudá, son of Rái Surjan (No. 96), and the conquest of Búndí (Muharram, 985). Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal; but on reaching Chausá, he suddenly died.

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[1] According to the *Akbarnámah*, *Badáoní*, and the *Ṭabaqát*, Sulaimán died in 980. In Prinsep's Tables, Stewart's Bengal, &c., 981 is mentioned as the year of his death. The *Riyáz ussaláṭín*, upon which Stewart's work is based, has also 981; but as this History is quite modern and compiled from the *Akbarnámah* and the *Ṭabaqát*, 981 may be looked upon as a mistake. This corrects also *note* 1, p. 171.

[2] The MSS. call the Fort کیست, کبست, کسیت, &c. It is said to be a dependency *(az muzáfát)* of Rahtás.

Jaimall's wife, a daughter of Mot'h Rájah (No. 121), refused to mount the funeral pile; but U'dai Singh, Jaimall's son, wished to force her to become a *Suttee*. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagnát'h (No. 69) and Rái Sál (No. 106) got hold of U'dai Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him.

The story of the heavy armour which Jaimall wore in the fight with Muhammad Husain Mírzá, after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád, is known from Elphinstone's History (Fifth Edition, p. 509, note). Rúpsí was offended, because the emperor ordered Karan (a grandson of Máldeo) to put on Jaimall's armour, and angrily demanded it back. Akbar then put off his own armour. Bhagwán Dás, however, thought it necessary to ask the emperor to pardon Rúpsí's rudeness.

119. I'tima'd Kha'n, Khwájahsará.

He has been mentioned above p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl (*vide* No. 140) had died.

Maqçúd 'Alí, who killed I'timád, is said to have been blind on one eye. When he explained to I'timád his miserable condition, his master insulted him by saying that some one should put urine into his blind eye. Maqçúd stabbed him on the spot. According to another account, I'timád was murdered by Maqçúd, whilst getting up from bed.

I'timád built *I'timádpúr*, 6 *kos* from A'grah. He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there.[1]

120. Ba'z Baha'dur, son of Shajáwal Khán [Súr].

Abulfazl says below (Third Book, Çúbah of Málwah) that his real name was *Báyazíd*.

Báz Báhadúr's father was Shujá'at Khán Súr, who is generally called in histories *Shajáwal*, or *Sajáwal, Khán*. The large town Shajáwalpúr, or Sajáwalpúr, in Málwah bears his name;[2] its original name, *Shujá'atpúr*, which Abulfazl gives below under Sirkár Sárangpúr, Málwah, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Sháh took Málwah from Mallú (Qádir Khán), Shujá'at Khán was in Sher Sháh's service, and was made by him governor of the conquered province. In Salím's reign, he returned to Court; but feeling dissatisfied with the king, he returned to Málwah. Salím despatched a corps after him, and Shujá'at fled to the Rájah of Dúngarpúr. Some time after, he surrendered to Salím and remained with him, Málwah being divided among the courtiers. Under 'Adlí, he was again appointed to Málwah. After a short time, he prepared himself to assume the royal purple, but died (962).

Báz Báhadur succeeded him. He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Málwah. His expedition to Gaḍha was not successful, Rání

[1] The Trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of *I'timádpúr Mandra* about 9 miles E. of A'grah, in the Parganah of Fathábád, near Samúgar, where Aurangzíb defeated Dárá Shikoh.

[2] A few MSS. have *Shujá' Khán* for *Shujá'at Khán*, just as one MS. read *Shujá'púr* for *Shujá'atpúr*. Elphinstone also has *Shujá'* (p. 501, note 1). The word 'Shujá'at' should be spelled 'Shajá'at,' whilst شجاع is pronounced *Shujá'*; but the former also is pronounced with a *u* all over India.

Dúrgáwatí (p. 367) having repulsed him. He now gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury: his singers and dancing women were soon famous throughout Hindústán, especially the beautiful *Rúpmatí*, who is even now-a-days remembered.

In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar's reign, Adham Kokah (No. 19) was ordered to conquer Málwah. Pír Muhammad Khán (No. 20), 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14), Qiyá Khán Gung (No. 33), Sháh Muhammad Khán of Qandahár (No. 95) and his son 'Adil Khán (No. 125), Çádiq Khán (No. 43), Habíb 'Alí Khán (No. 133), Haidar Muhammad Khán (No. 66), Muhammad Qulí Toqbái (No. 129), Qiyá Khán (No. 184), Mírak Bahádur (No. 208), Samánjí Khán (No. 147), Páyandah Muhammad Mughul (No. 68), Mihr 'Alí Sildoz (No. 130), Sháh Fanáí (No. 115), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Báz Bahádur three *kos* from Sárangpúr and defeated him (middle of 968).[1] Báz Bahádur fled to the jungles on the Khandesh frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Pír Muhammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Mírán Sháh of Khándesh, who assisted him with troops. Pír Muhammad in the mean time conquered Bíjágaḍh, threw himself suddenly upon Burhánpúr, sacked the town, and allowed an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. B. B. marched against him, and defeated him. As related above, Pír Muhammad fled, and was drowned in the Narbaddá. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jágírdárs left for Ágrah, so that Báz Bahádur without opposition re-occupied Málwah.

In the 7th year, Akbar sent 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak to Málwah. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bharjí, Zamíndár of Baglánah, and tried to obtain assistance from Chingiz Khán and Sher Khán of Gujrát, and lastly even from the Nizám ul Mulk. Meeting nowhere with support, B. B. went to Ráná Udai Singh. He then appears to have thrown himself on Akbar's generosity; for in the 15th year, Akbar ordered Hasan Khán Khizánchí[2] to conduct Báz Bahádur to Court. He now entered the emperor's service, and was made on his arrival a commander of One Thousand. Some time later, he was promoted to a *mançab* of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Báz Bahádur and his Rúpmatí lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. *Vide* No. 188.

121. U'dai Singh, Mot'h Ra'jah, son of Rái Máldeo.

The *Ṭabaqát* says that he was in 1001 a commander of Fifteen Hundred and ruler of Jodhpúr.

Akbar, in 994, married U'dai Singh's daughter to Jahángír. On p. 8 of the *Tuzuk*, Jahángír says that her name was *Jagat Gosáiní*. She was the mother of Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán); *vide* p. 310, l. 19.

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[1] The 6th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 24th Jumádá II, 968, and the battle of Sárangpúr took place in the very beginning of the 6th year.

[2] This officer was often employed on missions. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was sent to Mukund Deo, the last Gajpatí of Oṛísá.

In 981, he was at Kambháit, which he left on the approach of Muhammad Husain Mírzá, and withdrew to Ahmadábád to M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21).

Mírzá Hádí in his preface to Jahángír's Memoirs (the Tuzuk i Jahángírí) has the following remark (p. 6): 'Rájah U'dai Sing is the son of Rájah Máldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. AlthoughRáná Sánká, who fought with Firdaus-makání (Bábar) possessed much power, Máldeo was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory; hence he was always victorious.'

From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, III. p. 183) we see that Mot'h Rájah accompanied in the 22nd year Çádiq Khán (No. 43), Rájah Askaran, and Ulugh Khán Habshí (No. 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (26th Rabí' I, 985). In the 28th year, he served in the Gujrát war with Muzaffar (*Akbarnámah*, III, 422).

Another daughter of Mot'h Rájah was married to Jaimall, son of Rúpsí (No. 118).

122. Khwa'jah Sha'h Mançu'r, of Shíráz.

Mançúr was at first *Mushrif* (accountant) of the *Khúshbú Khánah* (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Muzaffar Khán (No. 37) induced Sh. Mançúr to go to Jaunpúr, where Khán Zamán made him his *Díwán*. Subsequently he served Mun'im Khán Khánán in the same capacity. After Mun'im's death, he worked for a short time with Todar Mall in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor *Vazír*. He worked up all arrears, and applied himself to reform the means of collecting the land revenue. The custom then was to depend on experienced assessors for the annual rate of the tax; but this method was now found inconvenient, because the empire had become greater; for at different places the assessment differed, and people and soldiers suffered losses. For this reason, the Khwájah, in the 24th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding *Dahsálah* roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year. The empire itself which did not then include Oṛísá, T'hat'hah, Kashmír, and the Dak'hin, was divided into 12 parts, called *Çúbahs;* and to each çúbah a *sipahsálar* (Military Governor), a *Díwán*, a *Bakhshí* (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a *Mír 'Adl*, a *Çadr*, a *Kotwál*, a *Mír Bahr*, and a *Wáqi'ah Nawís* (p. 258) were to be appointed. The strictness which the Khwájah displayed towards jágír-holders led to serious results. In the 25th year, he lowered the value of the jágírs of the grandees in Bengal by one-fourth of their former value, and those in Bihár by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihár were then not completely subjugated, and the Afgháns still mustered large forces in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Oṛísá, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Mançúr's rigour was impolitic; for Akbar's officers looked upon the old jágír emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afgháns. Akbar some time before, in consideration of the troubled state of both provinces, and the notorious climate of Bengal, had doubled the allowances of Bengal officers and increased by 50 *per cent.* the emoluments of those in Bihár. This Mançúr cut down: he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihár officers an increase of only 20 *per cent.* He then wrote to Muzaffar to enforce the new arrangements. But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with Sayurghál tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jágír-holders in Jaunpúr, Bihár, and Bengal rebelled. That religious excitement was one of the causes of this Military revolt, which soon after was confined to Bengal, is best seen from the fact that

not a single Hindú was on the side of the rebels.[1] Todar Mall tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Mançúr and charging him with unnecessary harshness shewn especially towards Ma'çúm Khán i Farankhúdí (No. 157) and Muhammad Tarson (No. 32). Akbar deposed Mançúr and appointed temporarily Sháh Qulí Mahram (No. 45); but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mançúr's demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, at Ma'çúm Khán i Kábulí's instigation, threatened to invade the Panjáb, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Mançúr's enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and shewed Akbar letters in the hand-writing of Mírzá M. Hakím's Munshí, addressed to Mançúr. Accidentally Malik Sání, Hakím's Díwán, who had the title of *Vazír Khán*, left his master, and paid his respects to Akbar at Sonpaṭ. As he put up with Mançúr, new suspicions got afloat. Several words which Mançúr was said to have uttered, were construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written to M. M. Hakím were sent to Akbar. Another letter from Sharaf Beg, his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said that Farídún Khán (maternal uncle to M. M. Hakím) had presented the Beg to the Mírzá. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicitations of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Mançúr: he should remain in arrest till any of the grandees should stand bail for him; but as none dared to come forward, they ordered the Khidmat Rái (p. 252) to hang Man'çúr on a tree near Sarái Koṭ K'hachwah (beginning of 989).[2]

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[1] The chief rebel was Ma'çúm Khán i Kábulí, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 189, 342, 351, 400, &c.). He was a *Turbatí* Sayyid (*vide* p. 348, No. 37). His uncle, Mírzá 'Azíz, had been Vazír under Humáyún, and Ma'çúm himself was the foster-brother (*Kokah*) of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwájah Hasan Naqshbandí (p. 322, l. 11) who had married the widow of Mír Sháh Abul Ma'álí, Ma'çúm, in the 20th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afgháns, and was wounded in a fight with Kálá Paháṛ. For his bravery, he was made a commander of One Thousand. In the 24th year, he received Oṛísá as *tuyúl*, when Man'çúr and Muzaffar's strictness drove him into rebellion. Historians often call him *Ma'çúm Khán i 'Áçí*, 'Ma'çúm Khán, the rebel.' His fights with Muzaffar and Shahbáz have been mentioned above. He was at last driven to *Bháṭí* (p. 342, note), where he died in the 44th year (1007).

His son *Shujá' i Kábulí* was under Jahángír T'hánahdár of Ghaznín, and a commander of Fifteen Hundred under Sháhjahán, who bestowed upon him the title of *Asad Khán*. He died in the 12th year of Sháhjahán's reign. His son, *Qubád*, was a commander of Five Hundred.

The editors of the *Pádisháhnámah*, Ed. Bibl. Indica, have entered Shujá's name twice, I, *b*., p. 304 and p. 308. As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, the second entry is wrong.

[2] So the *Akbarnámah*, کوت کچهوه سرای. Koṭ K'hachwah is a village on the road from Karnál to Ludhiyánah, Lat. 30° 17′; Long. 76° 53′. In the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badáoní (II, p. 294, 293) the place is called کجه کوت *kajh koṭ*, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg, moreover, is called *Musharraf Beg*, and a few lines lower, again *Sharaf Beg*. Badáoní says nothing of Todar Mall's intrigues. Mançúr was hanged in the very beginning of 989, *i. e.* the end of the 25th year. The 26th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 5th Çafar 989 (the Lucknow Edition, III, 325, has wrong 990); and the 27th year commences 15th Çafar 990, which in the Bibl. Indica Edit. of Badáoní (II, p. 300, l. 2. from below) is wrongly called the 28th year.

This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction. But when Akbar came to Kábul (10th Rajab 989), he examined into Mançúr's treasonable correspondence. It was then found, to the sorrow of Akbar, that every letter which had been shewn to him had been a forgery, and that Mançúr was not guilty of even one of the malicious charges preferred against him.

It is said, though at the time it was perhaps not proved, that Karamullah, brother of Shahbáz Khán i Kambú (p. 402, l. 19) had written the letters, chiefly at the instigation of Rájah Todar Mall.

Mançúr had been Vazír for four years.

123. Qutlugh Qadam Khán, Ákhtah-begí.[1]

The Turkish word *qutlugh* means *mubárak*, and *qadam i mubárak*, is the name given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the Prophet. The *Ṭabaqát* calls him *Qutlú*, instead of *Qutlugh*, which confirms the conjecture in note 2, p. 356.

Qutlugh Qadam Khán was at first in the service of Mírzá Kámrán, and then went over to Humáyún.

In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwájah Mu'azzam, and served in the same year in Málwah against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the battle of Khairábád, he held a command in the van.

In the 19th year, he was attached to Mun'im's Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroí (p. 375). He was no longer alive in 1001.

His son, Asad (?) Khán, served under Prince Murád in the Dak'hin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Daulatábád.

124. 'Alí Qulí Khán, Indarábí.

Indaráb is a town of Southern Qunduz. The straight line drawn from Kábul north-wards to Tálíkhán passes nearly through it.

'Alí Qulí had risen under Humáyún. When the Emperor left Kábul for Qandahár to enquire into the rumours regarding Bairám's rebellion, he appointed 'Alí Qulí governor of Kábul. Later, he went with Humáyún to India.

In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under 'Alí Qulí Khán Zamán (No. 13) in the war with Hemú, and accompanied afterwards Khizr Khwájah (p. 365, note 2) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sikandar Súr.

In the fifth year, he served under Atgah Khán (No. 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bairám was defeated.

The *Ṭabaqát* says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

125. 'A'dil Khán, son of Sháh Muhammad i Qalátí (No. 95).

He served under Adham Khán (No. 19) in Málwah, and took a part in the pursuit of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak. Later, he assisted Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás (No. 31) on his expedition against Iskandar Uzbak, and was present at the siege of Chítor (p. 368). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramazán, 975), Akbar was on a tiger-hunt between Ajmír and Alwar. 'Ádil, who was at that time *mu'átab*,

[1] *A'khtah* means 'a gelding,' and *ákhtah-begí*, the officer in charge of the geldings (*vide* No. 66). This title is not to be confounded with the much higher title *A'tbegí*, from the Turkish *át*, a horse; *vide* p. 137, Áín 53.

i. e., under reprimand and not allowed to attend the Darbárs, had followed the party. A tiger suddenly made its appearance, and was on the point of attacking the Emperor, when 'A'dil rushed forward and engaged the tiger, putting his left hand into its mouth, and stabbing with the dagger in his right at the animal's face. The tiger got hold of both hands of his opponent, when others came up and killed the brute with swords. In the struggle, 'A'dil received accidentally a sword cut.

He died of his wounds after suffering for four months. In relating his end, Abulfazl says that the wrath of heaven overtook him. He had been in love (*ta'alluq i kháṭir*) with the wife of his father's Díwán; but he was not successful in his advances. His father remonstrated with him, and 'A'dil in his anger struck at him with a sword.

Qiyám Khán, brother of 'A'dil Khán. Jahángír made him a Khán. He served the Emperor as *Qaráwalbegí* (officer in charge of the drivers).

126. Khwá'jah Ghiá'suddí'n ['Alí Khán, A'çaf Khán II.] of Qazwín.

He is not to be confounded with Mír Ghiásuddín 'Alí Khán (No. 161). For his genealogy, *vide* p. 368. The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaikh Shihábuddín Suhrawardí,[1] a descendant of Abú Bakr, the Khalífah.

Khwájah Ghiás was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a *Bakhshí* by Akbar. In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrátí war, and received the title of *A'çaf Khán*. He was also made Bakhshí of Gujrát, and served as such under M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amírs to I'dar, 'to clear this dependency of Gujrát of the rubbish of rebellion.' The expedition was directed against the Zamíndár Naráin Dás Rát'hor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqím i Naqshbandí, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when A'çaf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies.

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Málwah and Gujrát, to arrange with Shiháb Khán (No. 26) regarding the introduction of the *Dágh* (pp. 242, 256).

He died in Gujrát in 989.

Mírzá Núruddín, his son. After the capture of Khusrau, (p. 414) Jahángír made A'çaf Khán III. (No. 98), Núruddín's uncle, responsible for his safety. Núruddín who was an adherent of the Prince, found thus means to visit Khusrau, and told him that at the first opportunity he would let him escape. But soon after, Khusrau was placed under the charge of I'tibár Khán, one of Jahángír's eunuchs, and Núruddín had to alter his plans. He bribed a Hindú, who had access to Khusrau, and sent the Prince a list of the names of such grandees as favoured his cause. In four or six months, the number had increased to about 400, and arrangements were made to murder Jahángír on the road. But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwájah Waisí, Díwán of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Núruddín and Muhammad Sharíf, son of I'timáduddaulah, and several others were impaled. The paper containing the list

[1] Author of the *'Awárif ul Ma'árif.* He died at Baghdád in 632. His uncle Abul-najíb (died 563) was also a famous saint. Wüstenfeld's Jacut, III., p. 203 *Nafhátul Uns*, pp. 478, 544. *Safínat-ulaçfiá* (Lahore Edition), pp. 681, 683.

of names was also brought up; but Jahángír, at the request of Khán Jahán Lodí, threw it into the fire without having read it; "else many others would have been killed."

127. Farrukh Husain Khán, son of Qásim Husain Khán. His father was an Uzbak of Khwárazm; his mother was a sister of Sultán Husain Mírzá.

The *Maásir* and the *Tabaqát* say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (II., p. 335).

128. Mu'ínuddín [Ahmad] Khán i Farankhúdí.[1]

Mu'ín joined Humáyún's army when the Emperor left Kábul for Hindústán. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign, he was made Governor of Ágrah during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces. In the 7th year, when 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak was ordered to re-conquer Málwah, Mu'ín was made a Khán. After the conquest, he divided the province into *kháliçah* and jágír lands, and performed this delicate office to Akbar's satisfaction. In the 18th year, Mu'ín was attached to Mun'im's Bihár corps. He then accompanied the Khán Khánán to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroí, and died of fever at Gaur (*vide* p. 376).

The Tabaqát merely says of him that he had been for some time *Mír Sámán*.

For his son *vide* No. 157.

Badáoní (III., p. 157) mentions a Jámi' Masjid built by Mu'ín at Ágrah.

129. Muhammad Qulí Toqbáí.

Toqbái is the name of a Chaghtái clan.

Muhammad Qulí served under Adham Khán (No. 19) in the conquest of Málwah (end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th year), and in the pursuit of Mírzá Sharafuddín (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980), he served in the *Manqalá* of Khán i Kalán (No. 16)[2]. In the 20th year, he was attached to Mun'im's corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroí, and the pursuit of the Afgháns to Bhadrak (p. 375).

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[1] Many MSS. have *Faranjúdí*. The *Mu'jam* mentions a place فرنكد, *Farankad*, which is said to be near Samarqand.

[2] Akbar left Fathpúr Síkrí for Gujrát, on the 20th Çafar 980 (17th year), passed over Sangánír (8 miles south of Jaipúr), and arrived on the 15th Rabí' I. at Ajmír. On the 2nd Rabí' II., 980, he ordered Khán i Kalán (No. 16) to march in advance (*Manqalá*), and left Ajmír on the 22nd Rabí' II. Shortly before his arrival at Nágor, on the 9th Jumáda I., Akbar heard that Prince Dányál had been born at Ajmír on the 2nd Jumáda I., 980. He reached Patan on the 1st Rajab, 980, and Ahmadábád on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Sha'bán, 980, the fight at Sarnál took place with Ibráhím Husain Mírzá. On the 25th Sha'bán, Akbar reached Barodah, and arrived at Súrat, on the 7th Ramazán, 980. On the 18th Ramazán, 980, Mírzá 'Azíz defeated Muhammad Husain Mírzá and the Fúládís at Patan. Súrat surrendered on the 23rd Shawwál.

There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dányál's birth. The *Tuzuk* (Sayyid Ahmad's edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jumáda I., 979, which has been given above on p. 309. *Badáoní* (II., p. 139) has the 2nd Jumáda I., 980. The *Akbarnámah* has the 2nd Jumáda I., and relates the event as having taken place in 980. The MSS. of the *Sawánih* also place the event in 980, but say that Dányál was born on the 2nd Jumáda I., 979.

On the 6th Zí Qa'dah, 980, the 18th year of Akbar's reign commences. After the 'Íd i Qurbán (10th Zí Hajjah, 980) Akbar returned over Patan and Jálor to Ágrah, which he reached on the 2nd Çafar, 981. After this, Muhammad Husain Mírzá invaded Gujrát, and took Bah-

130. Mihr 'Ali' Kha'n Sildoz.

Sildoz is the name of a Chaghtái clan. According to the Ṭabaqát, he was at first in Bairám's service. In the end of the 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanáḍh (Chunár), which Jamál Khán, the Afghán Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (*vide* Badáoni II., 32). Akbar offered him five parganahs near Jaunpúr, but Jamál did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mihr 'Alí with vain promises. Mihr 'Alí at last left suddenly for Ágrah.

On his journey to Chanáḍh, he had been accompanied by the Historian Badáoní, then a young man, whom he had given lodging in his house at Ágrah. On his return from the Fort, Badáoní nearly lost his life during a sudden storm whilst on the river. Badáoní calls him Mihr 'Alí *Beg*, and says that he was later made a Khán and Governor of Chítor.

He served under Adham Khán (No. 10) in Málwah, and in the Gujrát wars of 980 and 981. In the 22nd year, Akbar was on a hunting tour near Hiçár, and honored him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakínah Bánú Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kábul to advise his brother, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím. In the 25th year, he served under Todar Mall against the rebel 'Arab.

The Ṭabaqát makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.

131. Khwa'jah Ibra'hi'm i Badakhshi'.

He is not mentioned in the Maásir and the Ṭabaqát. From the Akbarnámah (II., p. 207) we see that he was Jágírdár of Sakít (in the Mainpúrí District). Near this town there were eight villages inhabited by robbers. In consequence of numerous complaints, Akbar resolved to surprise the dacoits. A great number were killed, and about one thousand of them were burnt in dwellings in which they had fortified themselves. Akbar exposed himself to great dangers: no less than seven arrows stuck in his shield, and his elephant fell with one foot into a grain pit, which threw the officer who was seated behind him with much force upon him. The fight chiefly took place in a village called in the MSS. برونكه or پرونكه.

The *Ṭabaqát* mentions a Sulṭán Ibrábím of Aubah (near Harát) among Akbar's grandees. His name is not given in the Áín. He was the maternal uncle of

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ronch and Kambháit, but was defeated by Qulij Khán and S. Hámid (No. 78). Ikhtiyárul Mulk also appeared and marched upon Ahmadábád. Muhammad Husain Mírzá joined him. Both besieged Ahmadábád. Akbar now resolved again to go to Gujrát. This is the famous nine days' march (24th Rabí' II., 981 to 4th Jumáda I., 981); *vide* p. 416, note. Muhammad Husain Mírzá was captured and killed, apparently without the order of the Emperor. Ikhtiyár was also killed. Akbar then returns, and arrives, *after an absence of forty-three days*, at Fathpúr Síkrí, 8th Jumáda II., 981.

It has been above remarked (p. 375) that the Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnámah*, is not a trustworthy edition. An extraordinary error occurs in the events of the 17th year. The editors have divided the work into *three*, instead of *two* parts—the Áín i Akbarí is the third part,—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dányál (2nd Jumáda I., 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (6th Zí Qa'dah, 980). Hence they have omitted the important events which took place between those two days, *viz.*, the conquest of Gujrát and the first defeat of the Mírzás.

Nizamuddín Ahmad, author of the Ṭabaqát. He conquered Kamáon and the Dáman i Koh.

132. Sali'm Kha'n Ka'kar.

Several MSS. of the Áín call him *Salím Khán Kákar 'Alí*. The Akbarnámah calls him *Salím Khán Kákar*, or merely Salím Khán, or *Salím Khán Sirmúr*. The Ṭabaqát has *Salím Khán Sirmúr Afghán*.

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Málwah, and later under Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61) in Audh, and was present in the battle of Khairábád. In 980, he took a part in the fight of Sarnál. He then served in Bengal, and was jágírdár of Tájpúr. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) to Bháṭí. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vazír Khán having gone to the frontier of Oṛísá, Jabárí (*vide* p. 370, note 2) made an inroad from Kúch Bihár into G'horá'ghát, and took Tájpúr from Salím's men, and Púrniah from the relations of Tarson Khán (No. 32). Jabárí moved as far as Ṭáṇḍah. The Kotwál, Hasan 'Alí, was sick, and Shaikh Allah Baksh Çadr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shaikh Faríd arrived, and Jabárí withdrew to Tájpúr. In the 32nd year, Salím served under Maṭláb Khán (No. 83) against the Táríkís, and shortly after, in the 33nd year, under Çádiq Khán against the same Afghán rebels.

He was no longer alive in 1001.

133. Habi'b 'Ali' Kha'n.

He is not to be confounded with the Habíb 'Alí Khán mentioned on p. 422.

Habíb was at first in the service of Bairám Khán. In the third year, when Akbar had marched to Ágrah, he ordered Habíb to assist Qiyá Khán (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantanbhúr. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afgháns, and Salím Sháh had appointed Jhujhár Khán governor. On Akbar's accession, Jh. saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperialists, and handed it over to Rái Surjan (No. 96), who was then in the service ofRáná Údai Singh. But Habíb had to raise the siege. Abulfazl attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bairám's fall produced.

In the 6th year (968), he served under Adham (No. 19) in Málwah. According the *Ṭabaqát*, he died in 970.

134. Jagma'l, younger brother of Rájah Bihárí Mall (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. Jagmál was mentioned on p. 329. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mírt'ha. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadábád, he was put in command of the great camp.

His son Kangár. He generally lived with his uncle Rájah Bihárí Mall at Court. When Ibráhím Husain Mírzá threatened to invade the Ágrah District, he was ordered by the Rájah to go to Dihlí. In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan. In the 21st year, he accompanied Mán Singh's expedition against Ráná Partáb. Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Shahbáz Khán (No. 80). When Shahbáz returned unsuccessfully from Bháṭí (p. 401), Kangár, Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán (No. 189), Rájah Gopál, Mírzádah 'Alí (No. 152) met a detachment of rebels and mistook them for their own men. Though surprised, the Imperialists held their ground and killed

Naurúz Beg Qáqshál, the leader. They then joined Shahbáz, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpúr Múrcha.

According to the the Ṭabaqát, Kangár was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. The phraseology of some MSS. implies that he was no longer alive in 1001.

135. Ulugh Kha'n Habshi', formerly a slave of Sulṭán Mahmúd of Gujrát.

Ulugh Khán is Turkish for the Persian *Khán i Kalán* (the great Khán).

He rose to dignity under Mahmúd of Gujrát. The word *Habshí*, for which MSS. often have *Badakhshí*, implies that he was of Abyssinian extraction, or a eunuch. In the 17th year, when Akbar entered for the first time Ahmadábád, he was one of the first Gujrátí nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Çádiq (No. 43) against Rájah Madhukar Bandelah, Zamíndár of Undchah. In the 24th year, he followed Çadiq, who had been ordered to assist Rájah Todar Mall on his expedition against the rebel 'Arab (Niyábat Khán) in Bihár. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabíṭah (p. 356, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.

136. Maqcu'd 'Ali' Kor.

The Ṭabaqát says that Maqçúd was at first in Bairám Khán's service. He had been dead for a long time in 1001.

From the Akbarnámah (II., 96) we see that he served under Qiyá Khán (No. 33) in the conquest of Gwáliár.

137. Qabu'l Kha'n.

From the *Akbarnámah* (II., p. 450, last event of the 15th year of Akbar's reign) we see that Qabúl Khán had conquered the District of Bhambar on the Kashmír frontier. One of the Zamíndárs of the District, named Jamál, made his submission, and obtained by flattery a great power over Qabúl, who is said to have been a good-hearted Turk. Jalál not only managed on various pretexts to send away Qabúl's troops, but also his son Yádgar Husain (No. 338), to Naushahrah. The Zamíndárs of the latter place opposed Yádgár, and wounded him in a fight. Exhausted and wounded as he was, Yádgár managed to escape and took refuge with a friendly Zamíndár. About the same time Jalál collected his men and fell over Qabúl, and after a short struggle killed him (5th Rámazan, 978).

Akbar ordered Khán Jahán to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious Zamíndárs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

Yádgár Husain recovered from his wounds. He is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnámah mentions another Qabúl Khán among the officers who served in the Afghán war in Bengal under Mun'im Khán Khánán. He was present in the battle of Takaroí and pursued the Afghâns under Todar Mall to Bhadrak (p. 375).

Neither of the two Qabúl Kháns is mentioned in the Ṭabaqát and the Maásir.

Commanders of Nine Hundred.[1]

138. Ku'chak 'Ali' Kha'n i Kola'bi'.

Koláb is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshán, Long. 70°, Lat. 38°. The District of Koláb lies north of Badakhshán Proper, from which it is separated by the Ámú (Oxus); but it was looked upon as part of the kingdom of Badakhshán. Hence Kúchak 'Alí is often called in the Akbarnámah Kúchak 'Alí Khán i Badakhshí.

He served under Mun'im Khán against Khán Zamán, and was present at the reconciliation at Baksar (Buxar) in the 10th year.

He also served under Mun'im Khán in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takaroí (p. 375).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148, and No. 380.

139. Sabdal Kha'n, Sumbul, a slave of Humáyún.

140. Sayyid Muhammad, Mír 'Adl, a Sayyid of Amrohah.

Amrohah, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to Sirkár Sambal. Its Sayyids belonged to old families of great repute throughout India. Mír Sayyid Muhammad had studied the Hadís and law under the best teachers of the age. The father of the Historian Badáoní was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muhammad *Mír 'Adl.* When the learned were banished from Court (*ikhráj i 'ulamá*), he was made governor of Bhakkar.[2] He died there two years later in 985 or 986.

From the Akbarnámah we see that S. Muhammad with other Amrohah Sayyids served, in the 18th year, under S. Mahmúd of Bárha in the expedition against Rájah Madhukar.

He advised the Historian Badáoní to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious *Madad i Ma'ásh* tenures, an advice resembling that of 'Abdulghaffár (*vide* No. 99, p. 413). S. Muhammad's sons were certainly all in the army; *vide* No. 251, 297, 363.

141. Razawi' Kha'n, Mírzá Mírak, a Razawí Sayyid of Mashhad.

He was a companion of Khán Zamán (No. 13). In the 10th year, he went to the camp of the Imperialists to obtain pardon for his master. When in the 12th year Khán Zamán again rebelled, Mírzá Mírak was placed under the charge of Khán Báqí Khán (No. 60), but fled from his custody (at Dihlí, *Badáoní* II, 100). After Khán Zamán's death, he was captured, and Akbar ordered him daily to be thrown before a *mast* elephant; but the driver was ordered to spare him as he was a man of illustrious descent. This was done for five days, when at the intercession of the courtiers he was set at liberty. Shortly afterwards, he received a mançab and the title of *Razawí Khán.* In the 19th year, he was made Díwán of Jaunpúr, and in the 24th year, Bakhshí of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

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[1] Not all MSS. of the A'ín have these words; they count the officers from No. 138 to 175 to the Hazárís. But the best MSS. have this *mançab*. In the lists of grandees in the *Pádisháhnámah* also the *mançab* of Nine Hundred occurs.

[2] In 983, the 20th year, (*Akbarnámah* III, 138). *Badáoní* (III. p. 75), has 984.

At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muzaffar Khán (No. 37). His harsh behaviour towards the dissatisfied grandees is mentioned in the histories as one of the causes of the revolt. When the rebels had seceded (9th Zí Hajjah, 987) and gone from Ṭáṇḍah to Gaur, Muzaffar sent Razawí Khán, Rái Patr Dás (No. 196), and Mír Ahmad Munshí to them to try to bring them back to obedience. Things took indeed a good turn and everything might have ended peacefully, when some of Rái Patr Dás's Rájpúts said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot. Rái Patr Dás mentioned this to Razawí Khán, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Rái Patr Dás. Razawí Khán and Mír Ahmad Munshí surrendered themselves.

The *Maásir* says that nothing else is known of Razawí Khán. The Ṭabaqát says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand and was dead in 1001.

Mírzá Mírak is not to be confounded with *Mírak Khán*, 'an old grandee, who died in 975' (*Ṭabaqát*); or with *Mírak Bahádur* (208).

Sháhjahán conferred the title of *Razawí Khán* on Sayyid 'Alí, son of Çadruç-çudúr Mírán S. Jalál of Bukhárá.

142. Mi'rza' Naja't Kha'n, brother of Sayyid Barkah, and

149. Mi'rza' Husain Kha'n, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the Ṭabaqát, were dead in 1001. Their names are often wrongly given in MSS., which call them *Najábat*, instead of *Naját*, and *Hasan* instead of *Husain*.

From the *Akbarnámah* (I, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Humáyún on his march to India.

Mírzá Naját served, in the 10th year, against Khán Zamán (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shiháb Khán (No 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rájah 'Alí Khán, had shewn signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bábá Khán Qáqshál (*vide* p. 369, note 3), Jabárí (p. 370), Vazír Jamíl (No. 200), Sa'íd i Toqbái, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Zí Hajjah, 987, from Ṭáṇḍah to Gaur across the Ganges. Mír Naját was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Muzaffar sent his grandees [Mír Jamáluddín Husain Injú (No. 164), Razawí Khán (No. 141), Tímúr Khán (No. 215), Rái Patr Dás (No. 196), Mír Adham, Husain Beg, Hakím Abulfath (No. 112), Khwájah Shamsuddín (No. 159), Ja'far Beg (No. 98), Muhammad Qulí Turkmán (No. 203), Qásim Khán i Sístání, 'Iwaz Bahádur, Zulf 'Alí Yazdí, Sayyid Abú Is-háq i Çafawí (No. 384), Muzaffar Beg, &c.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mír Naját stayed with Vazír Jamíl, although Muzaffar, who was Naját's father-in-law, fully expected him to join. He must have soon after left the rebels and gone to Southern Bengal; for in the end of the 25th year he was at Sátgáṉw (Húglí). Abulfazl mentions him together with Murád Khán at Fathábád (No. 54), and Qiyá Khán in Oṛísá (No. 33), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (*Akbarn.* III, 291). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murád died, and Qiyá was soon after killed by the Afgháns under Qutlú, who looked upon the revolt as his opportu-

nity. Mír Naját also was attacked by Qutlú and defeated near Salímábád (Sulaimánábád), S. of Bardwán. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Húglí.[1] Bábá Khán Qáqshál sent one of his officers to get hold of Naját; but the officer hearing of Qutlú's victory, attacked the Afgháns near Mangalkoț, N. E. of Bardwán. Qutlú, however, was again victorious.

143. Sayyid Ha'shim, son of Sayyid Mahmúd of Bárha. *Vide* No. 105, p. 419.

144. Gha'zi' Kha'n i Badakhshi'.

In MSS. *Ghází* is often altered to *Qází*, and *Badakhshí* to *Bakhshí*, and as Ghází Khán's first title was *Qází Khán*, his name is often confounded with No. 223. Other *Ghází Kháns* have been mentioned above, on pp. 367, 384.

Ghází Khán's name was Qází Nizám. He had studied law and Hadís under Mullá 'Içámuddín Ibráhím, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the *muríd* of Shaikh Husain of Khwárazm, a renowned Çúfí. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulaimán, king of Badakhshán (No. 5), who conferred upon him the title of *Qází Khán*. At the death of Humáyún, Sulaimán wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kábul and besieged Mun'im (No. 11). After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulaimán sent Qází Khán to Mun'im to prevail on him to surrender. But Mun'im detained him for several days, and treated him 'to the most sumptuous fare, such as Badakhshís cannot enjoy even in peaceful times.' The good dinners made such an impression on Qází Khán, that he advised Sulaimán to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort. Sulaimán thereupon returned to Badakhshán.

Subsequently, Qází Khán left his master, and went to India. At Khánpúr, he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpúr (*Akbarn.* III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed *Parwánchí* writer (p. 263). Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a commander of One Thousand. He also bestowed upon him the title of *Ghází Khán*, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Ghází Khán commanded the left wing of Mán Singh's corps in the war with the Ráná. Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely. He then received Awadh as *tuqúl*, and distinguished himself in Bihár against the rebellious grandees.

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sulțán Khwájah died (No. 108).

Ghází Khán is the author of several works (*vide* Badáoní III, 153).

The *sijdah*, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the court, was his invention (*vide* p. 159, note).

His son *Husámuddín*. Akbar made him a commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Khán Khánán (No. 29) to the Dak'hin. Suddenly a change came over Husám, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as *faqír* at the tomb of Nizámuddín Auliá in Dihlí. The

[1] The MSS. of the *Akbarnámah* call him *Bartab Bár Firingí*, or *Partáb Firingí*.

Khán Khánán persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea; but Husám next day laid aside his clothes, smeared his body over with clay and mud, and wandered about in the streets and bazars. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husám lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dihlí. Khwájah Báqí Billah (born at Kábul and buried at Dihlí) conferred on him power of 'guiding travellers on the road of piety.' He died in 1034. His wife was Abulfazl's sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwíshes, and fixed an annual sum of 12000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 80.

145. Farhat Kha'n, Mihtar Sakáí, a slave of Humáyún.

The MSS. have *Sakáí* and *Sakáhí*. Farhat Khán is first mentioned in the war between Humáyún and Mírzá Kámrán, when many grandees joined the latter. In a fight, Beg Bábá of Koláb lifted up his sword to strike Humáyún from behind. He missed and was at once attacked by Farhat and put to flight. When Humáyún left Láhor on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khán was, Farhat was appointed *Shiqdár* of Láhor.[1] Subsequently, Mír Sháh Abul Ma'álí was appointed Governor of Láhor. He sent away Farhat, and appointed his own men instead. Farhat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjáb.

After Akbar's accession, Farhat was made *Tuyúldár* of Korrah. He distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husain Mírzá near Ahmadábád. When the Mírzá was brought in a prisoner, Farhat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for; but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and remonstrated with Farhat for his cruelty. In the 19th year, he served in Bihár and was made *jágírdár* of Árah. In the 21st year (984), Gajpatí (p. 400) devastated the district. Farhang Khán, Farhat's son, marched against him, but was repulsed and slain. Farhat then moved against the enemy to avenge the death of his son, but met with the same fate (*vide* No. 80).

146. Ru'mi' Kha'n, Ustád Jalabí (?), of Rúm.

He is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqát* and the *Maásir*, and but rarely in the *Akbarnámah*. In the 20th year, he and Báqí Khán (No. 60) and 'Abdurrahmán Beg (No. 185) accompanied a party of Begums from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadan Begum, Salímah Sulṭán Begum, Hájí Begum, Gul'azár Begum, Sulṭán Begum (wife of Mírzá 'Askarí), Umm Kulsúm Begum (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begum), Gujnár Ághá (one of Bábar's wives), Bíbí Çafiyah, Bíbí Sarw i Sahí and Sháham Ághá (wives of Humáyún), and Salímah Khánum (daughter of Khizr Khwájah). They left in Rajab, 983.

Rúmí Khán has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. Sama'nji' Kha'n Qurghu'ji'. *Vide* No. 100.

He was a grandee of Humáyún. During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. The *Ṭabaqát* says, he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2000. In the same work, he is called a *Mughul.*

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[1] *Akbarnámah* I, 416. At the same time, Mír Bábús (No. 73) was appointed *Faujdár* of the Panjáb, Mírzá Sháh Sulṭán was made *Amín*, and Mihtar Jauhar, treasurer. Humáyún was on the 29th Muharram, 962, at Bigrám, crossed the Indus on the 5th Çafar, when Bairám arrived from Kábul, was at Láhor on the 2nd Rabí' II, and at Sarhind, on the 7th Rajab.

In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968), he served in Málwah under Adham Khán (No. 19) and was present in the battle of Sárangpúr. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muhammad Qásim Khán i Níshápúrí (No. 40) and pursued 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Khán Mír Munshí (No. 74), to go to Rantanbhúr and suppress the disturbances created by Mírzá Muhammad Husain in Málwah. Later, he held a *jágír* in Árah.[1] He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the *Akbarnámah* (III, 156) we see that he also served in the 21st year under Khán Jahán (No. 24), and was present in the battle of Ág Mahall. In the 30th year, he was in Málwah and was ordered to join the Dak'hin corps. Two years later, he served under Shiháb Khán (No. 26) against Rájah Madhukar.

148. Sha'hbeg Kha'n, son of Kúchak 'Alí Khán of Badakhshán (No. 138).

His name is not given in the *Maásir* and the *Ṭabaqát*. Amír Beg, a Pánçadí under Sháhjahán, appears to be his son.

149. Mi'rza' Husain Kha'n, brother of Mírzá Naját Khán (*vide* No. 142).

150. Haki'm Zanbi'l, brother of Mírzá Muhammad Ṭabíb of Sabzwár.

Zanbíl means 'a basket.' In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hakím Zanbíl Beg. Badáoní says, he was a *muqarrib*, or personal attendant on the emperor.[2]

151. Khuda'wand Kha'n i Dak'hini'.

Khudáwand Khán was a Nizámsháhí Grandee. As his father was born at Mashhad, Kh. is often called *Mashhadí*. He was of course a Shí'ah.

He was a man of imposing stature, and well-known for his personal courage. When Khwájah Mírak of Içfahán, who had the title of Chingiz Khán, was the Vakíl of Murtazá Nizám Sháh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barár as jágír. The Masjid of Rohank'herah[3] was built by him.

In 993, when Mír Murtazá of Sabzwár (No. 162) commanded the army of Barár, and was no longer able to withstand Çalábat Khán Chirgis in the Dak'hin, Kh. accompanied M. Murtazá to Hindústán. Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh. was made a Commander of One Thousand. He received Paṭan in Gujrát as *tuyúl*.

He was married to Abulfazl's sister, and died in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (*Badáoní* II, 372, where in the *Táríkh* of his death the word *Dak'hiní* must be written without a *h*).

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[1] The *Maásir* has *Awadh*. At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was Jágírdár of the Árah District (*Akbarn.* III, 244).

[2] The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badáoní (III, 164) calls him wrongly *Hakím Zínal Shírází*. Zínal is the reading of bad MSS., and *Sabzwárí* is often altered to *Shírází*. Other bad MSS. have *Ranbal*.

[3] Rohank'herah lies in West Barár, in the district of Buldánah. In Abulfazl's list of parganahs in Sirkár Talingánah, there is one called *Qiryát i Khudáwand Khán*.

Once Abulfazl had invited several grandees, Khudáwand among them. The dishes placed before Kh. contained fowls and game and different kinds of vegetables, whilst the other guests had roast meat. He remarked it, took offence, and went away. Although Akbar assured him that Abulfazl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindústání custom, Kh. disliked Abulfazl, and never went again to his house. 'Hence Dak'hinís are notorious in Hindústán for stupidity.'

The Ṭabaqát puts Kh. among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The Maásir has 997.

152. Mírzádah 'Alí Khán, son of Muhtarim Beg.[1]

He served in the 9th year in Málwah during the expedition against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served in the Gujrát war under the Khán i Kalán (No. 16). Two years later, he commanded an expedition against Qásim Khán Kású, who with a corps of Afgháns ravaged the frontiers of Bihár. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shahbáz Khán in the war with Ráná Partáb.[2] He then served in Bihár under Khán i A'zam (25th year) and in Bengal under Shahbáz Khán (*vide* No. 134, p. 436). In the 30th year (993), he was present in the fight with Qutlú near Mangalkoṭ (Bardwán). In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qásim Khán (No. 59), who was on his way to Kashmír. Not long after, in 995 (32nd year), he was killed in a fight with the Kashmírís who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán (No. 189).

Badáoní (III. p 326) says, he was a poet. He places his death in 996.

153. Sa'ádat Mírzá, son of Khizr Khwájah Khán (p. 365, note 2).

154. Shimál Khán Chelah.

Chelah means 'a slave.' The *Ṭabaqát* says he was a Qurchí, or armour-bearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a *Hazárí*, and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwájah Mu'azzam. In the 20th year, he served in the war against Chandr Sen, during which Jalál Khán (No. 213) had lost his life, and afterwards under Sayyid Ahmad (No. 91) and Shahbáz (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwánah.

155. Sháh Ghází Khán, a Sayyid from Tabríz.

The Ṭabaqát calls him a Turkmán, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served, in the 19th year with Mírzádah 'Alí Khán (No. 152) against Qásim Khán Kású.

He may be the Sháh Ghází Khán mentioned below under No. 161.

156. Fázil Khán, son of Khán i Kalán (No. 16).

He was mentioned above, on p. 322.

157. Ma'çúm Khán, son of Mu'ín uddín Ahmad Farankhúdí (No. 128).

He is not to be confounded with Ma'çúm Khán i Kábulí (p. 431, note).

Ma'çúm was made a *Hazárí* on the death of his father, and received Gházípúr as *tuyúl*. He joined Todar Mall in Bihár, though anxious to go over to the rebels (p. 351).

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[1] He is also called *Mírzád* 'Alí Khán. My text edition has wrong *Mírzá 'Alí Khán*. For *Muhtarim* many MSS. read wrongly *Mahram*. His father, Muhtarim Beg, was a grandee of Humáyún's Court.

[2] Generally called in the Histories *Ráná Kíká*.

Not long afterwards, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjáb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Ma'çúm thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpúr and drove away Tarson Khán's men (No. 32). As Akbar had known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpúr and accepted Awadh as *tuyúl.* This M. did; but he continued to recruit, and when Sháh Qulí Mahram and Rájah Bír Baṛ had failed to bring him to his senses, Shahbáz Khán, on hearing of his conduct, determined to punish him. The events of the expedition have been related on p. 400.

After his defeat near Awadh, M. threw himself into the town; but as several rebel chiefs had left him, he absconded, without even taking his family with him. He applied to two Zamíndárs for assistance; but the first robbed him of his valuables, and the latter waylaid him, and had it not been for a bribe, M. would not have escaped. About this time one of his friends of the name of Maqçúd joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahráich. Vazír Khán (No. 41) and others moved from Hájípúr against him; but M. escaped them. After plundering the town of Muhammadábád, he resolved to surprise Jaunpúr, when the tuyúldárs of the district marched against him. Being hard pressed, he applied to M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) to intercede for him. Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Parganah Mihsí, Sirkár Champáran, as *tuyúl.* But M. continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M. 'Azíz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court. He arrived, in the 27th year, in Ágrah, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar's mother.

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbár, he was killed on the road. An enquiry was ordered to be held, but without result, and people believed that Akbar had connived at the murder. Compare with this the fate of Nos. 61 and 62, two other Bihár rebels.

158. Tolak Khán Qúchín.

Tolak commenced to serve under Bábar. He joined Humáyún on his return from Persia. When the emperor had seized on Kábul, and M. Kámrán came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humáyún's grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Zahák (ضحاک) and Bámiyán, where he hoped to find faithful officers. He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Kábul, to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned. For his faithfulness he was made Qurbegí.

Tolak accompanied Humáyún to India. After the emperor's death he belonged to those who supported the young Akbar, and was instrumental in the capture at a dinner party of Mír Sháh Abul Ma'álí. Afterwards, T. went to Kábul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar's reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghaní Khán, son of Mun'im Khán (No. 11), who was in charge of Kábul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bábá Khátún, his jágír, collecting men to take revenge on Ghaní. A favourable opportunity presented itself, when Ghaní one day had left Kábul for a place called Khwájah Sayyárán (خواجه سیاران), to waylay a caravan from Balkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khán fell upon them. Ghaní, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwájah Awásh (خواجه اواش), a place two *kos* distant from Kábul. But he

was opposed by Fazíl Beg (Mun'im's brother) and his son Abulfath (called wrongly *Abdul Fath*, on p. 318), and thought it advisable to let Ghaní go. Ghaní immediately collected men and pursued Tolak, who now prepared himself to go to Hindústán. Ghaní overtook him near the Ab i Ghorband, and killed Bábá Qúchín and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Isfandiyár managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jágír in Málwah, where he remained for a long time.

In the 28th year, T. served under the Khán Khánán (No. 29) in Málwah and Gujrát, and defeated Sayyid Daulat in Kambháit. He distinguished himself in the fights with Muzaffar, and served under Qulij Khán (No. 42) in the conquest of Bahronch. In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M. 'Azíz Kokah was to be sent to the Dak'hin. Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M. 'Azíz Kokah and Shihábuddín, he was imprisoned. After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Mán Singh against the Afgháns.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

159. Khwájah Shamsuddín Khawáfí.

Khawáfí means 'coming from Khawáf,' which is a district and town in Khurásán. Our maps have 'Kháff' or 'Kháf,' due west of Harát, between Lat. 60° and 61°. According to the *Mu'jamulbuldán*, "Khawáf is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Níshápúr. Near it lies on one side Búshanj which belongs to the district of Harát, and on the other Zúzan. Khawáf contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanján, Síráwand, and Kharjard)." Amín Rází in his excellent *Haft Iqlím* says that the district of Khawáf is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, Al i Muzaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fáris and Shíráz,[1] were Khawáfís. The author of the *Zakhíratulkhawánín* says that the people of Khawáf were known to be bigoted Sunnís. When Sháh 'Abbás i Çafawí, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawáf, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shí'ahs, the companions of the Prophet (*sabb i çihábah*); but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Masjid. Although then no one

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[1] They succumbed to Timur. The Histories disagree regarding the length of their reign, some give 57 years, from A. H. 741 to 798.

Amín Rází mentions also several learned men and vazírs besides those mentioned in the *Mu'jam*, and relates some anecdotes illustrating the proverbial sagacity and quick-wittedness of the inhabitants of Khawáf.

The number of Khawáfís in the service of the Mughul emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Maásir has notes on the following,—Mírzá 'Izzat (under Jahángír); Mírzá Ahmad, and Mu'tamid Khán Muhammad Çálih (under Sháhjahán); Sayyid Amír Khán, Shaikh Mír, Khwájah Mír Khawáfí Çalábat Khán, 'Ináyat Khán, and Muçṭafá Khán (under Aurangzíb). The lists of grandees in the *Pádisháhnámah* mention several other Khawáfís. In later times we have the name of 'Abdurrazzáq Çimçám uddaulah Aurangábádí, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mír Kamáluddín Khawáfí, had served under Akbar.

For *Khawáfí*, some MSS. have *Kháfí*. The Historian Muhammad Háshim Kháfí Khán has also been supposed to be a Khawáfí, though it must be observed that geographical titles are rare. There are a few, as *Rúmí Khán*, *Ghaznín Khán*, *Habshí Khán*. The authors of the Pádisháhnámah and the Maásir never use the form *Kháfí*.

was converted, the Khawáfís are now as stanch Shí'ahs as they were formerly bigoted Sunnís.

Khwájah Shamsuddín was the son of Khwájah 'Alá uddín, who was a man much respected in Khawáf. Shams accompanied Muzaffar Khán (No. 37), his countryman, to Bihár and Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was caught by the rebels, and Ma'çúm i Kábulí had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him. Shams was half dead, when at the request of 'Arab Bahádur he was let off and placed under 'Arab's charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Singrám, Rájah of K'harakpúr (Bihár).[1] As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not make his way to the Imperial army. He collected men, attacked the rebels, and carried off some of their cattle; and when some time after dissensions broke out among the mutineers, he found means to escape. Akbar received him with every distinction, and appointed him, in the same year (26th), to superintend the building of Fort Aṭak on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.[2]

After this, Shams was for some time Díwán of Kábul. In the 39th year, when Qulij Khán (No. 42) after the death of Qásim Khán (No. 59) was made Çúbahdár of Kábul, Shams was made Díwán of the empire (*Díwán i kul*), *vice* Qulij.[3] When Akbar, in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjáb, moved to Ágrah, to proceed to the Dak'hin, the Begums with Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán) were left in Láhor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjáb, in which office he continued, after Akbar's mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begums to Ágrah.

Shams died at Láhor in the 45th year (1008). The family vault which he had built near Bábá Hasan Abdál having been used for other purposes (p. 425), he was buried in Láhor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called *Khawáfípúrah*.

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[1] Singrám later fought with Shahbáz Khán (No. 80), and ceded Fort Mahdá. Though he never went to Court, he remained in submission to the Imperial governors of Bihár and Bengal. In the first year of Jahángír's reign, Jahángír Qulí Khán Lálah Beg, governor of Bihár, sent a corps against Singrám, who was killed in a fight. His son turned Muhammadan, and received the name 'Rájah Roz-afzún,' was confirmed in his zamíndárís, and reached under Jahángír the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Sháhjahán, he served with Mahábat Khán in Balkh, against Jhujár Singh Bundelah, in the siege of Parendah, and was at his death in 1044 a Commander of Two Thousand. His son, Rájah Bihrúz served in Qandahár, in the war between Aurangzíb and Sháh Shujá', and distinguished himself in the second conquest of Palámau (4th year of Aurangzíb). Rájah Bihrúz died in the 8th year of Aurangzíb's reign. *Vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for December, 1870.

[2] The author of the *Maásir* repeats Abulfazl's etymology of the name 'Aṭak,' which was given on p. 374, note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindí *aṭak*, prevention, a bar, "because Hindús will not go beyond the Indus." But there is no instance on record that Hindús ever did object to cross the Indus. Bhagwán Dás, Mán Singh, and others, were governors of Kábul and Zábulistán, and had their Rájpúts there; and during the reign of Sháhjahán, the Rájpúts distinguished themselves in the conquest of Balkh and the siege of Qandahár.

Abulfazl's etymology is also doubtful; for in the Akbarnámah (II, 302) he mentions the name 'Aṭak' long before the building of the Fort (III, 335).

[3] The twelve Díwáns, who in 1003 had deen appointed to the 12 Çúbahs, were under his orders. *Díwán i Kul* is the same as *Vazír i Kul*, or *Vazír i Muṭlaq*, or merely *Vazír*.

He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business.

Like Shaikh Faríd i Bukhárí (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khwájah Múmin Khawáfí, was made, on his death, Díwán of the Panjáb. Múmin's son, 'Abdul Kháliq, was a favourite of Áçaf Khán IV. (p. 369). He was killed by Mahábat Khán, when Áçaf had been removed by Mahábat from Fort Aṭak and imprisoned.

160. Jagat Singh, eldest of Rájah Mán Sing (No. 30).

Kunwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mírzá Ja'far Áçaf Khán (No. 98) against Rájah Bású, zamíndár of Mau and Paṭ'hán (Núrpúr, N. E., Panjáb). In the 44th year (1008), when Akbar moved to Málwah, and Prince Salím (Jahángír) was ordered to move against Ráná Amr Singh, Mán Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal as *náib* of his father. While still at Ágrah, he died from excessive drinking. Regarding J. S.'s daughter, *vide* p. 310 and No. 175.

Mahá Sing, Jagat's younger son, was appointed in his stead. His youth and inexperience inclined the Afgháns under 'Usmán and Shujáwal Khán to attack him. They defeated him and Partáb Singh, son of Rájah Bhagwán Dás, (No. 336), near Bhadrak in Oṛísá (45th year). Mán Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1009 the Afgháns near Sherpúr 'Atáí, between Shiúṛí (Sooree) in Bírbhúm and Murshidábád, recovered Lower Bengal and Oṛísá.

Mahá Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.

161. Naqíb Khán, son of Mír 'Abdullaṭíf of Qazwín.

Naqíb Khán is the title of Mír Ghiásuddín 'Alí. His family belongs to the Saifí Sayyids of Qazwín, who were known in Írán for their Sunní tendencies. His grandfather Mír Yahyá was 'a well known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history, that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time.'

'In the opening of his career, Mír Yahyá was patronized by Sháh Ṭahmásp i Çafawí, who called him Yahyá Ma'çúm,[1] and was treated by the king with such distinction, that his enemies, envious of his good fortune, endeavoured to poison his patron's mind against him, by representing that he and his son, Mír 'Abdullaṭíf, were the leading men among the Sunnís of Qazwín. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Ázarbáiján, to order Mír Yahyá and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Içfahán. At that time, his second son, 'Alá-uddaulah was in Ázarbáiján, and sent off a special messenger to convey this intelligence to his father. Mír Yahyá being too old and infirm to fly, accompanied the king's messenger to Içfahán, and died there, after one year and nine months, in A. H. 962, at the age of 77 years.'[2]

[1] *I. e.* exempt, probably from losing life and property for his attachment to Sunnism.

[2] Mír Yahyá is the author of a historical compendium, called *Lubbuttawáríkh*, composed in 1541. *Vide* Elliot's Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son 'Aláuddaulah

'Mír 'Abdullaṭíf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's communication, fled to Gílán,[1] and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humáyún went to Hindústán, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Háfiz. The Mír was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments,[2] that each party used to revile him for his indifference.'

'When Bairám Khán had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Ágrah and proceeded to Alwar, with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjáb, the emperor sent the Mír to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign.' *Elliot, Index, l. c.*

Mír 'Abdullaṭíf died at Síkrí on the 5th Rajab, 981,[3] and was buried at Ajmír near the Dargáh of Mír Sayyid Husain Khing-Suwár.

'Abdullaṭíf had several sons. The following are mentioned—1. Naqíb Khán; 2. Qamar Khán; 3. Mír Muhammad Sharíf. The last was killed in 984 at Fathpúr by a fall from his horse while playing hockey with the emperor (Bad. II., 230). For Qamar Khán, *vide* No. 243.

Naqíb Khán arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjáb (*Akbarn.* II., 23), and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II., 281). In the 10th year, he conveyed Akbar's pardon to Khán Zamán, for whom Mun'im Khán had interceded (II., 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád (p. 435, note), and in the following year to Patna. In the end of the 21st year, he took part in the expedition to Ídar (III., 165), and was sent in the following year to Málwah or Gujrát, after the appointment of Shiháb to the latter province. After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengal, N. with his brother Qamar Khán served under Todar Mall and Çádiq Khán in Bihár against Ma'çúm i Kábulí (III., 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of *Naqíb Khán*.[4] Though during the reign of Akbar, he did not

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wrote under the political name of *Kámí*, and is the author of the *Nafáis ul Maásir*, a '*tazkirah*,' or work on literature. Badáoní (III., 97) says he composed a Qaçídah in which, according to the manner of Shí'ahs, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnís, and among the latter his father and elder brother ('Abdullaṭíf), whom he used to call *Hazrat i Áqá*, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.

Some fix the date of Mír Yahyá's death two years earlier.

[1] The MSS. of the *Maásir* have جبال کیلانات; so also Badáoní, *l. c.*

[2] He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *çulh i kul*, 'peace with all,' the Persian term which Abulfazl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration. Abulfazl (*Akbarn.* II., 23) says that 'Abdullaṭíf was accused in Persia of being a Sunní and in Hindústán of being a Shí'ah.

[3] Elliot has by mistake 971. The *Táríkh* of his death in the *Maásir* and *Badáoní* (III., p. 99) is *fakhr i ál i Yá-Sín*, 'the pride of the descendants of Yásín (the Prophet)'=981, if the long *alif* in *ál* be not counted 2, but 1.

[4] Kewal Ram, according to Elliot, says in the *Tazkirat ul Umará* that the title was conferred on Naqíb Khán in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by Ma'çúm Khán i Kábulí on the Imperialists under Todar Mall and Çádiq Khán. This night attack is related in the *Akbarnámah* (III., 293). The fight took place in the 25th year, near Gya; but Abulfazl says nothing of Naqíb's 'gallant conduct;' he does not even mention his name.

rise above the rank of a *Hazárí*, he possessed great influence at Court. He was Akbar's reader, and superintended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, mentioned on p. 104. Several portions of the *Táríkh i Alfí* also (p. 106) are written by him.

Naqíb had an uncle of the name of Qází 'Isá, who had come from Írán to Akbar's Court, where he died in 980. His son was Sháh Ghází Khán (*vide* No. 155). Akbar married the latter to Sakínah Bánú Begum, sister of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím (Akbar's half-brother); and as Naqíb Khán, in the 38th year, reported that Qází 'Isá had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar, the emperor married her. Thus two of Naqíb's cousins married into the imperial family.

On the accession of Jahángír, N. was made a Commander of 1500 (*Tuzuk*, p. 12). He died in the 9th year of J.'s reign (beginning of 1023) at Ajmír, and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Mu'ín i Chishtí's tomb (*Tuzuk*, p. 129). His wife was a daughter of Mír Mahmúd, *Munshí ulmamálik*, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar's service (Badáoní III., 321).

Naqíb's son, 'Abdullaṭíf, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yúsuf Khán (No. 35), and died insane.

Naqíb Khán, like his grandfather, excelled in history. It is said that he knew the seven volumes of the *Rauzatuççafá* by heart. Jahángír, in his Memoirs, praises him for his remarkable memory, and Badáoní, who was Naqíb's school fellow and friend, says that no man in Arabia or Persia was as proficient in history as Naqíb. Once on being asked how many pigeons there were in a particular flock then flying, he responded instantly, without making a mistake of even one.

162. Mír Murtazá Khán, a Sabzwárí Sayyid.

Mír Murtazá Khán was at first in the service of 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr. Murtazá Nizám Sháh called him to Ahmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barár, and later Amírul Umará. He successfully invaded, at Nizám Sháh's order, 'Ádil Sháh's dominions. But Nizám Sháh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakíl, Sháh Qulí Çalábat Khán; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the *tuyúldárs* of Barár, were dissatisfied. Çalábat Khán being bent on ruining them, Mír Murtazá, Khudáwand Khán (No. 151), Jamshed Khán i Shírází, and others, marched in 992 to Ahmadnagar. Çalábat Khán and Sháhzádah Mírán Husain surprised them and routed them. Mír Murtazá lost all his property, and unable to resist Çalábat Khán, he went with Khudáwand Khán to Akbar, who made him a Commander of One Thousand.

M. M. distinguished himself under Sháh Murád in the Dak'hin invasion. When the Prince left Ahmadnagar, Çádiq Khán (No. 43) remained in Mahkar (South Barár), and M. M. in Ílichpúr, to guard the conquered districts. During his stay there, he managed to take possession of Fort Gáwíl, near Ílichpúr (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wajíhuddín and Biswás Ráo, to enter Akbar's service. Later, M. M. distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar under Prince Dányál, and received a higher *Mançab*, as also a flag and a *naqqárah*.

Mír Murtazá is not to be confounded with the learned Mír Murtazá Sharíf i Shírází (*Badáoní* III., 320), or the Mír Murtazá mentioned by Badáoní, III., 279.

163. Shamsí, son of Khán i A'zam Mírzá Kokah (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on pp. 327 and 328. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsí[1] was a Commander of Two Thousand.

In the third year of Jahángír's reign, he received the title of Jahángír Qulí Khán, vacant by the death of Jahángír Qulí Khán Lálah Beg, Governor of Bihár, and was sent to Gujrát as *náib* of his father. Mírzá 'Azíz had been nominally appointed Governor of that Çúbah; but as he had given the emperor offence, he was detained at Court. Subsequently Shamsí was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor of Jaunpúr. Whilst there, Prince Sháhjahán had taken possession of Bengal, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending 'Abdullah Khán Fírúz-Jang and Rájah Bhím in advance towards Iláhábád. On their arrival at Chausá, Shamsí left Jaunpúr, and joined Mírzá Rustam (No. 9), Governor of the Çúbah of Iláhábád.

On Sháhjahán's accession, Shamsí was deposed, but allowed to retain his Mançab. A short time after, he was appointed to Súrat and Júnágaḍh, *vice* Beglar Khán. He died there in the 5th year of Sháhjahán's reign (1041).

Shámsí's son, Bahrám, was made by Sháhjahán a Commander of 1000, 500 horse (*Pádisháhn.* I., b., 309), and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujrát, he built a place called after him *Bahrámpúrah.* He died in the 18th year of Sháhjahán's reign (*Pádisháhn.* II., p. 733).

164. Mír Jamáluddín Husain, an Injú Sayyid.

From a remark in the *Waççáf* it appears that a part of Shíráz was called *Injú*; *vide* Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1868, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mír Jamáluddín Injú belongs to the Sayyids of Shíráz, who trace their descent to Qásim arrásí ibn i Hasan ibn i Ibráhím Ṭabáṭibá i Husainí. Mír Sháh Mahmúd and Mír Sháh Abú Turáb, two later members of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Sháh Ṭahmásp i Çafawí, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mír Shamsuddín Asadullah of Shushtar, the first as Shaikhul Islám of Persia, and the second as Qází-lquzát. Mír Jamáluddín is one of their cousins.

Mír Jamáluddín went to the Dak'hin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injús. He afterwards entered Akbar's service, took part in the Gujrát wars, and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 396). Later he was sent to Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was with Muzaffar (*Akbarnámah,* III, p. 255). In the 30th year (993), he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied, shortly after, A'zam Khán (No. 21) on his expedition to Gaḍha and Ráisín (*Akbarn.* III., 472). In the 36th year, he had a jágír in Málwah, and served under A'zam Khán in the Dak'hin. His promotion to the rank of a Hazárí took place in the 40th year. When in the 45th year the fort of Ásír had been conquered, 'Ádil Sháh, king of Bíjápúr wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dányál. To settle matters, Akbar despatched the Mír in 1009 (*Akbarn.* III., 846) to the Dak'hin. But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patan. After this, accompanied by the Historian Firishtah, he went to Ágrah, in order to lay before the emperor 'such presents and tribute, as had never before come from the Dak'hin.'

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[1] *Shamsí* is an abbreviation for *Shamsuddín.*

At the end of Akbar's reign, Mír J. was a Commander of Three Thousand. Having been a favorite of Prince Salím, he was promoted after the Prince's accession to the post of a Chahár-Hazárí, and received a *naqqárah* and a flag. When Khusrau rebelled, the Mír received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khusrau the kingdom of Kábul with the same conditions under which M. Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, had held that province. But the Prince did not consent; and when he was subsequently made a prisoner (p. 414) and brought before his father, Hasan Beg (No. 167), Khusrau's principal agent, told Jahángír that all Amírs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamáluddín had only a short time ago asked him (Hasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as *Panjhazárí*. The Mír got pale and confused, when Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities; Hasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others; he himself ('Azíz) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment. Jahángír consoled the Mír, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihár. In the 11th year, Mír Jamál received the title of *'Azaduddaulah*. On this occasion, he presented the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bíjápúr. At the top of the handle, he had a yellow *yáqút* fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other *yáqúts* and emeralds. The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees.

In 1621, Jahángír pensioned him off, because he was too old, allowing him four thousand rupees *per mensem*. The highest rank that he had reached, was that of a brevet Panjhazárí with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahángír's accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled *Farhang i Jahángírí*, of which he was the compiler. The first edition of it had made its appearance in 1017.[1]

After having lived for some time in Bahráich, Mír Jamál returned to Ágrah, where he died.

Mír Jamáluddín had two sons. 1. ***Mír Amínuddín.*** He served with his father, and married a daughter of 'Abdurrahím Khán Khánán (No. 29). He died when young. 2. ***Mír Husámuddín.*** He married the sister of Ahmad Beg Khán, brother's son of Ibráhím Khán Fath-Jang (Núr Jahán's brother). Jahángír made him Governor of Ásír, which fort he handed over to Prince Sháhjahán during his rebellion. On Sháhjahán's accession, he was made a Commander of 4000, with 3000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of ***Murtazá Khán.*** He was also made Governor of T'hat'hah, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mír Husám's sons—1. ***Çimçámuddaulah.*** He was made Díwán of Sháh Shujá' in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Oṛísá with a command of 1500, and 500 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. ***Núrullah.*** He is mentioned in the *Pádishháhnámah* (I., b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

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[1] Regarding the *Farhang i Jahángírí*, *vide* Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1868, pp. 12 to 15, and 65 to 69.

165. Sayyid Ra'ju', of Bárha.

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (*vide* p. 391) of the Bárha clan Ráju belongs.

He served in the 21st year, under Mán Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannáth (No. 69), against the Rána. While serving under the latter, Rájú commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgaṛh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Rána's troops. In the 30th year, Jagannáth and Rájú attacked the Rána in his residence; but he escaped.

Later, Rájú served under Prince Murád, Governor of Málwah, whom, in the 36th year, he accompanied in the war with Rájah Madhukar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Málwah, Rájú had to lead the expedition. In the 40th year, he served in the siege of Ahmadnagar. Once the enemies surprised the Imperialists, and did much damage to their cattle. Rájú attacked them, but was killed in the fight together with several of his relations (1003 A. H.).

166. Mi'r Shari'f i A'muli'.

His antecedents and arrival in India have been mentioned above on p. 176. In the 30th year, (993) Prince Mírzá Muhammad Hakím of Kábul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mír Sharíf was appointed Amín and Çadr of the new province. In the following year, he served under Mán Singh in Kábul. In the 36th year,[1] he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihár and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmír as *aqṭá'*, and the Parganah of Mohán near Lak'hnau as *tuyúl*. During the siege of Ásír, he joined the Imperial camp with his contingent, and was well received by the emperor.

He is said to have risen to the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand. He was buried at Mohán. On his death, neither books nor official papers were found; his list of soldiers contained the names of his friends and clients, who had to refund him six months' wages *per annum*.

Jahángír in his memoirs (*Tuzuk*, p. 22) praises him very much.

The *Ṭabaqát* says, 'Mír Sharíf belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with çúfism, and is at present (1001) in Bihár.'

Note on the Nuq'awiah Sect (نقطویه).

It was mentioned above (p. 177) that Mír Sharíf spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Mahmúd of Basakhwán.[2] The curious sect which Mahmúd founded, goes by the name of *Mahmúdiyah*, or *Wáhidiyah*, or *Nuqṭawiyah*, or *Umaná*.[3] Mahmúd

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[1] The Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnámah* (III., p. 629) says he was made at the same time a Commander of Four Thousand. This must be a mistake, because Mír Sharíf was at Jahángír's accession a Commander of 2500 (*Tuzuk*, p. 22).

[2] Badáoní (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has *Basakhwán*; the MSS. of the Maásir *Basákhwán* (with a long penultima) and on other places *Basákhán*, without a *w*; the Calcutta edition of the Dabistán (p. 374) and Shea and Troyer's Translation have *Masajwán*,—a shifting of the diacritical points.

[3] The name *nuqṭawí* was evidently used by Badáoní, though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have *Nabaṭí*, which was given on p. 176. For *Umaná*, Shea's translation of the Dabistán has *Imaná*; but امنا (*umaná*) is, no doubt, the plural of امین *amín*.

called himself *Shakhç i Wáhid,* or 'the individual,' and professed to be the Imám Mahdí, whose appearance on earth ushers in the end of the world. According to the Calcutta edition of the Dabistán and Shea's Translation, he lived about 600 A. H.; but the MSS. of the Maásir have A. H. 800, which also agrees with Badáoní's statement that Mahmúd lived at the time of Timur. The sect found numerous adherents in Irán, but was extinguished by Sháh 'Abbás i Mází,[1] who killed them or drove them into exile.

Mahmúd had forced into his service a passage from the Qorán (Sur. XVII., 81), *'asá an yab'asaka rabbuka maqáman mahmúdan,* ' Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (*mahmúd*) station.' He maintained that the human body (*jasad*) had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection, 'Mahmúd' would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qorán, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muhammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of every thing was the *nuqṭah i khák,* or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term *nuqṭah i khák* has given rise to their name *Nuqṭawís.* For other of Mahmúd's tenets, *vide* Shea's translation of the Dabistán, vol. III., pp. 12 to 26.

Some of Mahmúd's doctrines must have been of interest to Akbar, whose leanings towards the 'man of the millennium,' transmigration of souls, &c., have been mentioned above, and Mír Sharíf i A'mulí could not have done better than propounding the same doctrine at Court, and pointing to Akbar as the restorer of the millennium.

The author of the 'A'lam A'rái Sikandarí, as the *Maásir* says, mentions Mír Sharíf i A'mulí under the following circumstances. In 1002, the 7th year of Sháh 'Abbás i Mází's reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very inauspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Sháh 'Abbás, Jaláluddín Muhammad of Tabríz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, proposed that Sháh 'Abbás should lay aside royalty for the two or three days the dreaded conjunction was expected to last, and that a criminal who had been sentenced to death, should sit on the throne. This extraordinary expedient was everywhere approved of; the criminals threw lots, and Yúsuf the quiver-maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwísh Khusrau of Qazwín, was raised to the throne. He reigned for three days, and was then killed. Soon after, Darwísh Khusrau was hanged. His ancestors had been well-diggers, but he was a dervish, and though he had been wise enough never to speak of his *Nuqṭawiyah* belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mír Sayyid Ahmad of Káshán, whom 'Abbás killed with his own sword. Among his papers treatises were found on the *Nuqṭah* doctrine, and also a letter addressed to him by Abulfazl in Akbar's name. *Mír Sharíf i A'mulí, a good poet and the head of the sect, heard of these persecutions, and fled from Astrábád to Hindústán.*

Regarding the last sentence, the author of the *Maásir* remarks that it involves an anachronism, for Mír Sharíf was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dípálpúr in Málwah; and besides, Sharíf i A'mulí was mentioned in no Tazkirah as a poet.

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[1] *Mází* (ماضي), *i. e.*, who passed away, is the epithet which Historians give to Sháh 'Abbás I. of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahángír.

167. Hasan Beg [Kha'n i Badakhshi'] Shaikh 'Umari'.[1]

Hasan Beg was a good soldier. In the 34th year, Akbar, after his stay in Kashmír, marched to Zábulistán, and passed through the district of Pak'halí, 'which is 35 *kos* long and 25 broad, and lies west of Kashmír. In Pak'halí, Sulṭán Husain Khán i Pak'halíwál (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zamíndár belonged to the descendants of the Qárlyghs (قارلوغ), whom Timur on his return from India to Túrán had left in Pak'halí as garrison. After following Akbar's Court for a few days, Sulṭán Husain Khán withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pak'halí (*Akbarnámah* III, 591, 598). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Hasan Beg's temporary absence at Court, Sulṭán Husain Khán again rebelled, assumed the title of Sulṭán Naçíruddín, and drove away Hasan Beg's men. But soon after, he had again to submit to Hasan Beg. In the 46th year, Hasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangash, and was put, towards the end of Akbar's reign, in charge of Kábul, receiving Fort Rohtás[2] (in the Panjab) as jágír.

In the beginning of Jahángír's reign, he was called from Kábul to Court. On his way, at Mat'hurá (Muttra), Hasan Beg met Prince Khusrau, who had fled from Ágrah on Sunday, the 8th Zí Hajjah, 1014.[3] From distrust as to the motives of the emperor which led to his recall from Kábul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshís," he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshí troopers, received the title of Khán Bábá, and got the management of all affairs. Another officer who attached himself to Khusrau, was 'Abdurrahím, Díwán of Láhor. After the defeat near Bhaironwál on the Biáh,[4] the Afgháns who were with the Prince, advised him to retreat to the Eastern provinces of the empire; but Hasan Beg proposed to march to Kábul, which, he said, had always been the starting-place of the conquerors of India; he had, moreover, four lacs of rupees in Rohtás, which were at the Prince's service. Hasan Beg's counsel was ultimately adopted. But before he could reach Rohtás, Khusrau was captured on the Chanáb. On the 3rd Çafar 1015, the Prince, Hasan Beg, and 'Abdurrahím, were taken before Jahángír in the Bágh i Mírzá Kámrán, a villa near Láhor, Khusrau himself, according to Chingiz's law (*batorah i Chingízí*), with his hands tied and fetters on his feet. Hasan Beg after making a useless attempt to incriminate others (p. 451), was put into a cow-hide, and 'Abdurrahím into a donkey's skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the bazars.

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[1] *Badakhshí* is the adjective formed from *Badakshán*, as *Káshí* from *Káshán*. The words *Shaikh 'Umarí* are to be taken as an adjective formed like *Akbarsháhí*, *Jahángírí*, &c., which we find after the names of several grandees. Thus *Shaikh 'Umarí* would mean 'belonging to the servants of Shaikh 'Umar,' and this explanation is rendered more probable by the statement of historians that Hasan Beg belonged to the *Bábarián*, or 'nobles of Bábar's Court.'

Hasan Beg is often wrongly called *Husain Beg*. Thus in the *Tuzuk*, p. 25, ff.; *Pádisháhn.* I, p. 306; *Akbarn.* III, 598.

[2] Generally spelt روهتاس. The fort in Bihár is spelt without *wáw*, رهتاس, though both are identical.

[3] So the *Tuzuk*. The *Maásir* has the 20th, instead of the 8th. MSS. continually confound هشتم and بیستم. But Jahángír on his pursuit reached Hodal on the 10th Zí Hajjah, and the *Tuzuk* is correct.

[4] *Vide* p. 414, note. There is another Bhaironwál between Wazírábád and Siálkoṭ, south of the Chanáb.

'As cow-hides get sooner dry than donkey-skins,' Hasan died after a few hours from suffocation; but 'Abdurrahím was after 24 hours still alive, and received, at the request of several courtiers, free pardon.[1] The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusrau were impaled; their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bágh i Mírzá Kámrán to the Fort of Láhor, and Khusrau, seated on a sorry elephant, was led along that way. People had been posted at short intervals, and pointing to the corpses, kept calling out to Khusrau, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do you homage."

Hasan Beg was mentioned above on p. 346. His son *Isfandiyár Khán*, was under Sháhjahán, a commander of 1500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Sháhjahán's reign (*Pádishdhn.* I., 476; I., b., 304) The 'Árif Beg i Shaikh 'Umarí mentioned in the *Pádisháhn.* (I., b., 319) appears to be a relation of his.

168. Sheroyah Khán, son of Sher Afkan Khán.

Sher Afkan Khán was the son of Qúch Beg. Qúch Beg served under Humáyún, and was killed in the successful attempt made by several grandees to save Maryam Makání, Akbar's mother, after the fatal battle of Chausá (*vide* No. 96, p. 410). When Humáyún fled to Persia, Sher Afkan remained with Mírzá Kámrán in Kábul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Írán, and was made governor of Qalát. Later he received Zahák-Bámiyán as jágír, but went again over to Kámrán. Humáyún, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroyah Khán served at first under Mun'im (No. 11) in Bengal and Oṛísá. In the 26th year, he was appointed to accompany Prince Murád to Kábul. In the 28th year, he served under 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) in Gujrát, and was present in the battle of Sarkich (*Akbarnámah* III., 408, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Maṭlab Khán (No. 83) against Jalálah Táríkí (p. 403). In the 39th year, he was made a Khán, and was appointed to Ajmír. According to the *Ṭabaqát*, he was a Hazárí in 1001.

169. Nazar Be Uzbak.

The Akbarnámah (III., p. 500) says, 'On the same day[2] Nazar Be, and his sons Qanbar Be, Shádí Be (No. 367), and Báqí Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor.'

Shádí Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Maṭlab Khán (No. 83) against the Táríkís. He may be the Shádí Khán Shádí Beg, mentioned in the *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., 308) as a commander of One Thousand. *Be* is the abbreviation of *Beg*. Nazar Be is not to be confounded with Nazar Beg (No. 247).

170. Jalál Khán, son of Muhammad Khán, son of Sulṭán Ádam, the Gakk'har.

171. Mubárak Khán, son of Kamál Khán, the Gakk'har.

The Gakk'hars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the *Maásir*, the hilly districts

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[1] In Zú Hajjah, 1018, he got an appointment as a Yúzbáshí, or commander of 100, and was sent to Kashmír (*Tuzuk*, p. 79). In the *Tuzuk*, he is called *'Abdurrahím Khar*, 'Abdurrahím 'the Ass.'

[2] When the news was brought to Akbar that Mán Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists and the death of Bír Baṛ in the Khaibar Pass, had defeated the Táríkís at 'Alí Masjid (end of the 30th year, or beginning of Rabí' I., 994).

between the Bahat and the Indus.[1] At the time of Zainul'ábidín, king of Kashmír, a Ghaznín noble of the name of Malik Kid (کد, or کید), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kábul, took away these districts from the Kashmírís, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Níláb (Indus) and the Sawáliks and the frontier of modern Kashmír.[2] Malik Kid was succeeded by his son Malik Kalán, and Malik Kalán by Malik Bír. After Bír, the head of the tribe was Sulṭán Tatár, who rendered Bábar valuable service, especially in the war with Ráná Sánká. Sulṭán Tatár had two sons, Sulṭán Sárang, and Sulṭán A'dam. Sárang fought a great deal with Sher Sháh and Salím Sháh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghans. The Fort Rohtás was commenced by Sher Sháh with the special object of keeping the Gakk'hars in check. Sher Sháh in the end captured Sulṭán Sárang and killed him, and confined his son Kamál Khán in Gwáliár, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Sulṭán A'dam was now looked upon as the head of the clan. He continued to oppose the Afgháns. Once Salím Sháh gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwáliár Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamál Khán, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamál went to his kinsfolk; but as Sulṭán A'dam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely with his brother Sa'íd Khán, avoiding to come in conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamál paid his respects to the emperor at Jálindhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemú, and during the siege of Mánkoṭ. In the 3rd year, he was sent against the Miyánah Afgháns, who had revolted near Saronj (Málwah), and was made on his return jágírdár of Karah and Fathpúr Huswah. In the 6th year, he served under Khán Zamán (No. 13) against the Afgháns under the son of Mubáriz Khán 'Adlí (p. 320). In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamál Khán begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakk'har district, which was still in the hands

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[1] Mr. J. E. Delmerick informs me that the Gakk'hars inhabited the hilly parts of the Ráwul Pinḍí and Jhelam districts from Khánpúr on the borders of the Hazárah district along the lower range of hills skirting the Tahçíls of Ráwul Pinḍí, Kuhúta, and Gújar Khán, as far as Domeli in the Jhelam district. Their ancient strongholds were Pharwálah, Sulṭánpúr, and Dangálí. They declare that they are descended from the Kaianian kings of Irán. Their ancestor Kid invaded Tibet, where he and his descendants reigned for ten generations. His tenth descendant Kab conquered Kashmír, and took possession of half of it. The Gakk'hars then reigned for 16 generations after Kab in Kashmír. The 16th descendant, Zain Sháh fled to Afghánistán, where he died. His son, Gakk'har Sháh, came to the Panjáb with Mahmúd of Ghazní, and was made lord of the Sind Ságar Duáb. Malik Bír is said to have been the grandfather of Tatár, whose father was Malik Pilú. *Vide* Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakk'hars, Journal, A. S. B., 1871.

[2] The *Maásir* says, he subjected the tribes called چترنیه ' ایوان ' جانوهه ' کهتر ' بهوکیان , جهپه , باریه, and میکرال. Mr. Delmerick says, the Khatars inhabit the western parts of the Ráwul Pinḍí district. The second tribe is that of the *Janjú'ahs* who inhabit the Salt Range. The third, *Awán* (اوان), are found in the southern parts of the Ráwul Pinḍí and the Jhelam districts; their tract is called *Awánkárí* to this day. The fourth, he says, may, be the *Jodrahs* (جودره), a great clan about Pinḍí Gheb. The fifth, he believes is intended for the *Kokharán* (کهوکران), a tribe of some importance in Pinḍ Dádan Khán. The sixth and the eighth are the *Chibh* (چهبه) and Mangarál (منگرال), large tribes in Jammú. The seventh he supposes to be a mistake for پهاڑیه *pahá-ṛiah* or hill tribes, which were the Ḍhúnds (دهوند) and Sattís (ستي).

of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khán i Kalán (No. 16) and other Panjábí grandees, to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamál Khán; if Sulṭán A'dam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sulṭán A'dam. The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sulṭán A'dam. The Panjáb army, therefore, and Kamál Khán entered the Gakk'har district, and defeated and captured A'dam after a severe engagement near the 'Qaçbah of Hílán.'[1] Sulṭán A'dam and his son Lashkarí were handed over to Kamál Khán, who was put in possession of the district. Kamál Khán killed Lashkarí, and put Sulṭán A'dam into prison, where he soon after died. (*Akbarnámah*, II, 240ff.)

It is stated in the *Ṭabaqát* that Kamál Khán was a commander of Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972.[2]

Mubárak Khan and Jalál Khán served in the 30th year under Mírzá Sháhrukh, Bhagwán Dás, and Sháh Qulí Mahram, in Kashmír (*Akbarnámah*, III, 485). The Ṭabaqát calls both, as also Sa'íd Khán, commanders of Fifteen Hundred. A daughter of Sa'íd Khán was married to Prince Salím; *vide* No. 225, note.

172. Tásh Beg Khán Mughul, [Táj Khán].

Tásh Beg served at first under Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, king of Kábul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar's service. He received a jágír in the Panjáb. According to the *Akbarnámah* (III, 489), he went with Bír Baṛ (No. 85) to Sawád and Bijor, and distinguished himself under 'Abdul Maṭlab (No. 83) against the Táríkís (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the 'Ísá Khail Afgháns, though with little success. Two years later, he served under A'çaf Khán (No. 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of *Táj Khán*. When Rájah Bású again rebelled (47th year), Khwájah Sulaimán, Bakhshí of the Panjáb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of Qulij Khán (No. 42), Husain Beg i Shaikh 'Umarí (No. 167), Ahmad Beg i Kábulí (No. 191), and Táj Khán. Without waiting for the others, T. Kh. moved to Paṭhán. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamíl Beg, T. Kh.'s son, received news of Bású's approach. He hastily attacked him, and was killed with fifty men of his father's contingent.

Jahángír on his accession, promoted him to a command of 3000. In the second year of his reign, he officiated as governor of Kábul till the arrival of Sháh Beg Khán (No. 57). He was afterwards appointed governor of T'hat'hah, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

173. Shaikh 'Abdullah, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus [of Gwáliár].

Shaikh 'Abdullah at first lived a retired and saintly life, but entered subsequently the Emperor's service. He distinguished himself, and is said to have risen to the dignity of a commander of Three Thousand. He died when young.

His brother *Ziáullah* lived as Faqír, and studied during the lifetime of his

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[1] Not Hailán (هيلان), south of Chiliánwálá between the Jhelam and the Chanáb; but Hílán, or Híl, which Mr. Delmerick says, is a ferry on the Jhelam near Dangálí, Sulṭán A'dam's stronghold.

[2] So in my MSS. of the *Ṭabaqát*. The author of the *Maásir* found 970 in his MS., which would be the same year in which Kamál Khán was restored to his paternal inheritance; hence he adds a والله اعلم. He was certainly alive in the middle of 972 (*Akbarnámah*, II, p. 302)

father under the renowned saint Wajíhuddín in Gujrát, who himself was a pupil of Muhammad Ghaus.

Biographies of Muhammad Ghaus (died 970 at Ágrah, buried in Gwáliár) will be found in the *Maásir*, *Badáoní* (III., p. 4), and the *Khazínatullaçfiá* (p. 969). He was disliked by Bairám Khán, Shaikh Gadáí, and Shaikh Mubárak, Abulfazl's father. *Vide* also *Maásir i 'A'lamgírí*, p. 166.

174. Rájah Rájsingh, son of Rájah Askaran, the Kachhwáhah.

Rájah Askaran is a brother of Rájah Bihárí Mall (No. 23). He served in the 22nd year with Çádiq Khán (No. 43) against Rájah Madhukar of U'ṇḍchah,[1] and in the 25th year under Todar Mall in Bihár. In the 30th year, he was made a commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in the Dak'hin. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each çúbah, Askaran and Shaikh Ibráhím (No. 82) were appointed to Ágrah. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Rájah Madhukar under Shiháb Khán (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abulfazl has not given his name in this list of grandees. The Ṭabaqát says he was a commander of Three Thousand.

Ráj Sing, his son, received the title of Rájah after the death of his father. He served for a long time in the Dak'hin, was called in the 44th year to Court, and was appointed commandant of Gwáliár. In the 45th year, he joined the Imperial army, which under Akbar besieged Fort Ásír. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Rái Ráyán Patr Dás (No. 196), the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundelah, who at Jahángír's instigation had murdered Abulfazl. For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundelah clan, he was promoted, and held, in the 50th year, the rank of a commander of 4000, 3000 horse. In the 3rd year, of Jahángír's reign, he served in the Dak'hin, where he died in 1024 (10th year).

Rám Dás, his son, was a Commander of 1000, 400 horse. He received, in the 12th year, the title of Rájah, and was made, in the same year, a commander of 1500, 700 horse.

One of his grandsons, Prasuttam Singh, turned Muhammadan in the 6th year of Sháhjahán's reign, and received the name of *'Ibádatmand.*[2]

175. Rái Bhoj, son of Rái Surjan Háḍá (No. 96).

When Búndí, in the 22nd year, was taken from Daudá, elder brother of Rái Bhoj, the latter was put in possession of it. Bhoj served under Mán Singh against the Afgháns of Oṛísá, and under Shaikh Abulfazl in the Dak'hin (*Akbarn.* III., 851, 855).

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No. 160).

In the first year of his reign, Jahángír wished to marry Jagat Singh's daughter. Rái Bhoj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahángír resolved to punish him on his return from Kábul. But Rái Bhoj, in the end of 1016, committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rabí' I., 1017, (*Tuzuk*, pp. 68, 69).

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[1] *Uṇḍchah* is generally spelt on our maps *Oorcha*. It lies near Jhánsí on the left bank of the Betwah. The name of the river 'Dasthárá,' mentioned on p. 356, is differently spelled in the MSS. In one place the *Maásir* has *Satdahárá*.

[2] Regarding the Kachhwáhahs see my article in the Calcutta Review, for April, 1871, entitled 'A Chapter from Muhammadan History.'

It is said that Rá'thor and Kachhwáhah princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Háḍá princess was ever married to a Timuride.

XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.

176. Sher Khwa'jah.

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itáwah (سادات اتاوی.) His mother was a *Naqshbandí* (p. 423, note 2). Sher Kh.'s name was 'Pádisháh Khwájah,' but Akbar called him on account of his bravery and courage *Sher Khwájah.*

In the 30th year, Sh. Kh. served under Sa'íd Khán Chaghtái (No. 25) against the Yúsufzaís, and afterwards under Sulṭán Murád in the Dak'hin. In the 40th year, the Prince sent him with a corps to Paṭan, where he distinguished himself against Ikhláç Khán. He continued to serve in the Dak'hin under Abulfazl. In the engagement near Bír he was wounded. He entered the town victoriously, but was besieged. From want of provisions, his men had to subsist on horse-flesh. As in consequence of the swelling of the Gangá (Godávarí) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abulfazl arrived and raised the siege. Abulfazl proposed to leave his own son 'Abdurrahmán at Bír; but Sh. Kh. refused to quit his post. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag.

Sh. Kh. remained in favour during the reign of Jahángír. He was with the emperor when Mahábat Khán near the Bahat had taken possession of Jahángír's person. After Jahángír's death, he served with Áçaf Khán against Shahryár in Láhor.

In the 1st year of Sháhjahán's reign, he was made a commander of 4000, with 1000 horse, and received the title of *Khwájah Báqí Khán.* He was also appointed governor of T'hat'hah, *vice* Mírzá 'Ísá Tarkhán (p. 363). He died on his way to his province in 1037. *Pádisháhn.*, I., 181, 200.

His son *Khwájah Háshim* was made a commander of 500 (*Pádisháhnámah,* I., *b.*, 327). Another son, *Asadullah,* is mentioned as a commander of 900, 300 horse, (*Pádisháhn.* II., 738).

177. Mi'rza' Khurram, son of Khán i A'zam Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21).

He has been mentioned above, p. 328.

XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.

178. Quraish Sulta'n, son of 'Abdurrashíd Khán, king of Káshghar.

182. Sulta'n 'Abdullah, brother (by another mother) of Quraish Sulṭán.

310. Sha'h Muhammad, son of Quraish Sulṭán.

Quraish Sulṭán is a descendant of Chingiz Khán.[1] His genealogical tree is given in the Akbarnámah (III., 584) and the *Táríkh i Rashídí* as follows :—

1. Chingiz Khán.
2. Chaghtái Khán.
3. Mawátkán (second son of Chaghtái Khán).

[1] Chingiz Khán, in the histories, is often called *Qáán i Buzurg.*

4. يسونتوا (the MSS. give various readings).

5. Yaráq Khán (called after his conversion Sulṭán Ghiásuddín).

6. Dawá Khán.[1]

7. Alsínúqá, or Alsánúqá, Khán.

8. Tughluq Timur Khán.

9. Khizr Khwájah Khán[2] (father-in-law of Timur).

10. (*a.*) Muhammad Khán....(*b.*) Sham' Jahán Khán....(*c.*) Naqsh Jahán Khán.

11. (*a.*) Sher Muhammad Khán. (*b.*) Sher 'Alí Ughlán.

12. Uwais Khán, son of Sher 'Alí Ughlán.

13. Yúnas Khán, father of Bábar's mother.

14. Sulṭán Ahmad Khán, known as *Alánchah Khán.*

15. Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd Khán.

16. 'Abdurrashíd Khán.

17. (1) 'Abdul Karím Khán. (2) Quraish Sulṭán (No. 178). (3) Sulṭán 'Abdullah (No. 178).

(1) Sháh Muhammad (No. 310).
(2(Khudábandah.

After the death of 'Abdurrashíd Khán (16.), 'Abdulkarím Khán, elder brother of Quraish Sulṭán, succeeded to the throne of Káshghar. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father's wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudábandah, son of Quraish Sulṭán, quarrelled with Muhammad Khán, his uncle, and Khudábandah occupied the town of Ṭarfán. 'Abdulkarím, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraish Sulṭán to go to Makkah. Q. went first with his family to Badakhshán and Balkh, and lastly, with the permission of 'Abdullah Khán of Túrán, to Hindústán. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shihábuddínpúr, when the emperor was just returning from Kashmír, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred.

Quraish died in the 37th year, (1000) at Hájípúr.

179. Qara' Baha'dur, son of Mírzá Mahmúd, who is the paternal uncle of Mírzá Haidar [Gurgání].

Like the preceding, Qará Bahádur belonged to the royal family of Káshghar. Mírzá Haidar's father, Muhammad Husain, was the son of Bábar's maternal aunt.

Mírzá Haidar,[3] during his stay in Káshghar, had accompanied the son of Sulṭán

[1] Dawá invaded India during the reign of 'Aláuddín; *vide* Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1869, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.

[2] His daughter is called Tukul Khánum تکل خانم. It is said that Timur after the marriage received the title of Gurgán گرگان, the Mughul term for the Persian *dámád*, a son-in-law. Hence Timurides are often called *Gurgánís.*

[3] Mírzá Haidar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 951 the *Táríkh i 'Abdurrashídí*, in honor of Abdurrashíd,

Abú Sa'íd on several expeditions to Kashmír, and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province. He subsequently went over Badakhshán to India, and arrived at Láhor, where Mírzá Kámrán made him his *náib* during his absence on an expedition to Qandahár, which the Sháh of Persia had taken from Khwájah Kalán Beg. M. Haidar afterwards accompanied Kámrán to A'grah, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humáyún, to take possession of Kashmír. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Sháh retreated to Láhor, he gave M. Haidar a small corps and sent him to Kashmír. The country being in a distracted state, M. H. took possession of it without bloodshed, and ruled as absolute king for ten years. But afterwards he ordered the *khuṭbah* to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humáyún's name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmírís.

The father of Qará Bahádur was Mírzá Mahmúd; hence Q. B. was M. Haidar's cousin. As he had been with M. H. in Kashmír, Akbar, in the 6th year, ordered him to re-conquer the province, and gave him a large corps. But Q. B. delayed his march, and when he arrived in the hot season at Rájor, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Ghází Khán, who had usurped the throne of Kashmír. Q. B. discomfited returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Málwah, and was appointed, on Akbar's return, governor of Mandú. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qará Bahádur, *vide* No. 183.

180. Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, son of Ibráhím Husain Mírzá, [son of Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá].

Muzaffar Husain Mírzá is a Timuride. His tree is as follows:—

'Umar Shaikh Mírzá (second son of Timur).
|
Mírzá Báiqrá.
|
Mírzá Mançúr.
|
M. Báiqrá.
|
Wais Mírzá.
|
Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá.
|
(1) Ulugh Mírzá. (2) Sháh Mírzá. (3) Ibráhím Husain M. (4) Muhammad Husain M. (5) Mas'úd Husain M. (6) 'A'qil Husain M.

Sons of (1) Ulugh Mírzá: (1) Sikandar Mírzá, *sive* Ulugh Mírzá. (2) Mahmúd Sulṭán M., *sive* Sháh Mírzá.

Son of (3) Ibráhím Husain M.: Muzaffar Husain Mírzá. (No. 180.)

king of Káshghar. The villa known as *Bágh i Çafá* was erected by him. *Akbarnámah* III., 585.

The MS. of the Táríkh i Rashídí in the Library of the Asiatic Society (Persian MSS, No. 155, three parts, 19 lines per page) is a fair, though modern copy, and was brought by Capt. H. Strachey from Yárkand.

The Táríkh commences with the reign of Tughluq Timur Khán, who was converted to Islám by Mauláná Arshaduddín, and goes down to the reign of 'Abdurrashíd. The second *daftar* contains the Memoirs of Mírzá Haidar. The style is elegant.

The mother of Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá was the daughter of the renowned Sulṭán Husain Mírzá, king of Khurásán, at whose court Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá held a place of distinction. After Sulṭán Husain's death, Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá went to Bábar, who treated him with every distinction. Humáyún also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulugh Mírzá and Sháh Mírzá, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction. Ulugh Mírzá was killed in the expedition against the Hazárahs, and Sháh Muhammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulugh Mírzá had two sons, Sikandar Mírzá and Mahmúd Sulṭán Mírzá; but Humáyún changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mírzá, and Mahmúd Sulṭán Mírzá that of Sháh Mírzá.

As Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court *(taklíf i bár)*, and gave him the parganah of A'zampúr in Sambhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Sháh Mírzá. At A'zampúr, in his old age, Muhammad Sulṭán M. had four other sons born to him—1. Ibráhím Husain Mírzá, 2. Muhammad Husain Mírzá, 3. Mas'úd Husain Mírzá, and 4. 'Áqil Husain Mírzá

In the 11th year of Akbar's reign, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, king of Kábul, invaded India and besieged Láhor; and when Akbar marched against him, Ulugh M. and Sháh M. rebelled. They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibráhím Husain M. and Muhammad Husain M. The rebellious Mírzás went plundering from Sambhal to Khán Zamán (No. 13) at Jaunpúr; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dihlí, and from there invaded Málwah, the governor of which, Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muhammad Sulṭán Mírzá. He died a short time after in his prison at Biánah. In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed Khán Zamán, and conquered Chítor, he made Shiháb Khán (No. 26) governor of Málwah, and ordered him to punish the Mírzás.

About this time Ulugh M. died. The other Mírzás unable to withstand Shiháb Khán, fled to Chingiz Khán (p. 386), who then ruled over a portion of Gujrát. Chingiz Khán was at war with I'timád Khán (No. 67) of Ahmadábád; and as the Mírzás had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahronch as jágír. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel, that Chingiz Khán had to send a corps against them. Though the Mírzás defeated his troops, they withdrew to Khándesh, and re-entered Málwah. They were vigorously attacked by Ashraf Khán (No. 74), Çádiq Khán (No. 43), and others, who besieged Rantanbhúr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbadá, where many soldiers of the Mírzás perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Khán had been murdered by Jhujhár Khán, and as Gujrát was in a state of disorder, the Mírzás, with litte fighting, occupied Champánír, Bahronch, and Súrat.

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujrát and occupied Ahmadábád. Dissensions having broken out among the Mírzás, Ibráhím Husain M. left Bahronch, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar's camp. Most of Akbar's Amírs had the day before been sent away towards Súrat in search of Muhammad Husain M. Hearing of Ibráhím Husain's arrival, the emperor despatched Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) after the Amírs, whilst he himself marched to the Mahindrí River, where it flows past the town of

Sarnál. Akbar had about 40 men with him, few of whom had armour; but when the Amírs returned, the number rose to about 200. The signal of attack was given, and after a hard fight, Ibráhím Husain M. was defeated. He fled towards A'grah, whilst his wife, Gulrukh Begum, a daughter of Mírzá Kámrán, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, from Súrat to the Dak'hin.

Akbar now resolved to invest Súrat, and left M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) with a garrison in Ahmadábád, ordering at the same time Qutbuddín (No. 28) to join 'Azíz with the Málwah contingent. Muhammad Husain M. and Sháh M. thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khán Fúládí, a Gujrátí noble, and besieged Paṭan. 'Azíz marched against them, and defeated them (p. 396). Muhammad Husain M. then withdrew to the Dak'hin.

Ibráhím Husain M. and his younger brother Mas'úd Husain M. having met with resistance at Nágor (p. 357), invaded the Panjáb. The governor, Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24), at that time besieged Nagarkoṭ, and hearing of the inroad of the Mírzás, made peace with the Rájah, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Mas'úd. Ibráhím Husain fled towards Multán, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balúchís. He then fell into the hands of Sa'íd Khán (No. 25), and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to A'grah, Muhammad Husain Mírzá left the Dak'hin, invaded Gujrát, and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambháit by Naurang Khán (p. 334), and joined the party of Ikhtiyárulmulk and the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí. They then marched against Ahmadábád, and besieged M. 'Azíz Kokah. To relieve him, Akbar hastened in forced marches from A'grah to Paṭan, and arrived, on the 5th Jumáda I, 981 (p. 416), with about 1000 horse, at a place 3 *kos* from Ahmadábád. Leaving Ikhtiyár to continue the siege, Muhammad Husain opposed the emperor, but was defeated and wounded. In his flight his horse fell over a bramble, when two troopers captured him, and led him to Akbar. Each of the two men claimed the customary reward, and when Bír Baṛ, at Akbar's request, asked Muhammad Husain which of the two had taken him prisoner, he said, "The salt of the emperor has caught me; for those two could not have done it." Ikhtiyár on hearing of the defeat and capture of Muhammad Husain, raised the siege, and fled with his 5000 troopers. Akbar at once pursued him. Ikhtiyár got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Suhráb Turkmán who was after him, cut off his head, and took it to the emperor. Muhammad Husain also had, in the meantime, been executed by Rái Singh (No. 44), whom Akbar had put over him.

Sháh Mírzá had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, whom his mother had taken to the Dak'hin, entered Gujrát and created disturbances. He was defeated by Rájah Todar Mall and Vazír Khán (p. 353), and fled to Júnágaḍh. When the Rájah had gone, Muzaffar besieged Vazír in Ahmadábád. During the siege he managed to attach Vazír's men to his cause, and was on the point of entering the town, when a cannon ball killed Mihr 'Alí Kolábí, who had led the young Muzaffar into rebellion. This so affected Muzaffar, that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Nazrbár. Soon after, he was captured by Rájah 'Alí of Khándesh, and handed over

to Akbar. He was kept for some time in prison; but as he shewed himself loyal, Akbar, in the 36th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sulṭán Khánum. He also gave him Sirkár Qanauj as *tuyúl*. Muzaffar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the *tuyúl*, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Ásír, he sent Muzaffar to besiege Fort Lalang. But he quarrelled with Khwájah Fathullah, and one day, he decamped for Gujrát. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqír, he wandered about between Súrat and Baglánah, when he was caught by Khwájah Waisí and taken before the emperor. After having been imprisoned for some time, he was let off in the 46th year. He died, not long after, a natural death.

His sister, Núrunnisá, was married to Prince Salím (*vide* No. 225, note). Gulrukh Begum, Muzaffar's mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahángír at Ajmír.

181. Qundu'q Kha'n, brother of the well-known Bairám Oghlán.

The *Akbarnámah* (I., 411) mentions a Qundúq Sulṭán, who accompanied Humáyún on his march to India.

For *Qundúq*, some MSS. read *Qundúz*. A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Mun'im, and died at Gaur (p. 376).

182. Sulta'n 'Abdullah, brother (by another mother) of Quraish Sulṭán (No. 178).

183. Mi'rza' 'Abdurrahma'n, son of Mírzá Haidar's brother (*vide* No. 179).

184. Qiya' Kha'n, son of Çáhib Khán.

In the Ṭabaqát and the Akbarnámah he is generally called قیا صاحب حسن, which may mean 'Qiyá, the beautiful,' or 'Qiyá, son of Çáhib Hasan.' Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izáfat.[1] It looks as if the reading صاحب خان of the Áín MSS. was a mistake. The words صاحب حسن are intended to distinguish him from Qiyá Gung (No. 33).

Qiyá served under Shamsuddín Atgah against Bairám (p. 317). He was also present in the battle of Sárangpúr (*vide* No. 120).

185. Darba'r Kha'n, 'Ináyat [ullah], son of Takaltú Khán, the Reader.

Darbár's father was Sháh Ṭahmásp's reader. 'Ináyat, on his arrival in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title of Darbár Khán. He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Málwah, and in the 12th year, in the last war with Khán Zamán. He accompanied the emperor to Rantanbhúr, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mu'ín i Chishtí in Ajmír, Darbár Khán took sick leave, and died on his arrival at Ágrah.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the *Maásir*—he was buried in the mausoleum of one Akbar's dogs, which he had built. The dog had shewn great attachment to its imperial master.

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[1] Thus you say هلاکو ملعون, for هلاکوی ملعون, the accursed Hulágú.

186. 'Abdurrahmán, son of Muayyid Dúldai.

The name *Dúldai* had been explained above on p. 388. 'Abdurrahmán's great grandfather, Mír Sháh Malik, had served under Timur. 'Abdurrahmán was killed in a fight with the Bihár rebel Dalpat. *Vide* under his son Barkhurdár, No. 328, and under No. 146. Another son is mentioned below, No. 349.

187. Qásim 'Alí Khán.

When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khán Zamán (No. 13), Qásim 'Alí Khán held Gházípúr. In the 17th year, he served in the siege of Súrat, and in the following year, with Khán 'Álam (No. 58) in the conquest of Patna under Mun'im. For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujá'at Khán (No. 51) a prisoner to Mun'im, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under Çádiq (No. 43) against Madhukar Bundelah, and in the 25th year, under 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in Bihár. In the 26th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Hájí Begum, daughter of the brother of Humáyún's mother (*taghái zádah i wálidah i Jannat-ástání*) who after her return from Makkah (p. 441) had been put in charge of Humáyún's tomb in Dihlí, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each çúbah, Q. A. and Fath Khán Tughluq were sent to Audh. He returned, in the 35th year, from Khairábád to Court, and soon after received Kálpí as jágír. 'Nothing also is known of him.' [1] *Maásir*. For his brother, *vide* No. 390.

188. Báz Bahádur, son of Sharíf Khán (No. 63).

Vide above p. 383.

189. Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán, son of Mír Khwánandah.

Some MSS. have 'Khwánd' instead of 'Khwánandah.' Sayyid 'Abdullah had been brought up at Court. In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak. In the 17th year, he was with the Khán i Kalán (No. 16) in the first Gujrát war. Later, he served under Mun'im in Bengal, and was with Khán 'Álam (No. 58) in the battle of Takaroí (p. 375). In 984, he brought the news of Dáúd's defeat and death at Ágmahall (p. 331) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mírzá 'Azíz (No. 21) and under Shahbáz Khán (No. 80), chiefly against Ma'çúm i Farankhúdí (No. 157). In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qásim Khán (No. 59) in Kashmír. In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a body of Kashmírís, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists.

190. Dharu', son of Rájah Todar Mall (No. 39).

Vide above p. 352.

191. Ahmad Beg i Kábulí.

Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mír Ghiásuddín Tarkhán, a Chaghtái noble who served under Timur. Like Sháh Beg (No. 57), Táj Khán (No. 172), Abul Qásim (No. 199), Ma'çúm Khán (p. 431, note 1), and Takhtah Beg (No. 195), A. B. entered, after M. Muhammad Hakím's death, Akbar's service. He was made a commander of 700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yúsuf Khán i Razawí (No. 35), a jágír in Kashmír. He married the sister of Ja'far Beg Áçaf Khán (No. 98).

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[1] Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk mentions a Qásim 'Alí on p. 58, l. 2 from below; but according to the *Maásir*, we have there to read *Qásim Beg* for *Qásim 'Alí*.

During the reign of Jahángír, he rose to the post of a commander of 3000, and received the title of *Khán*, and also a flag. He was for some time governor of Kashmír. On his removal, he went to court, and died.

From the Tuzuk we see that Ahmad Beg in the first year of Jahángír, was made a commander of 2000, and held Pasháwar as jágír. In the second year, he was ordered to punish the Afghán tribes in Bangash, and was for his services there promoted, in the 5th year, to a command of 2500. In the 9th year, in consequence of complaints made by Qulij Khán (No. 42), he was called to court, and confined in Fort Rantanbhúr (*Tuzuk*, p. 136). In the following year, he was released (*l. c.*, p. 146), and sent to Kashmír (*l. c.*, p. 149).

Ahmad Beg's sons, especially his second eldest, were all distinguished soldiers. They are—

1. *Muhammad Mas'úd* (eldest son). He was killed in the war with the Táríkís. His son, Ardsher, was a commander of 1000, 600 horse, and died in the 18th year of Sháhj.'s reign.

2. *Sa'íd Khán Bahádur Zafar-jang* (second son). He rose during the reign of Sháhjahán to the high dignity of a commander of 7000, and distinguished himself in every war. He was governor of Kábul, the Panjáb, and Bihár. He died on the 2nd Çafar, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, Khánahzád Khán and Luṭfullah, were killed in the Balkh war, where Sa'íd also was severely wounded. Two other sons, 'Abdullah and Fathullah, rose to high commands.

3. *Mukhliçullah Khán, Iftikhár Khán.* He rose under Sháhjahán to a command of 2000, 1000 horse, and was Faujdár of Jammú (*Pádishâhn.* I., p. 258), and died in the 4th year of Sháhj.'s reign.

4. *Abul Baqá.* He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Sa'íd, under whom he served. He was thánahdár of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahár expedition, he got the title of *Iftikhár Khán*, at the same time that his elder brother received that of *Zafar-jang*, and was made a commander of 1500, 1000 horse.

192. Hakím 'Alí, of Gílán.

'Alí came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (*muldzim*) and friend of Akbar. Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals. To his satisfaction, 'Alí correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 988, he was sent as ambassador to 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr, and was well received; but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, 'Ádil Sháh suddenly died.[1]

In the 39th year, Hakím 'Alí constructed the wonderful reservoir (*hauz*), which is so often mentioned by Mughul historians. A staircase went to the bottom of the

[1] 'Ádil Sháh was murdered in 988, by a young handsome eunuch, whom he attempted to use for an immoral purpose. The king was known as much for his justice and goodwill towards his subjects, as for his mania for boys and unnatural crimes. He obtained with some exertion two young and handsome eunuchs from Malik Baríd of Bedar, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mauláná Razá of Mashhad, poetically styled Razái, found the *táríkh* of his death in the words *Sháh i jahán shud shahíd* (988), 'The king of the world became a martyr.'

reservoir, from where a passage led to an adjoining small room, six *gaz* square, and capable of holding ten or twelve people. By some contrivance, the water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber. When Akbar dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room, he found it lighted up, and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel, and a few books. Breakfast was also provided.

In the 40th year, 'Alí was a commander of 700, and had the title of *Jálínús uzzamání*, 'the Galenus of the age.' His astringent mixtures enjoyed a great reputation at Court.

He treated Akbar immediately before his death. It is said that the Emperor died of dysentry or acute diarrhœa, which no remedies could stop. 'Alí had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and when the dysentry was stopped, costive fever and strangury ensued. He therefore administered purgatives, which brought back the diarrhœa, of which Akbar died. The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khusrau at an elephant fight. Salím (Jahángír) had an elephant of the name of *Giránbár*, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of *Ábrúp*, one of Khusrau's elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, *Rantahman*, was selected as *ṭabánchah*, *i. e.*, he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán) sat at a window, whilst Salím and Khusrau were on horseback in the arena. Giránbár completely worsted Ábrúp, and as he mauled him too severely, the *ṭabánchah* elephant was sent off to Ábrúp's assistance. But Jahángír's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salím to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salím said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Giránbár, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamuah. This annoyed Akbar more; but his excitement was intensified, when at that moment Khusrau came up, and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for 'Alí, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khusrau's bad behaviour had made him ill.

In the end of 1017, Jahángír also visited 'Alí's reservoir, and made him a commander of 2000. He did not long enjoy his promotion, and died on the 5th Muharram, 1018. Jahángír says of him (*Tuzuk*, p. 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the *Qánún*. "But his subtlety was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart; for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man." Once Jahángír hinted that 'Alí had killed Akbar. On the other side it is said that he spent annually 6000 Rupees on medicines for the poor.[1]

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[1] Badáoní (III., 166) says that 'Alí was the son of the sister of Hakím ul Mulk of Gílán and learned medicine and science under Sháh Fathullah of Shíráz. He was a rabid Shí'ah, and a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he

He had a son, known as *Hakím 'Abdulwahháb.* He held a *mançab.* In the 15th year of Jahángír's reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Láhor the sum of 80,000 Rs. which, he said, his father had lent them. He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qází on it, and the statements of two witnesses. The Sayyids who denied all knowledge, seeing that the case went against them, appealed to the emperor. Jahángír ordered Áçaf Khán (No. 98) to investigate the case. 'Abdulwahháb got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise. This looked suspicious, and Áçaf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported 'Abdulwahháb, and the emperor deprived him of his mançab and jágír. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favor; for in the *Pádisháhnámah* (I, 6., 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, 50 horse.

193. Gujar Khán, son of Quṭbuddín Khán Atgah (No. 28).

He was mentioned above on p. 334.

194. Sadr Jahán Muftí.

Mírán Çadr Jahán was born in Pihání, a village near Qanauj.[1] Through the influence of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí he was made *Muftí.* When 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, king of Túrán, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostacy from Islám, Mírán Çadr and Hakím Humám (No. 205) were selected as ambassadors. The answer which they took to 'Abdullah contained a few Arabic verses which 'Abdullah could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy,—

قيل ان الاله ذو ولد قيل ان الرسول قد كهنا
ما نجا الله و الرسول معا من لسان الورى فكيف انا

"Of God people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet some have said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men—Then how should I?"

Mírán returned in the 34th year, and was made *Çadr* (*vide* p. 274). In the 35th year, at the feast of Ábánmáh, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Çadr and 'Abdul Hai (No. 230), the Chief Justice of the empire, took part in a drinking feast, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups, that he quoted the well-known verse from Háfiz,—

در دور پادشاه خطابخش جرم پوش حافظ قرابه کش شد و مفتی پیاله‌نوش

Up to the 40th year, he had risen to the dignity of a commander of 700; but later, he was made an Amír, and got a mançab of 2000 (*vide* p. 208).

During the reign of Jahángír, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of 4000, and received Qanauj as *tuyúl.* As Çadr under Jahángír he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1020, at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. His faculties remained unimpaired to the last.

His position to Akbar's 'Divine Faith,' has been explained above (p. 208). There is no doubt that he temporized, and few people got more for it than he. He also

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killed Fathullah by prescribing *harísah* (*vide* p. 33, note).

[1] So Badáoní. The *Maásir* says, Pihání lies near Lak'hnau.

composed poems, though in the end of his life, like Badáoní, he repented and gave up poetry as against the spirit of the Muhammadan law.

He had two sons :—

1. *Mír Badr i 'Alam.* He lived a retired life.

2. *Sayyid Nizám Murtazá Khán.* His mother was a Bráhman woman, of whom his father had been so enamoured, that he married her; hence Nizám was his favourite son. He was early introduced at Court, and, at the death of his father, was made a commander of 2500, 2000 horse. In the first year of Sháhjahán's reign, he was a promoted to command of 3000, and received, on the death of Murtazá Khán Injú (p. 451) the title of *Murtazá Khán.* He served a long time in the Dak'hin. His *tuyúl* was the Parganah of Dalamau, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Faujdár of Lak'hnau. In the 24th year of Sháhj.'s reign, he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dáms *per annum* out of the revenue of Piháni, which was one kror. He enjoyed his pension for a long time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons 'Abdul Muqtadir and 'Abdullah were appointed to mançabs, and received as *tuyúl* the remaining portion of the revenue of Piháni. 'Abdul Muqtadir rose to a command of 1000, 600 horse, and was Faujdár of Khairábád.

195. Takhtah Beg i Kábulí [Sardár Khán].

He was at first in the service of M. Muhammad Hakím, and distinguished himself in the wars with India; but on the death of his master (30th year), he joined Akbar's service. He served under Mán Singh and Zain Kokah against the Yúsufzaís. As Thánahdár of Pasháwar he punished on several occasions the Táríkís. In the 49th year, he was made a *Khán.*

After Jahángír's accession, he was made a commander of 2000, and received the title of *Sardár Khán.* He was sent with Mírzá Ghází Tarkhán (p. 363), to relieve Sháh Beg Khán (No. 57) in Qandahár. As Sháh Beg was appointed governor of Kábul, Takhtah was made governor of Qandahár, where, in 1016, he died.

He had a villa near Pasháwar, called the *Bágh i Sardár Khan.* His two sons Hayát Khán and Hidáyatullah got low mançabs.

196. Rai Patr Da's, [Rájah Bikramájít], a Khatrí.

Patr Dás was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant stables, and had the title of *Rái Ráyán.* He distinguished himself, in the 12th year, during the siege of Chítor. In the 24th year, he and Mír Adham were made joint díwáns of Bengal. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he was imprisoned by the rebels (p. 439), but got off and served for some time in Bengal. In the 30th year, he was made díwán of Bihár. In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy Bándhú (p. 407), the capital of which after a siege of 8 months and 25 days surrendered (42nd year). In the 43rd year, he was made díwán of Kábul, but was in the following year again sent to Bándhú. In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3000. When Abulfazl, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bir Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dás to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bir Singh in several engagements, and shut him up in Irich. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels. Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called

P. to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5000, and gave him the title of Rájah Bikramájít.

After Jahángír's accession, he was made *Mír Átash*, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50.000 artillery (*topchí*) with a train of 3000 gun-carts, the revenue of fifteen parganahs being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (*Tuzuk*, p. 10).

When the sons of Muzuffar of Gujrát created disturbances, and Yatím Bahádur had been killed, Patr was sent to Ahmadábád with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted, up to commands of Yúzbáshís, or recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the emperor.

'The year of his death is not known.' *Maásir.*

The Rái Mohan Dás mentioned occasionally in the *Akbarnámah* and the *Tuzuk* p. 50) appears to be his son.

197. Shaikh 'Abdurrahím, of Lak'hnau.

He belongs to the Shaikhzádahs of Lak'hnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamál Bakhtyár (No. 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard, that he got frequently insane. In the 30th year, when Akbar was in the Panjáb, 'Abdurrahím wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siálkoṭ in Hakím Abulfath's dwelling. Akbar looked after the wound himself.

His wife was a Bráhman woman of the name of Kishná. After the death of her husband, she spent his money in laying out gardens and villas. In one of them her husband was buried, and she entertained every one who passed by the tomb, from a *panjhazárí* to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

'Abdurrahím was mentioned above on p. 338.

198. Mední Ráí Chauhán.

From the *Akbarnámah* we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrát. Nizámuddín Ahmad, who was with him in Gujrát, says in the *Ṭabaqát*,—'Mední Rái is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (*i. e.*, in 1001) a commander of 1000.'

199. Mír Abul Qásim Namakín, [Qásim Khán].

The MSS. have almost invariably *Tamkín* (تمکین), instead of *Namakín*. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mír Abul Qásim was a Sayyid of Harát. He was at first in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother and king of Kábul. But he left Kábul, and on entering Akbar's service, he received Bhírah and Khusháb in the Panjáb as jágír. As his lands lay within the *Namaksár*,[1] or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (*namak-halálí*,) with a plate and

[1] The *namaksár*, or salt-range, says the *Maásir*, is a district 20 *kos* long, and belongs to the Sind Ságar Duáb, between the Bahat and the Indus. People break off pieces from the salt rocks, and carry them to the banks of the river, where the price is divided between the miners and the carriers, the former taking ¾ and the latter ¼ of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a dám to two dáms (one rupee = 40 dáms) per *man*, and export it. The Government takes 1 Rupee for every 17 *mans*. The salt is also often made into ornaments.

a cup made of salt (*namakín*), from which circumstance he received the nickname of *Namakín*.

Abul Qásim served in the war with Dáúd of Bengal. In the 26th year, he was in Kábul, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46) on his expedition against the Balúchís. In the 32nd year, the Afghán chiefs of Sawád and Bajor, and Teráh, waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abul Qásim Krorí and Faujdár of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to Afghánistán. The chiefs themselves were retained at Court. Renewed fights, in the 33rd year, gave him frequent occasions of distinguishing himself.

Up to the 40th year, he rose to a command of 700. In the 43rd year, he was appointed to Bhakkar. He built the great mosque in Sukkhar, opposite to Bhakkar. The inhabitants accused him of oppressions, and he was deposed. A party of the oppressed arrived with him at Court, and lodged a new complaint against him with 'Abdul Hai (No. 230), the Qází of the imperial camp (*urdú*). But Abul Qásim, though summoned, did not appear before the judge, and when the matter was reported to Akbar, he was sentenced to be tied to the foot of an elephant, and paraded through the bazars. To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of Shaikh Ma'rúf, Çadr of Bhakkar, and prevailed on them to return the very day to their homes. The next day he went to the emperor, and complained of the Qází, stating that there were no complainants, and 'Abdul Hai tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that Qázís should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the emperor.

Abul Qásim was, soon after, made a Khán, got a higher mançab, and received Gujrát in the Panjáb as *tuyúl*. In the first year of Jahángír's reign, he was made a commander of 1500. The part which he played in the capture of Prince Khusrau has been mentioned above (p. 414, note 2, where *Tamkín* is to be altered to *Namakín*). For his services he was again appointed to Bhakkar with the rank of a commander of 3000. He now resolved to make Bhakkar his home. Most of his illustrious descendants were born there. On a hill near the town southwards towards Loharí, near the branch of the river called *Kahármátrí*, (كہارماتري), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of *Çuffah i Çafá* (the dais of purity). He and several of his descendants were buried in it.

He is said to have been a most voracious man. He could eat—historians do not specify the time—1000 mangoes, 1000 sweet apples, and 2 melons, each weighing a *man*. The *Maásir* says, he had 22 sons, and the Tuzuk (p. 13) says, he had 30 sons and more than 15 daughters.

The following tree is compiled from several notes in the *Maásir* :—

Mír Abul Qásim Namakín (settled at Bhakkar in 1015).

1. Mír Abul Baqá Amír Khán. (died 1057 A. H.)
2. Mírzá Kashmírí.
3. M. Husámuddín.
4. M. Záidullah.

Sons and daughter of Mír Abul Baqá Amír Khán:

1. M. 'Abdurrazzáq.
2. Ziáuddín Yúsuf Khán.
   - A son.
     - M. Abul Wafá. (end of Aurangzíb's reign)
3. Mír 'Abdulkarím Sindhí Amír Khán. (under Aurangzíb to Farrukh Siyar)
   - Abul Khair Khán. (under Farrukh Siyar)
- A daughter, married in 1066 to Prince Murád Bakhsh.

Mír Abul Baqá Amír Khán rose under Jahángír to a command of 2500, 1500 horse. Through the influence of Yamínuddaulah he was made governor of Multán, and in the 2nd year of Sháhjahán, he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse, and appointed to T'hat'hah, *vice* Murtazá i Injú deceased (p. 451). In the 9th year, he was made Tuyúldár of Bír in the Dak'hin, and was sent, in the 14th year, to Síwistán *vice* Qaráq Khán. In the following year, he was again appointed to T'hat'hah, where in 1057 (20th year) he died. He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father. Under Jahángír he was generally called Mír Khán. Sháhjahán gave him the title of Amír Khán.

One of his daughters was married in 1066, after his death, to Prince Murád Bakhsh, who had no children by his first wife, a daughter of Shahnawáz Khán i Çafawí.[1] Amír Khán had a large family. His eldest son, Mír 'Abdurrazzáq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Sháhjahán's reign. His second son, Ziáuddín Yúsuf, was made a Khán, and held under Sháhjahán a mançab of 1000, 600 horse. Ziá's grandson, Abul Wafá was in the end of Aurangzíb's reign in charge of his majesty's prayer room (*dároghah i já-namáz*). Amír Khán's youngest son, Mír 'Abdulkarím, was a personal friend of Aurangzíb. He received in succession the titles of Multafit Khán, Khánahzád Khán (45th year of Aurangzíb), Mír Khánahzád Khán, and Amír Khán (48th year,) and held a command of 3000. After Aurangzíb's death, he was with Muhammad A'zam Sháh ; but as he had no contingent, he was left with the baggage (*bungáh*) at Gwáliár. After the death of Muhammad A'zam in the battle of Sarái Jájú,[2] Bahádur Sháh made him a commander of 3500. He was generally at Court, and continued so under Farrukh Siyar. After Farrukh's death,

[1] Shahnawáz Khán i Çafawí is the title of Mírzá Badíuzzamán, *alias* Mírzá Dak'hiní, son of Mírzá Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Dilras Bánú Begum, was married, in the end of 1046, to Aurangzíb. Another was married, in 1052, to Prince Murád Bakhsh. Elphinstone (History of India, 5th edition, p. 607) calls Shahnawáz Khán by mistake the brother of Sháistah Khán ; but Sháistah is the son of Yamínuddaulah Áçaf Khán, elder brother of Núr Jahán.

[2] Sarái Jájú, near Dholpúr. The battle was fought on the 18th Rabí' I., 1119, and Muhammad A'zam was killed with his two sons Bedár Bakht and Wálí-jáh.

the Bárha brothers made Amír Khán *çadr* of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, Abulkhair, was made a Khán by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no mançabs, but lived on their zamíndárís.

2. *Mírzá Kashmírí* was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusrau. As the associates were to be punished in an unusual way (*siásat i ghair-mukarrar*, Tuzuk, p. 32), Jahángír ordered his *penis* to be cut off.

3. *Mírzá Husámuddín.* He held a mançab, but died young.

4. *Mírzá Záidullah.* He was in the service of Khán Jahán Lodí.

200. Wazír Beg Jamíl.[1]

Wazír Jamíl, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar's reign against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, and in the war with Khán Zamán (No. 13). In the final battle, when Bahádur Khán (No. 22) was thrown off his horse, W. J. instead of taking him prisoner, accepted a bribe from him, and let him off. But Nazar Bahádur, a man in the service of Majnún Khán (No. 50) saw it, and took Bahádur prisoner. Afterwards, he received a jágír in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the expeditions to Bengal and Oṛísá under Mun'im Khán. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qáqsháls; but when they separated from Ma'çúm i Kábulí (p. 431, note) and tendered their submission, W. J. also was pardoned. In the 29th year, he came to court, and served in the following year under Jagnáth (No. 69) against the Rána. He seems to have lived a long time. Jahángír on his accession made him a commander of 3000 (*Tuzuk*, p. 8).

He is not to be confounded with the Jamíl Beg mentioned under No. 172.

201. Táhir, [son of] Saiful-mulúk.

The *Ṭabaqát* says that Ṭáhir was the son of Sháh Muhammad Saiful-mulúk. His father was governor of Gharjistán in Khurásán, and was killed by Sháh Ṭahmásp of Persia. Ṭáhir went to India, was made an Amír at Akbar's Court, and served in Bengal, where he was when the author of the Ṭabaqát wrote (1001).

He is also mentioned in Dowson's Edition of Elliot's Historians, I., pp. 241, 242.

202. Bábú Manklí.

Regarding the name 'Manklí,' *vide* p. 370, note. The Ṭabaqát says that Bábú Manklí was an Afghán, and a commander of 1000.

He was at first in Dáúd's service, and occupied G'horág'hát at the time when Mun'im Khán had invaded Oṛísá (p. 370). Soon after, he entered Akbar's service, but continued to be employed in Bengal. In the 30th year, he suppressed disturbances at G'horág'hát (*Akbarn.* III., 470), and took part, in the 35th year, in the operations against Qutlú Khán. Two years later, he accompanied Mán Singh's expedition to Oṛísá.

He may have lived under Jahángír; for the Manklí Khán mentioned in the *Tuzuk* (pp. 70, 138) can only refer to him. The *Tuzuk* (p. 12) mentions a son of his, Hátim. Another son, Mahmúd, appears to have been a commander of 500, 300 horse under Sháhjahán (*Pádisháhn.* I., b., p. 323), though the text edition of the Bibl. Indica calls him *son of Yábú Maikalí* (يابو ميكلي, for بابو منكلي)

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[1] Jamíl is a common name among Turks. It is scarcely ever used in Hindústán.

XVI. *Commanders of Six Hundred.*

203. Muhammad Quli' Kha'n Turkma'n [Afshár, p. 411].

He served at first in Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt, he took the side of the rebels, but left them, and was pardoned by Akbar. In the 30th year, he marched with Mán Singh to Kábul, where he greatly distinguished himself. In the 39th year, when Qulij Khán (No. 42) was appointed to Kábul, Muhammad Qulí Khán, his brother Hamzah Beg (perhaps No. 277), and others, were sent to Kashmír, *vice* Yúsuf Khán (No. 35, and p. 411). In the 45th year, a party of Kashmíris tried to set up Ambá Chak'[1] as king; but they were defeated by 'Alí Qulí, son of M. Q. Kh. In the 47th year, M. Q. Kh. was made a commander of 1500, 600 horse; and Hamzah Beg, one of 700, 350 horse. New disturbances broke out, when in the following year 'Alí Rái, king of Little Tibet, invaded the frontier districts of Kashmír. He retreated on M. Q. Kh.'s arrival, and was vigorously pursued, when the imperialists were enforced by Saifullah (No. 262) from Láhor. In the 49th year, Ambá again appeared, but was driven, with some difficulty, from his mountains.

In the 2nd year of Jahángír's reign, M. Q. K. was removed from Kashmír. Hamzah Beg was in the 49th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 1000.

204. Bakhtya'r Beg Gurd i Sha'h Mansu'r.

The *Izáfat* most likely means that he was the son of Sháh Mançúr, in which case the word *gurd* (athlete) would be Bakhtyár's epithet. Two MSS. have the word *pisar* (son) instead of *gurd*.

The Ṭabaqát says, 'Bakhtyár Beg Turkmán in an Amír, and governs at present (1001) Síwistán.' In the 32nd year, he served against the Táríkís.

205. Haki'm Huma'm,[2] son of Mír 'Abdurrazzáq of Gílán.

Regarding his family connection, *vide* No. 112, p. 424. Humám's real name is Humáyún. When he came to Akbar's Court, he discreetly called himself Humáyún Qulí, or 'slave of Humáyún;' but soon afterwards, Akbar gave him the name of Humám. He held the office of Bakáwal Beg (p. 57), and though only a commander of 600, he was a personal friend of Akbar, and possessed great influence at court. In the 31st year, he was sent with Çadr Jahán (No. 194) to Túrán as ambassador. Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals on account of Humám's absence. He returned to India, about a month after his brother's death. He died in the 40th year, on the 6th Rabí' I., 1004. Badáoní (II., p. 406) says, the day after Humám's death, Kamálá (p. 264) also died, and their property was at once put under seal and escheated to the government, so that they were destitute of a decent shroud.

Humám had two sons—

1. *Hakím Háziq* (حاذق). He was born at Fathpúr Síkrí, and was a young man when his father died. At Sháhjahán's accession, he was made a commander of 1500, 600 horse, and was sent, in the 1st year, to Túrán as ambassador. He rose to a command of 3000. Later, for some reason, his mançab was cancelled, and he lived at Ágrah on a pension of 20,000 rupees *per annum*, which in the 18th

[1] The MSS. have انبا. The *Tuzuk* mentions 'a Kashmírí of royal blood,' of the name of انبه. He was killed by Sher Afkan (*vide* No. 394) at Bardwán, on the 3rd Çafar, 1016.

[2] Humám, not Hammám, is the Indian pronunciation.

year, was doubled. He died in the 31st year (1068).[1] He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of *Háziq*. His vanity is said to have been very great. A copy of his díwán was kept on a golden stool in his reception room, and visitors, when it was brought in or taken away, were expected to rise and make saláms; else he got offended.

2. *Hakím Khushhál.* He grew up with Prince Khurram. Sháhjahán, on his accession, made him a commander of 1000. He was for some time Bakhshí of the Dak'hin.

206. Mi'rza' Anwar, son of Khán i A'zam Mírzá Kokah (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on p. 328.

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. Baltu' Kha'n of Turkistán.

He was a grandee of Humáyún, and served in the Kábul war, and in the battles which led to H.'s restoration.

208. Mi'rak Baha'dur Arghu'n.

The Ṭabaqát says, he reached a command of 2000, and died. From the Akbarnámah (II., 170, 248) we see that he served in the conquest of Málwah (*vide* No. 120), and in the pursuit of Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17).

209. La'l Kha'n Kola'bi'.

He is also called La'l Khán *Badakhshí* (*vide* p. 438), and served under Humáyún in the war of the restoration (*Akbarn.* I., 411).* He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hemú. Later, he served under Mun'im in Bengal and Oṛísá, and died of fever at Gaur (p. 376).

210. Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh Salím.

He is the second (*miyání*) son of Shaikh Salím of Fathpúr Síkrí. He served at court with Shaikh Ibráhím (No. 82), and died in the 22nd year (985).

211. Iskandar Beg i Badakhshi'.

He is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (II., 251), as having served in the pursuit of Abul Ma'álí (end of the 8th year).

212. Beg Nu'ri'n Kha'n Qu'chi'n.

He served under Mu'izzul Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khairábád. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under 'Abdul Maṭlab (No. 83) and Çádiq Khán (No. 43) against the Táríkís.

The Ṭabaqát says he was a commander of 1000, and was dead in 1001.

213. Jala'l Kha'n Qu'rchi'.

Akbar was much attached to him. In the 5th year, he was sent to Rám Chand Bhagelah (No. 89) with the request to allow Tánsín to go to court. In the 11th year, it came to the emperor's ears that J. was passionately attached to a beautiful boy. Akbar had the boy removed; but J. managed to get him again, and fled with him from Court. M. Yúsuf Razawí pursued and captured them. After some time, J. was

[1] The *Maásir* says that the author of the *Mir-át-ul 'A'lam* mentions 1080 as the year of his death; but my MS. of the *Mir-át* (Chapter on the poets of the period from Humáyún to Aurangzíb) mentions no year.

restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Siwánah, and distinguished himself, in the 20th year, in the war with Rájah Chandr Sen of Márwár. During the expedition a Rájpút introduced himself to him, who pretended to be Deví Dás, who had been killed at Mírt'ha, evidently with the view of obtaining through him an introduction to Court. The stranger also reported that Chandr Sen had taken refuge with Kallá, son of Rám Rái and brother's son to Ch. S., and a detachment of imperialists was sent to Kallá's palace. Kallá now wished to take revenge on the stranger for spreading false reports, and induced Shimál Khán (No. 154) to help him. Shimál therefore invited the stranger; but though surrounded by Sh.'s men, the pretender managed to escape. He collected a few men, and entered one night a tent which he supposed to belong to Shimál. But it happened to be that of Jalál, who was cut down by the murderers (end of 983, *Akbarn.* III., 140).

It was Jalál who introduced the historian Badáoní at Court.

214. Parma'nand, the Khatrí.

He is mentioned in Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I., p. 244.

215. Timur Kha'n Yakkah.

He served under Mun'im (No. 11) in Kábul, and, in the 10th year, against Khán Zamán (*Akbarn.*, II., 236, 326).

The Timur i Badakhshí mentioned several times in the Akbarnámah (III., 165, 174) appears to be another officer. *Vide* No. 142.

216. Sa'ni' Kha'n of Harát.

He was born at Harát, and belonged to the Arlát (ارلات) clan. According to the Akbarnámah (I., 379), Mauláná Sání, 'who is now called *Sání Khán*', was in the service of Mírzá Hindál; but after the Mírzá's death (21st Zí Qa'dah, 958) he was taken on by Humáyún. He served in the wars with Khán Zamán.

Badáoní (III., 206) says that his real name was 'Alí Akbar. He was a fair poet, but a heretic, and like Tashbíhí of Káshán, wrote treatises on the Man of the Millennium, according to the Nuqṭawí doctrines (p. 452). Hence he must have been alive in 990.

217. Sayyid Jama'luddi'n, son of Sayyid Ahmad Bárha (No. 91).

Vide above p. 408. He had also served in the final war with Khán Zamán.

218. Jagma'l, the Puṉwár.

He served in the second Gujrát war after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád (p. 416, note).

219. Husain Beg, brother of Husain Khán Buzurg.

220. Hasan Kha'n Batani'.[1]

The Ṭabaqát classes him among the commanders of 1000. He was at first in the service of the Bengal king Sulaimán, and was present with Sulaimán Mankli (p. 370) and Kálá Pahár at the interview between Mun'im and Khán Zamán (No. 13) at Baksar (Buxar). *Akbarn.*, II., 325.

Hasan was killed with Bír Bar in the Khaibar Pass; *vide* p. 204. MSS. often call him wrongly *Husain* instead of *Hasan*.

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[1] *Baṭaní* is the name of an Afghán tribe, N. W. of Derá Ismá'íl Khán.

221. Sayyid Chhajhu',[1] of Bárha.

The Ṭabaqát says that S. Chhajhú was a brother of S. Mahmúd (No. 75), and distinguished for his courage and bravery. From the family genealogies of the Bárha clan it appears that S. Ch. was a Kúndlíwál. His tomb still exists at Majherah, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

222. Munsif Kha'n, Sulṭán Muhammad of Harát.

223. Qa'zi' Kha'n Bakhshi'.

Some MSS. have *Badakhshí* instead of *Bakhshi*. *Vide* No. 144. On p. 383, l. 10, we have to read No. 144 for No. 223.

224. Ha'j'i Yu'suf Kha'n.

He was at first in Kámrán's service. In the 12th year, he joined the corps of Qiyá Khán (No. 33), and rendered assistance to M. Yúsuf Khán, whom Khán Zamán No. 13) besieged in Qanauj. In the 17th year, he operated under Khán 'Álam (No. 58) against M. Ibráhím Husain, and was present in the battle of Sarnál. In the 19th year, he went with Mun'im to Bengal and Oṛísá, and died after his return at Gaur (p. 376).

225. Ra'wul Bhi'm of Jaisalmír.

The *Tuzuk* says (p. 159),—'On the 9th Khurdád (middle of 1025), Kalyán of Jaisalmír was introduced at court by Rájah Kishn Dás, whom I had sent to him. Kalyán's elder brother was *Ráwul Bhím*, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhím's daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of *Malikah i Jahán*. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhím's brother to court, invested him with the *ṭiká*, and made him Ráwul'.[2]

For Kalyán, *vide* under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahángír's reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 1000 horse (Tuzuk, p. 163).

226. Ha'shim Beg, son of Qásim Khán (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulij Khán (No. 42), the new governor of Kábul, Háshim returned to court. In the 41st year, he served

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[1] The spelling 'Chhajhú' is preferable to 'Jhajhú.'

[2] The list of Jahángír's wives on p. 310, may be increased by ten other princesses. (1) Malikah i Jahán, daughter of Ráwul Bhím of Jaisalmír. (2) The beautiful daughter of Zain Kokah, mentioned on p. 345. There is a curious discrepancy between *Tuzuk*, p. 8, and *Akbarnámah*, III., 594: Jahángír says that Parwíz was his son by Zain Kokah's daughter, and Abulfazl says that Parwíz's mother was the daughter of Khwájah Hasan, Zain Khán's uncle (*vide* also p. 344); but there is no doubt that Parwíz was born in the 34th year, on the 19th A'bán, 997, whilst Jahángír, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zain Khán's daughter (p. 345). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Ahmad's text of *Tuzuk*, p. 8, be correct, that Jahángír had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to his second son. (3) Núrunnisá Begum, sister of Mírzá Muzaffar Husain, p. 464. (4) A daughter of the king of Khandesh. This princess died in the 41st year of Akbar's reign. (5) Çálihah Bánú, daughter of Qáim Khán, p. 371. (6) A daughter of Khwájah Jahán i Kábulí (Dost Muhammad). (7) A daughter of Sa'íd Khán Gakk'har. Her daughter, 'Iffat Bánú, is mentioned, *Akbarnámah*, III., 561. (8) The mother of Daulat Nisá, *Akbarn.* III., 597. The MSS. do not clearly give the name of the father of this princess. (9) A daughter of Mírzá Sanjar, son of Khizr Khán Hazárah; *Akbarn.*, III., 607. (10) A daughter of Rám Chand Bundelah, (No. 248), married in 1018; *Tuzuk*, p. 77.

under M. Rustam (No. 9) against Bású and other rebellious zamíndárs in the north-eastern part of the Panjáb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Mau. In the 44th year, he served under Faríd i Bukhárí (No. 99) before Ásír. Later, he went with Sa'ádat Khán to Násik.[1] After the conquest of Tiranbak, he returned to court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1500.

In the first year of Jahángír's reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 1500 horse. In the 2nd year, his mançab was increased to 3000, 2000 horse, and he was made governor of Oṛísá. In the 5th year, he was transferred to Kashmír, his uncle Khwájagí Muhammad Husain (No. 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Oṛísá. His successor in Oṛísá was Rájah Kalyán, brother of Bhím (No. 225).

Háshim's son is the renowned Muhammad Qásim Khán Mír Átish. He was, in the 18th year of Sháhjahán, a commander of 1000, 500 horse, Dároghah of the Top-khánah and Koṭwál of the camp. He distinguished himself in Balkh, Andkhúd, received the title of Mu'tamid Khán, and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2000, 1000 horse, and Ákhtah Begí. In the following year, he was promoted to a command of 3000, and also got the title of Qásim Khán. He then served under Aurangzíb in Qandahár, and was made, in the 28th year, a commander of 4000, 2500 horse. In the next year, he destroyed Fort Sántúr (صانتور), which the ruler of Srínagar had repaired. Later, he was made by Dárá Shikoh a commander of 5000, 5000 sihaspah-duaspah, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Ahmadábád (Gujrát), whilst Jaswant Singh was made governor of Málwah. Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujjain, and keep Prince Murád Bakhsh in check. When the Prince left Gujrát, the two commanders marched against him *viá* Bánswárah; but when approaching K'háchrod, Murád suddenly retreated 18 *kos*, and joined, seven *kos* from Ujjain, the army of Aurangzíb. The two chiefs had received no information of Aurangzíb's march. They attacked him, however, but were totally defeated (near Ujjain, 22nd Rajab, 1068). In the first battle between Aurangzíb and Dárá, at Samogar,[2] Qásim commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhal and Murádábád as *tuyúl*, as Rustam Khán i Dak'hiní, the former jágírdár, had fallen at Samogar. Qásim was then charged with the capture of Sulaimán Shikoh. In the 3rd year of Aurangzíb's reign, he was appointed to Mathurá. On the way, he was murdered by a brother of his, who is said to have led a miserable life (1071). The murderer was executed at Aurangzíb's order.

227. Mi'rza' Fari'du'n, son of Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás (No. 31).

He has been mentioned above, p. 342. His death took place at Udaipúr in 1023 (Tuzuk, p. 131).

228. Yu'suf Kha'n [Chak], king of Kashmír.

Yúsuf's father was 'Alí Khán Chak, king of Kashmír. He died from a hurt he received during a game at *chaugán* (p. 297), having been violently thrown on the pommel of the saddle (*pesh-kohah i zín*). On his death, Yúsuf was raised to the throne (*Akbarnámah*, III., 237). He first surrounded the palace of his uncle Abdál,

[1] This Sa'ádat Khán had first been in the service of the Dak'hin kings as commander of the Forts of Gálnah and Tiranbak; but later he entered Akbar's service.

[2] *Vide* Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1870, p. 275.

who aimed at the crown, and in the fight which ensued, Abdál was shot. A hostile party, thereupon, raised one Sayyid Mubárak to the throne, and in a fight which took place on the maidán of Srínagar, where the 'Íd prayer is said, Yúsuf was defeated. Without taking further part in the struggle, he fled, and came, in the 24th year, to Akbar's Court, where he was well received. During his stay at court, Sayyid Mubárak had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yúsuf's uncle, had been made king. In the 25th year, (*Akbarn.*, III., 288), the emperor ordered several Panjáb nobles to reinstate Yúsuf. When the imperial army reached Pinjar, the Kashmírís sued for mercy, and Yúsuf, whom they had solicited to come alone, without informing Akbar's commanders, entered Kashmír, seized Lohar Chak without fighting, and commenced to reign.

Some time after, Çálih Díwánah reported to the emperor how firmly and independently Yúsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shaikh Ya'qúb i Kashmírí, a trusted servant, with his son Haidar to Kashmír, to remind Yúsuf of the obligations under which he lay to the emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yúsuf sent his son Ya'qúb with presents to Akbar, but refused personally to pay his respects, although the court, in the 30th year, had been transferred to the Panjáb; and Ya'qúb, who had hitherto been with the emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The emperor then sent Hakím 'Alí (No. 192) and Baháuddín Kambú to Yúsuf, to persuade him to come, or, if he could not himself come, to send again his son. As the embassy was without result, Akbar ordered Sháhrukh Mírzá (No. 7) to invade Kashmír. The imperial army marched over Pak'hlí, and was not far from Bárah Múlah, when Yúsuf submitted and surrendered himself (*Akbarn.* III., 492).[1] Sháhrukh was on the point of returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yúsuf being kept a prisoner, the Kashmírís raised Aulád Husain, and, soon after, Ya'qúb, Yúsuf's son, to the throne; but he was every where defeated. Information of Yúsuf's submission and the defeat of the Kashmírís was sent to court, and at Srínagar the *khuṭbah* was read, and coins were struck, in Akbar's name. The cultivation of za'farán (p. 84)[2] and silk, and the right of hunting, were made imperial monopolies (p. 411). On the approach of the cold season, the army returned with Yúsuf Khán, and arrived, in the 31st year, at court. Todar Mall was made responsible for Yúsuf's person.

As Ya'qúb Khán and a large party of Kashmírís continued the struggle, Qásim (No. 59) was ordered to march into Kashmír, to put an end to the rebellion. Ya'qúb was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year, Yúsuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jágír in Bihár (*Akbarn.*, III., 547), and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal. In the 37th year, he accompanied Mán Singh, to Oṛísá, and commanded the detachment, which marched over Jháṛkand and Kokrah[3] (Chutiá Nágpúr) to Mednípúr (*Akbarn.*, III., 641).

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[1] The *Akbarnámah* (III., 492) calls the pass near Bárah Múlah, where Yúsuf surrendered, بولیاس. The *Maásir* has بولىاس. It is evidently the same pass which the *Tuzuk* (p. 292) calls بهولباس کوتل, 2½ *kos* from Bárah Múlah. The *Tuzuk* says that Bárah Múlah means 'place of the boar (*bárá*)', which is one of the avatárs.

[2] Regarding the cultivation of za'farán (saffron) *vide* also *Tuzuk*, p. 45.

[3] Kokrah was mentioned above on p. 401. It is the old name of Chutiá Nágpúr, one of the parganahs of which is still called Kokrah, or Khukra, as spelt

Ya'qúb Khán, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 34th year, the court had gone to Kashmír (p. 380).

Yúsuf Khán is not to be confounded with No. 388.

229. Nu'r Qulij, son of Áltún Qulij.

Altún or *áltún* is Turkish, and means 'gold.'

Núr Qulij was a relation of Qulij Khán (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to Ídar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmír to Gogundah. In the fight with the zamíndár of Ídar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sulṭán Murád against Mírzá Muhammad Hakím. In the 30th year, he again served under Qulij Khán, who had been made governor of Gujrát. He continued to serve there under the Khánkhánán (No. 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to court.

230. Mi'r 'Abdul Hai, Mír 'Adl.

The Ṭabaqát calls him *Khwájah* 'Abdul Hai, and says that the was an Amír. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468,471.

231. Sha'h Quli' Kha'n Na'ranji'.

Abulfazl says that Sháh Qulí was a Kurd from near Baghdád. He was an old servant of Humáyún. In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under Khizr Khán (p. 365, note 2) in the Panjáb. He was much attached to Bairám. In the 11th year, he was sent to Gaḍha, when Mahdí Qásim Khán (No. 36) had left that province without permission for Makkah.

The Ṭabaqát calls him a commander of 1000.

His son, Pádisháh Qulí, was a poet, and wrote under the name of *Jazbí*. A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets.

232. Farrukh Kha'n, son of Khán i Kalán (No. 16).

He was mentioned on pp. 322 and 357. According to the Ṭabaqát, he served, in 1001, in Bengal.

233. Sha'dma'n, son of Khán i A'zam Kokah (No. 21).

Vide above, p. 328.

234. Haki'm 'Ainul Mulk, of Shíráz.

He is not to be confounded with Hakím ul Mulk; *vide* below among the Physicians of the court.

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on the survey maps. The Rájah, Col. Dalton informs me, once resided in Kokrah at a place in Lat. 23° 20′ and Long. 88° 87′, nearly, where there is still an old fort. *Vide* also Vth Report (Madras edition, vol. I., p. 503; old edition, p. 417).

The Rájah of Kokrah who, in the 30th year, succumbed to Shahbáz Khán (p. 401) is called Mádhú. In the 37th year, Mádhú and Lak'hmí Rái of Kokrah served in Yúsuf Khán's detachment, to which the contingents also of Sangrám Singh Sháhá of K'harakpúr (p. 446, and Proceedings, A. S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Púran Mall of Gidhor belonged (*Akbarnámah*, III., 641).

Kokrah is again mentioned in the Tuzuk i Jahángírí (pp. 154, 155), where it is defined as a hilly district between south Bihár and the Dak'hin. It was run over, in the beginning of 1025, by Ibráhím Khán Fath-jang, governor of Bihár, who was dissatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Rájahs sent him as tribute. The then Rájah is called Durjun Sál. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihár.

The Tuzuk has (*l. c.*) a few interesting notes on the diamonds of Kokrah.

He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician Muhaqqiq i Dawwání. The Historian Badáoní was a friend of his. Akbar also liked him very much. In the 9th year, he was sent as ambassador to Chingiz Khán of Gujrát. In the 17th year, he brought I'timád Khán (No. 67) and Mír Abú Turáb to the emperor. He also accompanied Akbar on his march to the eastern provinces of the empire. Afterwards, in 983, he was sent to 'Ádil Khán of Bíjápúr, from where, in 985, he returned to court (*Badáoní*, II., 250). He was then made Faujdár of Sambhal. In the 26th year, when 'Arab Bahádur and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified Barelí, and refusing all offers, held out till the arrival of an Imperial corps, when he defeated the rebels. In the same year, he was made Çadr of Bengal, and in the 31st year, Bakhshí of the Çúbah of Ágrah. He was then attached to the Dak'hin corps of 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21), and received Handiah as jágír. When 'Azíz, for some reason, cancelled his jágír, he went without permission to court (35th year), but was at first refused audience. On enquiry, however, Akbar reinstated him.

He died at Handiah on the 27th Zí Hajjah, 1003 (Badáoní II., 403).

The Mírzáí Masjid, also called Pádisháhí Masjid, in Old Barelí, Mírzáí Mahallah, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987 (24th year), when the Hakím was Faujdár of Sambhal.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the *takhalluç* of Dawáí.

235. Ja'nish Baha'dur.

Jánish Bahádur was mentioned on p. 345. He was at first in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, king of Kábul. After the death, in the 30th year, of his master, he came with his sons to India. Soon after, he served under Zain Kokah (No. 34) against the Yúsufzaís, and saved Zain's life in the Khaibar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khánkhánán in T'hat'hah, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to court. Later, he served in the Dak'hin. He died in the 46th year (1009). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, *Shujá'at Khán Shádí Beg*. He was made, in the 7th year of Sháhjahán's reign, a commander of 1000, and received the title of Shád Khán. In the 12th year, he was sent as ambassador to Nazr Muhammad Khán of Balkh. On his return, in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, *vide* Sháh Qulí Khán. Afterwards, on the death of Ghairat Khán, he was made governor of T'hat'hah, and a commander of 2000. In the 19th year, he was with Prince Murád Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshán. In the 21sth year, he was appointed governor of Kábul, *vice* Síwá Rám, and held, in the following year, an important command under Aurangzíb in the Qandahár expedition and the conquest of Bust. In the 23rd year, he was made a commander of 3000, 2500 horse, and received the coveted distinction of a flag and a drum. Two years later, in the 25th year, he served again before Qandahár, and was made, on Sháhjahán's arrival in Kábul, a commander of 3500, 3000 horse, with the title of *Shujá'at Khán*. In the 26th year, he served under Dárá Shikoh before Qandahár, and with Rustam Khán Bahádur at Bust. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muhammad Sa'íd.

236. Mi'r Ta'hir i Músawí.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 94, 111, and 201. According to the Ṭabaqát, Mír Ṭáhir is 'the brother of Mírzá Yúsuf Razawí (No. 37), and was distinguished for his bravery." It would thus appear that Abulfazl makes no difference between the terms *Razawí* and *Músawí* (*vide* p. 381, under No. 61).

237. Mi'rza' 'Ali' Beg 'Alamsháhí.

He is mentioned in the Akbarnámah among the grandees who accompanied Mun'im to Bengal and Oṛísá, and took part in the battle of Takaroí (p. 375). After the outbreak of the Bengal Military revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by Mír Zakí, 'Abdí Kor, Shiháb i Badakhshí, and Kújak Yasáwul, to go over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered; they were all imprisoned, but Mír Zakí alone was executed. *Akbarnámah*, III., 262.

His epithet *'Alamsháhí* is not clear to me.

He must not be confounded with the more illustrious

[Mi'rza' 'Ali' Beg i Akbarsháhí].[1]

He was born in Badakhshán, and is said to have been a highly educated man. When he came to India, he received the title of *Akbarsháhí*. In the 30th year, he commanded the Ahadís on Sháhrukh's expedition to Kashmír (p. 479).

Later, he served under Prince Murád in the Dak'hin. When the prince, after making peace, returned from Ahmadnagar, Çádiq Khán (No. 43) occupied Mahkar. But new disturbances broke out under the Dak'hin leaders Azhdar Khán and 'Ain Khán, against whom Çádiq sent a corps under M. 'Alí Beg. He suddenly fell over them, and routed them, carrying off much plunder and many dancing girls (*zanán i ak'háṛah*). In consequence of this defeat, Khudáwand Khán and other Amírs of the Nizámsháh marched against the imperialists with 10,000 horse, but Çádiq and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took Fort Ráhútarah (راهوتره) near Daulatábád, after a siege of one month, occupied, in the same year, Paṭan on the Godávarí, and took Fort Lohgaḍh. "Both forts," says the author of the Maásir, "have, from want of water, become uninhabitable (*mismár shudah*), and are so to this day." Later, M. A. B. served under Abulfazl, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Khánkhánán, in the Dak'hin.

In the beginning of Jahángír's reign, he was made a commander of 4000, jágírdár of Sambhal, and governor of Kashmír. He served in the pursuit of Khusrau (Tuzuk, p. 30). Later, he received a *tuyúl* in Audh. When Jahángír went to Ajmír, he went to court. One day, he paid a visit to the tomb of Mu'ínuddín i Chishtí. On seeing the tomb of Shahbáz Khán (p. 401), he stooped down, and embracing it, exclaimed, "Oh! he was an old friend of mine." The same moment, he fell forward a corpse, and was buried at the same spot (22nd Rabí' I., 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them well. In his habits he was an epicurean. He was looked upon as a great patron of the learned. He died childless, at the age of seventy-five (Tuzuk, p. 163).

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[1] The *Tuzuk* (p. 11) says, he belonged to the *ulús i Dihlí*, a very doubtful term, as he belonged to Badakhshán. Perhaps we have to read *ulús i duldai* (p. 388).

238. Ra'm Da's, the Kachwáhah.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordat (اوردت), and lived at Lúní (or Baunlí, *vide* p. 398). Rám Dás was at first in the service of Rái Sál Darbárí (No. 106), and was recommended by him to the emperor. His faithfulness was almost proverbial. In the 17th year, when Todar Mall was ordered to assist Mun'im in Bihár, he was made his *náib* in the Financial Department, and gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and diligence. He amassed a fortune, and though he had a palace in A'grah near Hatiá-pul, he lived in the guard house, 'always watching with his 200 Rájpúts, spear in hand.'

Immediately before Akbar's death, he put his men over the treasures of the palace with a view to preserve them for the lawful heir. Jahángír, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him, in the 6th year, with 'Abdullah Khán to Gujrát and the Dak'hin, and gave him the title of Rájah and a flag, Rantanbhúr being assigned to him as jágír (*Tuzuk*, p. 98). It seems that he received the title of *Rájah Karan*. After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahángír wished to make an example of the Amírs who had brought disgrace on the imperial arms. He ordered their pictures to be drawn, and taking the portraits one after the other into his hand, abused each Amír right royally. Looking at Rám Dás's portrait, he said, "Now, when thou wert in Rái Sál's service, thou hadst a tankah *per diem;* but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amír. Do not Rájpúts think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas! thy title, Rájah Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith." Rám Dás was immediately sent to Bangash, where, in the same year, he died (1022). When Jahángír heard of his death, he said, "My curse has come true; for the Hindús believe that a man who dies beyond the Indus, will go straight to hell."

He was a liberal man, and gave rich presents to jesters and singers.

His eldest son, *Naman Dás*, in the 48th year of Akbar's reign, left the court without permission, and went home. At the request of his father, Sháh Qulí Khán's men were to bring him back to court by force. But Naman defied them; a struggle ensued, and he was killed. Rám Dás was so grieved, that Akbar paid him a visit of condolence.

His second son, *Dalap Dás*, had the same character as his father; but he died young.

In the *Tuzuk* (p. 312), a villa near a spring called Inch (انچ), between Bánpúr and Kákápúr in Kashmír, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Rám Dás. *Vide* also Tuzuk, p. 39, l. 3.

239. Muhammad Kha'n Niya'zi'.

Abulfazl ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahángír, he rose to a command of 2000. Like Mírzá Rustam Çafawí and Abul Hasan Turbatí, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muhammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Shahbáz was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees *per annum*. Later, he served under the Khánkhánán in the conquest of T'hat'hah, and inflicted the final blow on Mírzá Jání

Beg (No. 47) near Lak'hí,[1] where he obtained a signal victory, though far outnumbered by the enemies. From that time, the Khánkhánán was his friend.

Under Jahángír, he took a leading part in the Dak'hin wars, especially in the fights with Malik 'Ambar near Kharkí, a famous battle field (*vide* note to No. 255), and continued to serve there under Prince Sháhjahán.

He died in 1037. The *táríkh* of his death is محمد خان اولیا بمرد, 'Muhammad Khán, the saint, is dead.' He was a man of great piety. His day was carefully divided; religious exercises, the reading of commentaries on the Qorán, conversing with holy men, sleeping and eating, each had its fixed time. Nor did he ever depart from his routine except on the march. He never neglected the ablution (*wuzú*) prescribed by the law. People told many miraculous stories (*khawáriq*) of him.

During his long stay in the Dak'hin, he held Áshtí (in the Wardah district) as jágír, and made it his home. He adorned the town with several mosques, houses, and gardens. "At present," says the author of the *Maásir*, "there is only one of his hundred houses left, the store house where his lamps were kept; the whole town and the neighbourhood are deserted, and do not yield the tenth part of the old revenue. Even among his descendants there is none left that may be called a man of worth (*kase namánd kih rushde dáshtah báshad*)."[2]

He was buried in Áshtí. People often pray at his tomb.

The men of his contingent were mostly Niyází Afgháns. If one of them died, he gave a month's pay to his family; or, if he had no children, half a month's pay to his heirs.

His son, Ahmad Khán Niyází, was in the 20th year of Sháhjahán's reign a commander of 2500 (*Pádisháhnámah*, II., 386, 725).

240. Abul Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khán (No. 74).

From the Akbarnámah (III., 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was stationed in Chanderí and Narwar, and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihár

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[1] *Vide* Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, Vol. I., p. 250.

[2] "The emperor Jahángír gave the Áshtí, Amner, Paunár, and Táligánw (Barár) parganahs in jágír to Muhammad Khán Niyází. He restored Áshtí, and brought the country round under cultivation. A handsome mausoleum was built over his grave in Mughul style. Muhammad Khán was succeeded by Ahmad Khán, who died in 1061. A similar mausoleum was erected over his tomb, but smaller and of inferior workmanship. The two stand side by side within an enclosure, and are the sights of Áshtí. They are indeed striking monuments of art to find in such a remote spot as this. After the death of Ahmad Khán, the power of the Niyázís gradually declined; in time Áshtí itself passed from their hands into the possession of the Marhatta officials, and now nothing remains to them save a few rent-free fields, sufficient merely for their subsistence. The tombs of their ancestors were already falling into disrepair owing to the poverty of the family, when they were taken in hand by the district authorities as worthy objects of local interest, and restored from municipal funds. Lately, in consideration of the past history of the family, and the local respect which it commands, the Government conferred on Nawáb Wáhid Khán, one of its representatives in Áshtí, the powers of an honorary magistrate."

"*Karanja.* A small octroi town in the Árví tahçíl of the Wardah district. It was founded some 260 years by Nawáb Muhammad Khán Niyází of Áshtí." Extracts from C. Grant's Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, second edition, 1870, pp. 7 and 236.

rebels (III., 273). In the 28th year, he served in Gujrát (III., 423, and *Badáoní* II., (323). *Vide* also p. 389.

241. Khwájagí Muhammad Husain, Mír Barr.

He is the younger brother of Qásim Khán (No. 59), and had the title of *Mír Barr*, in contradistinction to that of his brother. He came in the 5th year with Mun'im (No. 11) from Kábul to India. When dissensions broke out between Ghaní Khán, Mun'im's son, and Haidar Muhammad Khán Ákhtahbegí (No. 66), whom Mun'im had left as his *náibs* in Kábul, Haidar was called to court, and Abul Fath,[1] son of Mun-'im's brother, was sent there to assist Ghaní. Muhammad Husain accompanied Abul Fath. He remained a long time in Kábul. After his return to India, he accompanied the emperor on his march to Kashmír. His honesty and punctuality made him a favorite with the emperor, and he was appointed *Mír Bakáwal* (master of the imperial kitchen), and was also made a commander of 1000.

In the 5th year of Jahángír, he officiated for Háshim (No. 226) as governor of Kashmír. On Háshim's arrival he returned to court, and died in the end of the 7th year (1021; *Tuzuk*, p. 114).

He had no children. The Tuzuk says that he was quite bald, and had neither moustache nor beard. His voice was shrill like that of a eunuch.

242. Abul Qásim, brother of 'Abdul Qádir Ákhúnd.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 251. Badáoní (II., 323) calls him a native of Tabríz, and says that his brother was Akbar's teacher (*ákhúnd*). In 991, Abul Qásim was made Díwán of Gujrát.

243. Qamar Khán, son of Mír 'Abdullaṭíf of Qazwín (No. 161).

He served under Mun'im (No. 11) in Bengal, and was present in the battle of Takaroí (p. 375). In the 22nd year, he served under Shiháb in Gujrát (*Akbarn.*, III., 190), and in the 24th year, under Todar Mall in Bihár. In the 25th year, he took part in the battle near Sulṭánpúr Bilharí (p. 400, and *Akbarn.*, III., 305).

His son, Kaukab, fell under Jahángír for some fault into disgrace. He was flogged and imprisoned. Regarding his restoration to favour, *vide* Tuzuk, p. 219.

244. Arjun Singh,
245. Sabal Singh,
256. Sakat Singh, } sons of Rájah Mán Singh (No. 30).

Some MSS. have *Durjan*[2] instead of *Arjun*. The name of Sakat Singh, moreover, recurs again at No. 342. There is little doubt that at the latter place we should read *Himmat Singh*, though all MSS. have *Sakat*.

Nor is it clear why Abulfazl has not entered the name of Bháo Singh, who at Akbar's death was a commander of 1000, and was gradually promoted, during Jahángír's reign, to a mançab of 5000. Like his elder brother Jagat Singh (No. 160), he died from excessive drinking (1030). His name often occurs in the Tuzuk.

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[1] Abul Fath, who on p. 318 has erroneously been called Abdul Fath, was the son of Fazíl Beg, Mun'im's brother. *Badáoní* II., 56 has *Fazáil* Beg, but the *Akbarnámah* and the *Maásir* have *Fazíl*.

[2] The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnámah (III., 642) has also *Durjan*, and (by mistake) *Síl* for *Sabal* Singh. The Subhán Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Mán Singh.

Arjun Singh, Sabal Singh, and Sakat Singh, served in the 37th year in the conquest of Oṛísá. Sakat Singh, in the 26th year (989), had served in Kábul. They died before their father.

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afgháns.

Col. J. C. Brooke in his *Political History of the State of Jeypore* (Selections from the Records, Government of India, Foreign Department, No. LXV, 1868) mentions six sons of Mán Singh, Jagat, Arjun, Himmat, Sakat, Bhím, and Kalyán Singh. The last two are not mentioned by Muhammadan historians; nor are Bháo and Sabal mentioned by Brooke. *Vide* '*A Chapter from Muhammadan History*,' in the Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

246. Mustafa' Ghilzi'.

A Sayyid Muçṭafá is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (III., 416). He served in the 28th year in Gujrát, and was present in the battle near Maisánah, 18 *kos* S. E. of Paṭan, in which Sher Khán Fúládí was defeated.

247. Nazar Kha'n, son of Sa'íd Khán, the Gakk'har.

A brother of his is mentioned below, No. 332. *Vide* Nos. 170, 171.

The Ṭabaqát calls him Nazar *Beg*, son of Sa'íd Khán, and says that in 1001, he was a Hazárí.

Mughul Historians give the following tree of the Gakk'har chiefs—

Sulṭán Tatár, the Gakk'har.

- 1. Sulṭán Sárang
  - 1. Kamál Khán
    - Mubárak Khán (No. 171)
  - 2. Sa'íd Khán
    - 1. Nazar Khán (No. 247)
    - 2. Sháh Muhammad (No. 332)
- 2. Sulṭán Ádam
  - 1. Lashkarí
  - 2. Muhammad Khán
    - Jalál Khán (No. 170)
      - Akbar Qulí Sulṭán
        - Murád Qulí Sulṭán
          - Allah Qulí

Jalál Khán was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash, and his son Akbar Qulí, who then served at Kángṛah, was made a commander of 1000, and sent to Bangash (Tuzuk, pp. 307, 308).

Jahángír, after the suppression of Khusrau's revolt passed on his way to Kábul through the Gakk'har district (Tuzuk, pp. 47,48). He left the Bahat (1st Muharram, 1016) and came to Fort Rohtás, the cost of which he states to have been 161,000,000 dáms, 'which is equal to 4,025,000 rupees in Hindústání money, or 120,000 Persian tumáns, or 1 *irb*, 2,175,000 silver Hális of Turání money.' After a march of 4¾ *kos*, he came to Ṭílah, *ṭílah* in the Gakk'har dialect meaning 'a hill.' He then came to Dih Bhakrálah, *bhakrá* meaning 'forest.' The way from Ṭílah to Bhakrá passes along the bed of the Káhan river, the banks of which are full *kanír* flowers. He then came to Hatiá, which was built by a Gakk'har of the name of Hát'hí (mentioned in Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakk'hars, Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1871). The district from Márgalah to Hatiá is called Poṭ'hwár; and from Rohtás to Hatiá

dwell the Bhúgiáls, a tribe related to the Gakk'hars. From Hatiá, he marched 4½ *kos* and reached *Pakkah*, so called because it has a *pucca* sarái. Four and a half *kos* further on, he came to Kuṛaṛ, which means in the Gakk'har dialect 'rugged.' He then went to Ráwalpinḍí, which is said to have been built by a Hindú of the name Ráwal, *pinḍí* meaning 'a village,' and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place. From Ráwalpinḍí he went to Kharbuzah, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (kharbuzah). The Gakk'hars used formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kálápání, and to the Márgalah pass, *már* meaning 'killing,' and *galah* 'a carawan.' "Here ends the country of the Gakk'hars. They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not."[1]

The *Pádisháhnámah* (II., 240, 264, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakk'har chiefs—

1. Akbar Qulí Sulṭán, a commander of 1500, 1500 horse, died in the 18th year of Sháhjahán's reign. His son Murád Qulí Sulṭán, was under Sháhjahán a commander of 1500, 1000 horse (*Pádisháhn.* II., 410, 485, 512, 523, 565, 595, 655, 730).

2. Jabbár Qulí, (brother of Jalál Khán),[2] 1000, 800 horse.

3. Khizr Sulṭán, (son of Nazar Khán),[2] 800, 500 horse, died in the 12th year Shahj.'s reign.

The Pádisháhnámah (I., p. 432) mentions Gakk'hars' mules as famous.

The *Maásir i 'A'lamgírí* (p. 155) also mentions Murád Qulí and his son Allah Qulí. Allah Qulí's daughter was married to Prince Muhammad Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzíb, on the 3rd Rajab, 1087.

248. Rám Chand, son of Madhukar [Bundelah].

He is also called *Rám Sáh*, and was mentioned on p. 356. He was introduced at court by Çádiq Khán (No. 43), when Akbar was in Kashmír (1000). In the first year of Jahángír's reign, we find him in rebellion, evidently because his right of succession was rendered doubtful by the predilection of the emperor for Bir Singh Deo, Rám Chand's younger brother. In the end of the first year, he was attacked by 'Abdullah Khán, who moved from Kálpí, his jágír, to Uṉḏchah. On the 27th Zí Qa'dah 1015, Rám Chand was brought fettered to court; but Jahángír had his fetters taken off, gave him a dress of honor, and handed him over to Rájah Bású of Dhamerí. 'He never thought that he would be treated so kindly' (*Tuzuk*, p. 42). But Uṉḏchah was handed over to Bir Singh Deo as reward for the murder of Abulfazl.

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[1] For the geographical details of this passage I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Delmerick. The *Tuzuk* has *Pílah* of *Tílah*; *Bhakrá* for *Bhakrálah*, and the Persian word *khánah* for *Káhan* (کاهن), the name of the river near Bhakrálah—a most extraordinary mistake; *kor* for *Kuṛaṛ* or *Gúrá*, a village near Manikyálah; *Ponhúhár* for *Poṭhwár*. Mr. Delmerick also says that the river near Hatiá, or *Hát'hiá*, is called Kásí, and that near Ráwalpinḍí is the Lahí, which forces a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the Sohan. Sarái Kharbuzah is also called Sarái Mádhú.

On the same page of Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, we have to read *Khattar* and *Dilah-zák*, for *Khar* and *Dilah-zák*. The Khattars occupy the district called Kháṭar, and the Dilah-záks are found in the Ch'hach valley of the Indus.

Poṭ'hwár is the country between the Jhelam and the Sohan; but Jahángír extends it to the Márgalah pass from Hatiá (30 miles from the Jhelam).

[2] So according to Mr. Delmerick.

In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahángír married Rám Chand's daughter at the request of her father (*vide* Tuzuk, p. 77; and No. 225, note).

He appears to have died in 1021, and was succeeded by his son Bhárat Singh. Tuzuk, p. 112.

Muhammadan Historians give the following tree of the Uṇḍchah Bundelahs—

Rájah Partáb, founds Uṇḍchah in 1531, A. D.

- 1. Bhárat Chand, (died childless).
- 2. Madhukar Singh, (dies 1000).
    - 1. Rám Chand, (dies 1021).
        - A son.
            - Bhárat.
                - Debí Singh.
    - 2. Hoḍal Ráo, (killed, p. 356).
    - 3. Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abulfazl (dies 1036).
        - 1. Jhujhár Singh.
            - Bikramájít.
        - 2. Paháṛ Singh.
            - Subhán Singh.
                - Prit'hí Singh.
                    - Saṇwal Singh.
        - 3. Chandr Man.
        - 4. Bení Dás.
        - 5. Bhagwán Dás.

The *Maásir* contains biographical notes of nearly all of them. *Vide* also Thornton's Gazetteer, under *Oorcha*.

Bení Dás and Bhagwán Dás were killed by a Rájpút in the 13th year of Sháhjahán's reign. They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1000, 600 horse, respectively.

Chandr Man was in the 20th year of Sh. a commander of 1500, 800 horse.

Vide Pádisháhnámah I., 172 (where another Bundelah of the name of Suhk Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 368, 372, 425; II., 731, 734.

The *Maásir i 'Álamgírí* mentions several Bundelahs, as Satr Sál, Jáswant Singh, Indarman (*died* 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champat (*l. c.*, pp. 161, 163, 169, 273, 424). *Vide* also under No. 249.

Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abulfazl, in often called in bad MSS. *Nar* Singh Deo. Thus also in the printed editions of the Tuzuk, the 1st volume of Pádisháhnámah, the 'Álamgírnámah, &c., and in Elphinstone's History. The temples which he built in Mat'hurá at a cost of 33 lacs of Rupees, were destroyed by Aurangzíb in 1080. (*Maásir i 'Álamgírí*, p. 95).[1]

249. Ra'jah Mukatman, the Bhadauriah.

Bhadáwar is the name of a district S. E. of A'grah; its chief town is Hatkánt'h (*vide* p. 323, note 4). The inhabitants are called Bhadauriahs. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, they managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted.

The next chief, Mukaṭman, entered the imperial service, and rose to a mançab of 1000. In 992, he served in Gujrát (*Akbarnámah* III., 423, 438).

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[1] The Dutch traveller DeLaët has an interesting passage regarding Abulfazl's death (*De Imperio Magni Mogulis*, Leyden, 1631, p. 209). He calls Bir Singh *Radzia Bertzingh Bondela*.

Under Jahángír, we find a chief of the name of Rájah Bikramájít, who served under 'Abdullah against the Ráná, and later in the Dak'hin. He died in the 11th year of Jahángír and was succeeded by his son Bhoj. Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk (p. 108) mentions a Bhadauriah chief Mangat, who in the 7th year served in Bangash ; but the name is doubtful.

Under Sháhjahán, the head of the Bhadauriah clan was Rájah Kishn Singh. He served in the first year under Mahábat Khán against Jhujhár Singh, and in the 3rd year, against Khán Jahán Lodí and the Nizám ul Mulk, who had afforded Khán Jahán protection. In the 6th year, he distinguished himself in the siege of Daulatábád. Three years later, in the 9th year, he served under Khán Zamán against Sáhú Bhonslah. He died in the 17th year (1053).

In the *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., 309) he is mentioned as a commander of 1000, 600 horse.

As Kishn Singh had only a son by a concubine, he was succeeded by Badan Singh,[1] grandson of Kishn's uncle. He was made Rájah and a commander of 1000. In the 21st year, at a darbár, a *mast* elephant ran up to him, took up one of his men with the tusks, when Badan Singh stuck his dagger into the animal which, frightened as it was at the same time by a fire wheel, dropped the unfortunate man. Sháhjahán rewarded the bravery of the Rájah with a *khil'at,* and remitted 50,000 Rs. out of the 2 lacs, which was the assessment of the Bhadáwar district. In the 22nd year, he was made a commander of 1500. In the 25th year, he served under Aurangzíb, and in the 26th, under Dárá Shikoh, before Qandahár, where in the following year he died.

His son Mahá Singh was then made Rájah, and received a mançab of 1000, 800 horse. He served in the 28th year in Kábul. After Dárá's defeat, he paid his respects to Aurangzíb, in whose reign he served against the Bundelah rebels. In the 10th year, he served under Kámil Khán against the Yúsufzaís. He died in the 26th year.

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (*vide* Maásir i 'Álamgírí, p. 226 and p. 228, where the Bibl. Ind. edition has wrong *Rúdar* Singh for *Odat* S.). He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dak'hin, and was in the 24th year made commandant of Chítor (*l. c.*, p. 196).

250. Ra'jah Ram Chandr, zamíndár of Oṛísá.

Regarding him *vide* Stirling's report on Oṛísá, *Asiatic Researches, vol. XV.* His name occurs often in the narrative of Mán Singh's conquest ot Oṛísá (37th year of Akbar's reign).

The province of Khurdah (South Oṛísá) was conquered and annexed to the Dihlí empire by Mukarram Khán (*vide* No. 260), in the 12th year of Jahángír's reign (*Tuzuk*, p. 215).

251. Sayyid Abul Qa'sim, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl (No. 140).

He served in the 25th year (998) in Bihár, and in the battle of Sulṭánpúr Bilharí ; also, in the 33rd year, against the Yúsufzaís.

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[1] So *Pádisháhnámah*, II., 732. The *Maásir* calls him Bad Singh or Bud Singh.

The Táríkh Ma'çúmí (Dowson, Elliot's Historians I., p. 243) gives earlier but perhaps more correct dates regarding the appointment to Bhakkar and the death of the Mír 'Adl, *viz.* his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazán, 983, and his death there, 8th Sha'bán, 984 (October, 1576). He was succeeded by his son Abulfazl, who is not mentioned in the Áín. On the 9th Zilhajjah, 985 (Feb. 1578), I'timád (No. 119) *arrived* at Bhakkar.

252. Dalpat, son of Rái Rái Singh.

He has been mentioned above, p. 359.

XVIII. Commanders of Four Hundred.

253. Shaikh Faizi', son of Shaikh Mubárak of Nágor.

The name of this great poet and friend of Akbar was Abul Faiz. Faizí is his *takhalluç*. Towards the end of his life, in imitation of the form of the *takhalluç* of his brother *'Allámí*, he assumed the name of *Fayyází*.

Faizí was the eldest son of Shaik Mubárak of Nágor. Shaikh Mubárak (*vide* pp. 169, 185, 198, 209) traced his origin to an Arabian dervish from Yaman, who in the 9th century of the Hijrah had settled in Síwistán, where he married. In the 10th century, Mubárak's father went to Hindústán, and settled at Nágor. Several of his children having died one after the other, he called his next child *Mubárak*. He was born in 911. When a young man, Mubárak went to Gujrát, and studied under Khaṭíb Abulfazl of Kázarún and Mauláná 'Imád of Láristán. In 950, Mubárak settled at Ágrah. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islem Sháh, he was a Mahdawí, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign; he then became a Naqshbandí, then a Hamadání, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians, he inclined to Shí'ism. But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Faizí and Abulfazl, the greatest writers that India has produced, shews that he was a man of comprehensive genius. Shaikh Mubárak wrote a commentary to the Qorán, in four volumes, entitled *Manba'ul-'uyún*,[1] and another work of the title of *Jawámi' ulkilam*. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Láhor, on the 17th Zí Qa'dah, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The *táríkh* of his death will be found in the words *Shaikh i kámil*.

Shaikh Faizí was born at Ágrah in 954. His acquirements in Arabic Literature, the art of poetry, and in medicine, were very extensive. He used to treat poor people gratis. One day, he appeared with his father before Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, the Çadr, (p. 272) and applied for a grant of 100 bíg'has; but he was not only refused, but also turned out of the hall with every contumely on account of his tendencies to Shí'ism. But Faizí's literary fame reached Akbar's ears, and in the 12th year, when Akbar was on the expedition to Chítor, he was called to court. Faizí's bigoted enemies in Ágrah interpreted the call as a summons before a judge, and warned the governor of the town, not to let Faizí escape. He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubárak's house; but accidentally Faizí was absent from home. Mubárak was ill-treated, and when Faizí at last came, he was carried off by force. But Akbar received him most

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[1] Badáoní (III., 74) calls it *Manba'u nafáis-il'uyún.*

favorably, and Faizí, in a short time, became the emperor's constant companion and friend. He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí.

In the 30th year, he planned a *khamsah*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the Khamsah of Nizámí. The first, *Markiz uladwár*, was to consist of 3000 verses, and was to be a *jawáb* (imitation) of Nizámí's *Makhzan ulasrár ;* the *Sulaimán o Bilqís* and the *Nal Daman* were to consist of 4000 verses each, and were to be *jawábs* of the *Khusrau Shírín* and *Lailí Majnún* respectively ; and the *Haft Kishwar* and the *Akbarnámah,* each of 5000 verses, were to correspond to the *Haft Paikar* and the *Sikandarnámah.* In the 33rd year, he was made Malikushshu'ará, or Poet Laureate (*Akbarn.*, III., 559). Though he had composed portions of the Khamsah, the original plan was not carried out, and in the 39th year, Akbar urged him to persevere, and recommended the completion of the Nal-Daman. Faizí thereupon finished the poem, and presented, in the same year, a copy of it to his imperial master.

Faizí suffered from asthma, and died on the 10th Çafar 1004 (40th year). The *táríkh* of his death is *Fayyáz i 'Ajam.* It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the *Sawáṭi' ul Ilhám,* and the *Mawárid ul kilam,* regarding which *vide* below the poetical extracts. His fine library, consisting of 4300 choice MSS., was embodied with the imperial library.

Faizí had been employed as teacher to the princes; sometimes, he also acted as ambassador. Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dak'hin, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badáoní, who had been in temporary disgrace at court.

Vide also pp. 105, 106, 183, 185, 197, 207, 209 ; and Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. Hakím Miçrí.

According to Badáoní (III., 165), Hakím Miçrí was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwájah Shamsuddín Khawáfí (No. 159). He died in Burhánpúr, and was buried there.

Miçrí is mentioned in the *Akbarnámah*, III., p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abulfazl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abulfazl's date with Badáoní's statement; for Badáoní died in 1004 (Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1869, p. 143). But both Abulfazl and Badáoní speak of the Hakím as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

255. I'rij, son of Mírzá Khánkhánán (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahángír, he was made Çúbahdár of Barár and Ahmadnagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik 'Ambar, especially at K'harkí,[1] for which victories he was

[1] کهرکی. Lachmí Naráin Shafíq, the author of the *Haqíqat i Hindústán*, says that it was called K'harkí from the Dak'hin word کهرک, which means 'stony,' 'a stony place.' It lies 5 *kos* S.E. of Daulatábád (the old Dhárágaṛh and Deogír of 'Aláuddín Khiljí). K'harkí under Jahángír was called Fatḥábád. In 1024, a canal was dug from K'harkí to Daulatábád. Its name was *Chahárnahrí*, and the táríkh of its completion is *khair i járí* (pr. a running benefit). Later Aurangzíb changed the name of K'harkí to Aurangábád, under which name it is now known. K'harkí was the seat of Malik 'Ambar.

made a commander of 5000. In the 12th year, he served under Prince Sháhjahán in the Dak'hin.

It is said that he was a good soldier, but stingy, and careless in his dress. A daughter of his was married (2nd Ramazán, 1026) to Prince Sháhjahán. The offspring of this marriage, Prince Jahán-afroz, was born at Ágrah on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Burhánpúr, at the age of 1 year, 9 months (*Pádisháhnámah*).

According to Grant's Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (2nd edition, p. 128), Írij's tomb is at Burhánpúr. "The tomb was built during his lifetime, and is really a handsome structure." The statement of the Gazetteer that Írij, towards the end of his life, "lived as a recluse" at Burhánpúr, is not borne out by the histories; for according to the Tuzuk (p. 270), he died of excessive wine drinking.

At his death (1028), he was only thirty-three years of age. The mançab of 400, which Abulfazl assigns him, must therefore have been conferred upon him, when he was a mere child.

256. Sakat Singh, son of Rájah Mán Singh (No. 30).

Vide above, under No. 244.

257. 'Abdullah [Sarfaráz Khán], son of Khán i A'zam Mírzá Kokah (No. 21).

Vide p. 328.

It was stated (p. 328) on the authority of the *Maásir* that he received the title of *Sardár Khán,* which had become vacant by the death of Takhtah Beg (No. 195). But the Tuzuk (p. 71) gives him the title of *Sarfaráz Khán.* This is evidently a mistake of the author of the Maásir; for the title of *Sardár Khán* was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on Khwájah Yádgár, brother of 'Abdullah Khán Fírúz-jang (Tuzuk, p. 116), when 'Abdullah Sarfaráz Khán was still alive.

The Maásir also says that 'Abdullah accompanied his father to Gwáliár (p. 317); but the Tuzuk (p. 141) states that he was imprisoned in Rantanbhúr, from where, at the request of his father, he was called to court.

258. 'Ali' Muhammad Asp.

Badáoní says (II., p. 57) that "'Alí Muhammad Asp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Júják Begum, killed Abul Fath Beg (p. 318)." In the 9th year, he was in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, king of Kábul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 26th year (989), he served under Prince Murád against his former master (*Akbarnámah,* III., 345); in the 30th year (993), he served in Kábul (III., 487, 490). In the 32nd year, he distinguished himself under 'Abdul Maṭlab (No. 83) against the Táríkís (III., p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnámah,* he is wrongly called 'Alí Muhammad *Alif.*

259. Mi'rza' Muhammad.

A Mírzá Muhammad was mentioned on p. 370.

260. Shaikh Ba'yazid [Mu'azzam Khán], grandson of Shaikh Salím of Fathpúr Síkrí.

Báyazíd's mother nursed Prince Salím (Jahángír) on the day he was born (Tuzuk, p. 13). In the 40th year of Akbar's reign, B. was a commander of 400,

and gradually rose to a command of 2000. After Jahángír's accession, he received a mançab of 3000, and the title of Mu'azzam Khán. Soon after, he was made Çúbahdár of Dihlí (*l. c.*, p. 37), and in the 3rd year, a commander of 4000, 2000 horse. On his death, he was buried at Fathpúr Síkrí (*l. c.*, p. 262).

His son Mukarram Khán was son-in-law to Islám Khán Shaikh 'Aláuddín (another grandson of Shaikh Salím), under whom he served in Bengal.[1] He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kúch Hájú, and brought the zamíndár Parích'hat before the governor.[2] At the death of his father-in-law, Muhtashim Khán Shaikh Qásim, brother of Islám Khán, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khán continued for one year in his office as governor of Kúch Hájú; but as he could not agree with Qásim, he went to court.

Later, he was made governor of Oṛísá, and conquered the province of Khurdah (*l. c., pp.* 214, 215), for which he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse. He seems to have remained in Oṛísá till the 11th year (1029), when Hasan 'Alí Turkmán was sent there as governor (Tuzuk, p. 308). In the 16th year, M. Kh. came to court, and was made Çúbahdár of Dihlí and Faujdár of Mewát (*l. c.*, p. 332).

In the 21st year, he was sent to Bengal as governor, *vice* Khánahzád Khán. He travelled by boat. One day he ordered his ship to be moved to the bank, as he wished to say the afternoon prayer, when a sudden gale broke forth, during which he and his companions were drowned.

261. Ghazni'n Kha'n, of Jálor.

Ghaznín Khán was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 400. He is mentioned in the *Pádisháhnámah* (I., 167)[3] as having served during the reign of Jahángír against the Ráná.

Bird in his *History of Gujrat* (pp. 124, 405) calls him *Ghaznawí Khán* and *Ghazní Khán*, and says, he was the son of Malik Khanjí Jálorí. Ghaznín Khán seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sulṭán Muzaffar. The Khán-khánán, on the 9th Muharram, 998, sent a detachment against Jálor; but perceiving

[1] Islám Khán was married to a sister of Abulfazl, by whom he had a son called Hoshang. Islám Khán died as governor of Bengal on the 5th Rajab, 1022. *Tuzuk*, p. 126.

[2] The *Pádisháhnámah* (II., 64), where Mukarram Khán's expedition is related, distinguishes between Kúch Hájú and Kúch Bihár. The former was in the beginning of Jahángír's reign under Paríchhat, the latter under Lachmí Naráin. Hájú is the name of a famous leader of the Kúch people, who in ethnological works is said to have expelled the Kachárís and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descendants still exercise *jura regalia* in Kúch Bihár Proper. Materials for a history of Kúch Bihár will be found in the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, III., p. 208, annals of the 41st year); in the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (pp. 147, 220, 221, 223); in the *Pádisháhnámah* I., 496; II., 64 to 79, 87, 88, 94; and in the *Fath i A'shám; vide* also Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. VII; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 96; and above, pp. 315, 340, 343.

[3] Wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the *Pádisháhnámah* (I., 167), Ghazalí Khán.

Ghaznín's *jágír* before Akbar's conquest of Gujrát, as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nágor and Mírt'ha, and fixes the revenue at nearly 10 lacs of rupees, with 7,000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Abulfazl, in his description of Çúbah Ajmír, IIIrd book, mentions 3½ lacs of rupees, with 2000 horse, as the *jama'* of Jálor and Sāṇchor (S. W. of Jálor).

that he was not in a fit condition to offer resistance, Ghaznín went submissively to court. The emperor took compassion on him, and confirmed him in his hereditary possessions.

His son Pahár was executed by Jahángír. "When I came to Dih Qáziyán, near Ujjain, I summoned Pahár. This wretch had been put by me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Jálor, his ancestral home. He is a young man, and was often checked by his mother for his bad bahaviour. Annoyed at this, he entered with some of his companions her apartments, and killed her. I investigated the case, found him guilty, and had him executed." (Çafar, 1026; Tuzuk, p. 174).

Another son of Ghaznín Khán is Nizám, who died in the 6th year of Sháhjahán's reign. He was a commander of 900, 550 horse (*Pádishdhn.*, I,, *b.*, 313).

Gháznín's brother Fírúz was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the 4th year (*Pádishdhn.*, I., *b*, 319).

The Pádishábnámah (II., 739) mentions also a Mujáhid of Jálor, who in the 20th year of Sháhjahán's reign was a commander of 800, 800 horse.

262. Ki'jak Khwa'jah, son of Khwájah 'Abdullah.

The first volume of the Akbarnámah (p. 411) mentions a Kíjak Khwájah among the grandees who accompanied Humáyún to India. The third volume of the same work (p. 470) mentions a Kíjak Khwájah, who in 993 served against Qutlú Loháni in Bengal. *Vide* No. 109.

263. Sher Kha'n Mughul.

264. Fathullah, son of Muhammad Wafá.

He appears to be the Fathullah mentioned in the *Akbarnámah* (III., 825) as the *sharbatdár* of the emperor. Akbar made him an Amír. For some fault he was sent to the Dak'hin; but as he got ill, he was recalled. He recovered, and went on sick leave to Mándú, where he died (1008).

265. Ra'i Manohar, son of Rájah Lonkaran.

Rájah Lonkaran belonged to the Shaikhávat branch of the Kachhwáhahs. He served, in the 21st year, under Mán Singh against the Ráná, and went in the same year with Rájah Bír Bar to Dongarpúr,[1] the zamíndár of which wished to send his daughter to Akbar's harem. In the 24th year, he served under Todar Mall in Bihár, and in the 24th year, under the Khán Khánán in Gujrát.

Manohar, in the 22nd year, reported to the emperor on his visit to Amber, that in the neighbourhood an old town existed, the site of which was marked by huge maunds of stone. Akbar encouraged him to rebuild it, and laid the foundation himself. The new settlement was called Mol Manoharnagar.[2] In the 45th year,

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[1] The word *dongar* which occurs in the names of places from Sorath to Málwah and Central India, is a Gond word meaning *a forest*. There are many Dongarpúrs, Dongargánws, Dongartáls, Dongars, &c. Similarly, the word *bir* in Mundárí signifies a jungle, whence Birbhúm (Western Bengal). Thus also Jhárkand, or jungle region, the general name of Chutiá Nágpúr. The above-mentioned Dongarpúr lies on the N. W. frontier of Gujrát (*Akbarn*,. III., 169, 170, 477).

[2] The maps give a Manoharpúr, north of Amber, about Lat. 27° 20′.

he was appointed with Rái Durgá Lál (No. 103) to pursue Muzaffar Husain Mírzá (p. 464), who was caught by Khwájah Waisí.

In the 1st year of Jahángír's reign, he served under Prince Parwíz against the Ráná, and was made, in the 2nd year, a commander of 1500, 600 horse (Tuzuk, p. 64). He served long in the Dak'hin, and died in the 11th year.

His son Prit'hí Chánd received after the death of his father the title of Rái, and was made a commander of 500, 300 horse (*l. c.*, p. 160).

Manohar wrote Persian verses, and was called at court Mírzá Manohar; *vide* my article *A chapter from Muhammadan History*, Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

266. Khwa'jah 'Abdussamad, Shirín-qalam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwájah 'Abduççamad was a Shírází. His father Khwájah Nizámul Mulk was Vazír to Sháh Shujá' of Shíráz. Before Humáyún left Írán, he went to Tabríz, where 'Abduççamad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as painter and calligraphist. Humáyún invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kábul.

Under Akbar, 'A. was a commander of 400; but low as his *mançab* was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year, he was in charge of the mint at Fathpúr Síkrí (*Akbarnámah*, III., 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several çúbahs, he was appointed Díwán of Multán.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the *Súratulikhláç* (Qorán, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (*dánah i khashkhásh*). *Vide* p. 107.

For his son *vide* No. 351.

267. Silhadi', son of Rájah Bihárí Mall (No. 23).

268. Ra'm Chand Kachhwáhah.

Vide p. 387.

[**Ra'm Chand Chauha'n**]. The Maasír says that he was the son of Badal Singh, and a commander of 500. In the 17th year, he served under M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in Gujrát, and in the 26th year, under Sultán Murád against M. Muhammad Hakím, king of Kábul. In the 28th year, he was under M. Sháhrukh in the Dak'hin. In the fight, in which Rájah 'Alí of Khandesh fell, R. Ch. received twenty wounds and fell from his horse. Next day he was found still alive. He died a few days later (41st year, 1005).

269. Baha'dur Kha'n Qúrdár.

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrát (*Akbarnámah*, III., 25), in the 26th in Kábul (*l. c.*, 333), and in the siege of Asír (1008).

The *Pádishâhnámah* (I., *b.*, pp. 311, 315) mentions Abábakr and 'Usmán, sons of Bahádur Khán Qúrbegí, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Sháhjahán.

270. Ba'nka', the Kachhwáhah.

He served in the 26th year in Kábul (*Akbarn.*, III., 333). His son Haridí Rám was under Sháhjahán a commander of 1500, 1000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.

XIX. Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty.

271. Mi'rza' Abu' Sa'i'd, } sons of Sulṭán Husain Mírzá.
272. Mi'rza' Sanjar. }

They were mentioned above on p. 314. Mírzá Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mírzá Sanjar mentioned on p. 477, note 2.

273. 'Ali' Marda'n Baha'dur.

The Ṭabaqát mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Qulij Khán (No. 42) at Ídar, who was to go to Gujrát to see the ships off which under Sulṭán Khwájah (No. 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khán Khánán in Sind,[1] and in the 41st year, in the Dak'hin. Subsequently, he commanded the Talingánah corps. In the 46th year, he marched to Pát'hrí to assist Sher Khwájah (No. 176), when he heard that Bahádur Khán Gílání, whom he had left with a small detachment in Talingánah, had been defeated. He returned, and attacked the enemies who were much stronger than he; his men fled, and he himself was captured. In the same year, Abulfazl made peace, and 'Alí Mardán was set at liberty. In the 47th year, he served with distinction under Mírzá Írij (No. 255) against Malik 'Ambar.

In the 7th year of Jahángír's reign, he was attached to the corps commanded by 'Abdullah Khán Fírúz-jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrát army over Násik into the Dak'hin, in order to co-operate with the second army corps under Khán Jahán Lodí. 'Abdullah entered the hostile territory without meeting the second army, and returned towards Gujrát, now pursued by the enemies. In one of the fights which ensued, 'A. M. was wounded and captured. He was taken before Malik 'Ambar, and though the doctors did everything to save him, he died two days later of his wounds, in 1021 A. H. (Tuzuk, p. 108).

His son Karamullah served under Jahángír (Tuzuk, p. 269), and was under Sháhjahán a commander of 1000, 1000 horse. He was for some time commandant of Fort Odgír, and died in the 21st year of Sháhj.'s reign.

274. Raza' Quli', son of Khán Jahán (No. 24).

Vide above p. 331.

275. Shaikh Khu'bu' [Quṭbuddín Khán i Chishtí] of Fathpúr Síkrí.

His father was a Shaikhzádah of Badáon, and his mother a daughter of Shaikh Salím. Khúbú was a foster-brother of Jahángír.[2] When the prince was at Iláhábád in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khúbú the title of Quṭbuddín Khán, and made him Çúbahdár of Bihár. On his accession, he made him Çúbahdár of Bengal, *vice* Mán Singh (9th Jumáda I., 1015; Tuzuk, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Afkan 'Alí Qulí Istajlú (*vide* No. 394) was tuyúldár of Bardwán, and as his wife Mihrunnisá [Núr Jahán] was coveted by the emperor, Quṭb was ordered to send Sher Afkan to court, who, however, refused to go. Quṭb, therefore, went to Bardwán, sending Ghiásá, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afkan that no harm would be done to him. When Quṭb arrived, Sher Afkan went to meet him, accompanied by two men. On his approach, Q. lifted up his

[1] *Vide* Dowson, Elliot's Historians, I., p. 248.

[2] Jahángír says that Khúbú's mother was dearer to him than his own mother.

horse-whip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Afkan. "What is all this?" exclaimed Sher. Quṭb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Quṭb's signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Quṭb, and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Quṭb was a stout man, and seizing his protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel. Ambah Khán, a Kashmírí noble of royal blood, thereupon charged Sher Afkan, and gave him a sword cut over the head; but he fell at the same time pierced through by Sher's sword (*p.* 474, note 1). The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Quṭbuddín was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiásá to bring his effects and his family to Bardwán. He then was removed in a palkee. He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fathpúr Síkrí and buried.

In 1013, he built the Jámi' mosque of Badáon.

His son, Shaikh Ibráhím, was, in 1015, a commander of 1000, 300 horse, and had the title of *Kishwar Khán*. He was for some time governor of Rohtás, and served in the beginning of 1021 against 'Usmán.

Ilahdiah, son of Kishwar Khán, is mentioned in the *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., 100, 177, 307; II, 344, 379, 411, 484).

276. Zia'-ul Mulk, of Káshán.

The *Akbarnámah* (III, 490, 628) and the *Tuzuk* (p. 11) mention a *Ziáuddín*. The Hakím Ziáuddín of Káshán, who under Sháhjahán held the title of Rahmat Khán, can scarcely be the same.

277. Hamzah Beg Ghatra'ghali'.

He may be the brother of No. 203. The *Akbarnámah* (III., 255) mentions also a Husain Beg Ghatrághalí.

278. Mukhta'r Beg, son of Ághá Mullá.

Mukhtár Beg served under A'zam Khán Kokah (No. 21) in Bihár, Gaḍha-Ráisín (Akbarn., III., 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sulṭán Murád in Málwah.

Naçrullah, son of Mukhtár Beg, was under Sháhjahán a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year.

Fathullah, son of Naçrullah, was under Sháhjahán a commander of 500, 50 horse (*Pádisháhn.*, I., b, 318; II., 752).

Abulfazl calls Mukhtár Beg the son of Ághá Mullá. This would seem to be the Ághá Mullá Dawátdár, mentioned on p. 369. If so, Mukhtár Beg would be the brother of Ghiásuddín 'Alí (No. 126). The Ághá Mullá mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the Tuzuk (p. 27), is the brother of Áçaf Khán III. (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Badí'uzzamán, who under Sháhjahán was a commander of 500, 100 horse (*Pád.*, I., b., 327; II., 751). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.

279. Haidar 'Ali' 'Arab.

He served, in the 32nd year, in Afghánistán (*Akbarn.*, III., 540, 548).

280. Peshrau Kha'n [Mihtar Sa'ádat].

Mihtar Sa'ádat had been brought up in Tabríz, and was in the service of Sháh Ṭahmásp, who gave him as a present to Humáyún. After Humáyun's death, he was

promoted, and got the title of *Peshrau Khán.* In the 19th year, Akbar sent him on a mission to Bihár, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gajpatí, the great zamíndár (p. 399, note 2). When Jagdespúr, the stronghold of the Rájah, was conquered, Gájpatí ordered several prisoners to be killed, among them Peshrau. The executioner, however, did not kill him, and told another man to do so. But the latter accidentally could not get his sword out of the scabbard; and the Rájah, who was on the point of flying, having no time to lose, ordered him to take P. on his elephant. The elephant was wild and restive, and the man who was in charge of P., fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute all at once commenced to roar in such a manner, that the other elephants ran away frightened. Although P.'s hands were tied, he managed to get to the *kaláwah* (p. 127) of the driver, and thus sat firm; but the driver unable to manage the brute, threw himself to the ground and ran away, leaving P. alone on the elephant. Next morning it got quiet, and P. threw himself down, when he was picked up by a trooper who had been searching for him.

In the 21st year, he reported at court the defeat of Gajpatí[1] (Akbarn., III., 163). In the 25th year, he served in Bengal (*l. c.*, p. 289). Later he was sent to Nizámulmulk of the Dak'hin, and afterwards to Bahádur Khán, son of Rájah 'Alí Khán of Khándesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to A'sír. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Máligaḍh.

Jahángír made him a commander of 2000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the *Farrásh-khánah* (Quarter-Master).

P. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahángír says (Tuzuk, p. 71), "He was an excellent servant, and though ninety years old, he was smarter than many a young man. He had amassed a fortune of 15 lacs of rupees. His son *Ridyat* is unfit for anything; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the *Farrásh-khánah.*

281. Qa'zi' Hasan Qazwíní.

In the 32nd year (995), he served in Gujrát (Akbarn., III., 537, 554, where the Lucknow edition has Qází *Husain*), and later in the siege of A'sír (*l. c.*, III., 825).

282. Mi'r Mura'd i Juwainí.

He is not to be confounded with No. 380, but may be the same as mentioned on p. 354.

Juwain is the Arabic form of the Persian Gújún, the name of a small town,[2] in Khurásán, on the road between Bisṭám and Níshápúr. It lies, according to the *Maásir*, in the district of Baihaq, of which Sabzwár is the capital, and is renowned as the birth-place of many learned men and poets.

Mír Murád belongs to the Sayyids of Juwain. As he had been long in the Dak'hin, he was also called *Dak'hiní.* He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurram. He died, in the 46th year, as Bakhshí of Láhor. He had two sons, Qásim Khán and Háshim Khán.

Qásim Khán was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islám Khán, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the çúbah. Later, he married

[1] Gajpatí's brother, Bírí Sál, had been killed (*Akbarn.*, III., 162).

[2] *Vide* Wüstenfeld's Yacut, II., 164.

Maníjah Begum, sister of Núr Jahán, and thus became a friend of Jahángír. An example of a happy repartee is given. Once Jahángír asked for a cup of water. The cup was so thin, that it could not bear the weight of the water, and when handed to the emperor, it broke. Looking at Qásim, J. said (metre *Ramal*)—

كاسه نازك بود آب آرام نتوانست كرد

The cup was lovely, and the water lost its rest—

when Qásim, completing the verse, replied :

دید حالم را و چشمش ضبط اشك خود نكرد

It saw my love grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Çúbahdár of Ágrah, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Sháhjahán left the Dak'hin, Qásim paid his respects in the Bágh i Dahrah (Ágrah), which in honor of Jahángír had been called *Núr Manzil*, and was soon after made a commander of 5000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, *vice* Fidáí Khán.

As Sháhjahán when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portuguese in Bengal, who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qásim to destroy their settlement at Húglí. In the 5th year, in Sha'bán, 1041, or February, 1632, A. D. (*Pádisháhn.*, I., 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son 'Ináyatullah and Allah Yár Khán to Húglí. The Portuguese held out for three months and a half, when the Muhammadans succeeded in layiug dry the ditch in front of the Church, dug a mine, and blew up the church. The fort was taken. Ten thousand Portuguese are said to have perished during the siege, and 4400 were taken prisoners. About 10,000 natives whom they had in their power, were liberated. One thousand Musalmáns died as martyrs for their religion.[1]

Three days after the conquest of Húglí, Qásim died (*l. c.*, p. 444). The Jámi' Masjid in the Atgah Bázár of Ágrah was built by him.

283. Mír Qásim Badakhshí.

He served in the Dak'hin (Akbarn., III., 830).

284. Bandah 'Alí Maidání.

Maidání is the name of an Afghán clan; *vide* No. 317. Bandah 'Alí served in the 9th year with Muhammad Hakím of Kábul, who was attacked by Mírzá Sulaimán of Badakhshán (No. 5), and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years, he served in Kábul (Akbarn., II., 299 ; III., 477, 540).

The Akbarnámah (II., 209) also mentions a Bandah 'Alí Qurbegí.

285. Khwájagí Fathullah, son of Hájí Habíbullah of Káshán.

He was mentioned above on pp. 359, 464. He served in the 30th year under Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21). Akbarn., III., 473.

286. Záhid
287. Dost [Muhammad]
288. Yár [Muhammad]
} sons of Çádiq Khán (No. 43).

[1] The siege of Húglí commenced on the 2nd Zí Hajjah, 1041, or 11th June, 1632, and the town was taken on the 14th Rabí' I, 1042, or 10th September, 1632. The village of Haldípúr, mentioned in the Pádisháhnámah as having for some time been the head quarters of the Mughul army, is called on our maps *Holodpur*, and lies N. W. of Húglí.

The Portuguese church at Bandel (a corruption of *bandar ?*) bears the year 1599 on its keystone.

They have been mentioned above on p. 357. Záhid, in the end of 1015, served against Dalpat (No. 252).

Regarding Záhid, *vide* also a passage from the *Tárikh i Ma'çúmí*, translated in Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I., 246.

289. 'Izzatullah Ghujduwání.

Ghujduwán is a small town in Bukhárá.

The Akbarnámah (III., 548) mentions a Qází 'Izzatullah, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afghánistán.

XX. Commanders of Three Hundred.

290. A'ltu'n Qulij.

291. Ja'n Qulij.

Two MSS. have A'ltún Qulij, *son* of Khán Qulij, which latter name would be an unusual transposition for Qulij Khán. They are not the sons of Qulij Khán (No. 42), *vide* Nos. 292 and 293.

A'ltún Qulij is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (III., 554) as having served in Baglánah with Bharjí, the Rájah, who was hard pressed in Fort Molher by his relations. Bharjí died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).

292. Saifullah [Qulijullah] } sons of Qulij Khán (No. 42).
293. Chi'n Qulij, }

Saif is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish *qulij*, a sword. Saifullah was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year, he served under Çádiq Khán (No. 43) in Afghánistán.

Regarding Mírzá Chín Qulij, the *Maásir* says that he was an educated, liberal, man, well versed in government matters. He had learned under Mullá Muçtafá of Jaunpúr, and was for a long time Faujdár of Jaunpúr and Banáras.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mírzá Láhaurí, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chín Qulij in Jaunpúr. He had not been long there, when he interfered in government matters, and caused disturbances, during which Chín Qulij lost his life. His immense property escheated to the state; it is said that it took the clerks a whole year to make the inventory.

In 1022, when Jahángír was in Ajmír, he summoned Mullá Muçtafá, who had been the Mírzá's teacher, with the intention of doing him harm. While at court, he got acquainted with Mullá Muhammad of T'hat'hah, a teacher in the employ of A'çafjáh (or A'çaf Khán IV.; *vide* p. 369), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf. Muçtafá was let off, went to Makkah and died.

Mírzá Láhaurí was caught and imprisoned. After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (*yaumiyyah*). He had a house in A'grah, near the Jamnah, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The *Maásir* mentions a few instances of his wicked behaviour. Once he buried one of his servants alive, as he wished to know something about Munkir and Nakír, the two angels who, according to the belief of the Muhammadans, examine the dead in the grave, beating the corpse with sledge hammers, if the dead man is found

wanting in belief. When the man was dug out, he was found dead. Another time, when with his father in Láhor, he disturbed a Hindú wedding-feast, and carried off the bride; and when the people complained to his father, he told them to be glad that they were now related to the Çúbahdár of Láhor.

The other sons of Qulij Khán, as Qulijullah, Chín Qulij, Báljú Q., Bairam Q., Ján Q., held mostly respectable mançabs.

The *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* relates the story differently. Both M. Chín Qulij and M. Láhaurí are described as wicked men. Chín Q., after the death of his father, came with his brothers and relations to court (Çafar, 1023; Tuzuk, p. 127), and received Jaunpúr as jágír. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Láhaurí, from whom no man was safe, he sent an Ahadí to Jaunpúr to bring him to court, when Chín Qulij fled with him to several Zamíndárs. The men of Jahángír Qulí Khán, governor of Bihár, at last caught him; but before he was taken to the governor, Chín died, some say, in consequence of an attack of illness, others from wounds he had inflicted on himself. His corpse was taken to Jahángír Qulí Khán, who sent it with his family and property to Iláhábád. The greater part of his property had been squandered or given away to zamíndárs (1024; *Tuzuk*, p. 148).

294. Abul Fatta'h Ata'li'q,

295. Sayyid Ba'yazi'd of Bárha.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrát (*Akbarn.*, III., 553). In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahángír's reign (1031), he received the title of Muçṭafá Khán (*Tuzuk*, p. 344).

In the 1st year of Sháhjahán's reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 700 horse (*Pád.*, I., 183). His name is not given in the list of grandees of the *Pádisháh-námah.*

296. Balbhadr, the Ráṭhor.

297. Abul Ma'a'li', son of Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl (No. 140).

298. Ba'qir Ançárí.

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt. In the 37th year, he served under Mán Singh in the expedition to Oṛísá (*Akbarn.*, III., 267, 641).

299. Ba'yazi'd Beg Turkmán.

He was at first in Mun'im's service (*Akbarn.*, II., 238, 253). The Pádisháhnámah (I., b., 328) mentions Mahmúd Beg, son of Báyazíd Beg. *Vide* No. 335.

300. Shaikh Daulat Bakhtyár.

301. Husain, the Pak'hlíwál.

The story of the origin of his family from the Qárlúqs under Timur (*vide* p. 454) is given in the *Tuzuk* (p. 290). Jahángír adds, "but they do not know who was then their chief. At present, they are common Panjábís (*Láhaurí i mahaz*), and speak Panjábí. This is also the case with Dhantúr" (*vide* No. 396).

Sulṭán Husain, as he called himself, is the son of Sulṭán Mahmúd. His rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above, on p. 454. When Jahángír in the 14th year (beginning of 1029) paid him a visit, Husain was about seventy years old, but still active. He was then a commander of 400, 300 horse, and Jahángír promoted him to a mançab of 600, 350 horse.

Husain died in the 18th year (end of 1032; *Tuzuk*, p. 367). His command and the district of Pak'hlí were given to his son Shádmán.

Shádmán served under Dárá Shikoh in Qandahár (beginning of 1052), and was in the 20th year of Sháhjahán's reign a commander of 1000, 900 horse. *Pádisháh-námah*, II., 293, 733.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pak'hlí, and has a remark on the thick, strong beer which the inhabitants make from bread and rice.

302. Kesu' Da's, son of Jai Mall.

Vide No. 408. One MS. has *Jait Mall*, instead of *Jai Mall*. The Pádisháh-námah (I., b., 310) mentions a Rájah Girdhar, son of Kesú Dás, grandson of Jat Mall of Mírt'ha. The *Tuzuk* frequently mentions a Kesú Dás Márú (Tuzuk, pp. 9, 37, 203).

303. Mi'rza' Kha'n of Níshápúr. One MS. has *Ján* for *Khán*.

304. Muzaffar, brother of Khán 'Alam (No. 58).

My text edition has wrongly *Khán i A'zam*, for *Khán 'Alam*.

305. Tulsi' Da's Ja'don.

He served in 992 against Sulṭán Muzaffar of Gujrát (*Akbarn.*, III., 422).

The Akbarnámah (III., 157, 434, 598) mentions another Jádon, Rájah Gopál. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the Ṭabaqát as a commander of 2000.

306. Rahmat Kha'n, son of Masnad i 'Alí.

Masnad i 'Alí is an Afghán title, as *Majlis ul Majális*, *Majlis i Ikhtiyár*, &c. It was the title of Fattú Khán, or Fath Khán, a courtier of Islem Sháh, who afterwards joined Akbar's service. He served under Husain Qulí Khán Jahán (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkoṭ (*Badáoní* II, 161). The Ṭabaqát makes him a commander of 2000. He seems to be the same Fath Khán whom Sulaimán Kararání had put in charge of Rohtás in Bihár (*Bad.*, II., 77).

He died in the 34th year in Audh (*Akbarn.*, III., 599).

A Rahmat Khán served in the 45th year in the Dak'hin. Rahmat Khán's brother, Sháh Muhammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307. Ahmad Qa'sim Kokah.

He served in 993 against the Yúsufzaís, and in 996, under Çádiq Khán, against the Táríkís (*Akbarn.*, III., 490, 552).

The Tuzuk (p. 159) mentions a Yár Beg, son of A. Q.'s brother.

308. Baha'dur Gohlot.

309. Daulat Kha'n Lodí.

He was a Lodí Afghán of the Sháhú-khail clan, and was at first in the service of 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21). When 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) married the daughter of 'Azíz, Daulat Khán was transferred to 'Abdurrahím's service, and 'Azíz in sending him to his son-in-law, said, "Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (KhánKhánán)." Daulat distinguished himself in the wars in Gujrát (p. 335, l., 1, where for *Dost* Khán, as given in the Maásir, we have to read *Daulat* Khán), in T'hat'hah, and the Dak'hin. His courage was proverbial. In his master's contingent he held a command of 1000. Sulṭán Dányál won him over, and made him a commander of 2000.

He died in the end of the 45th year (Sha'bán, 1009) at Ahmadnagar (*Akbarn.*, III., 846). It is said that Akbar stood in awe of him, and when he heard of his death, he is reported to have said, "To-day Sher Khán Súr died."

Daulat Khán's eldest son, whom the Maásír calls Mahmúd, was half mad. In the 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kolís near Pál, and perished.

Daulat's second son is the renowned Pír Khán, or Pírú, better known in history under his title *Khán Jahán Lodí*. If Akbar's presentiments were deceived in the father, they were fulfilled in the son.

Pír Khán, when young, fell out with his father, and fled with his elder brother, whom the *Maásir* here calls Muhammad Khán, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mán Singh. Muhammad Khán died when young.

Like his father, P. Kh. was in the service of Sulṭán Dányál, who treated him like a friend and called him 'son.' On the death of the Prince, Pír, then twenty years old, joined Jahángír's service, was made in the second year a commander of 3000, and received the title of Çalábat Khán (Tuzuk, p. 42). He gradually rose to a mançab of 5000, and received the title of Khán Jahán, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of KhánKhánán. Although Jahángír treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khán Jahán never forgot his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parwíz, Rájah Mán Singh and Sharíf Khán (No. 351) were sent to the Dak'hin to reinforce the Khán Khánán, and matters took an unfavorable turn, Khán Jahán, in 1018, was sent with 12000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahángír came down from the state window, put his turban on Kh. J.'s head, seized his hand, and helped him in mounting. Without delaying in Burhánpúr, Kh. J. moved to Bálághát, where the imperial army was. At Mulkápúr, a great fight took place with Malik 'Ambar, and the imperialists, unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dak'hinís, lost heavily. The KhánKhánán met him with every respect, and took him to Bálághát. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dak'hin corps, and 'Abdullah Khán the Gujrát army, upon Daulatábád (p. 496). Malik 'Ambar afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khán Khánán, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Zafarnagar; and 'Abdullah, when marching forward, found no support, and had to retreat with heavy losses. Kh. J. got short of provisions; his horses died away, and the splendid army with which he had set out, returned in a most disorderly state to Burhánpúr.

Kh. J. accused the KhánKhánán of treason, and offered to conquer Bíjápúr in two years, if the emperor would give him 30000 men and absolute power. This Jahángír agreed to, and the Khán i A'zam (No. 21) and Khán 'Alam (No. 328) were sent to his assistance. But though the KhánKhánán had been removed, the duplicity of the Amírs remained what it had been before, and matters did not improve. The command was therefore given to the Khán i A'zam, and Kh. J. received T'hálner as jágír, and was ordered to remain at Ilichpúr. After a year, he returned to court, but was treated by the emperor in as friendly a manner as before.

In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahár, Kh. J. was made governor of Multán. Two years later, in the 17th year, Sháh 'Abbás took Qandahár

after a siege of forty days. Kh. J. was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Sháh 'Abbás, because kings should be opposed by kings. When he came to court, Prince Khurram was appointed to reconquer Qandahár, and Kh. J. was ordered back to Multán, to make preparations for the expedition. It is said that the Afghán tribes from near Qandahár came to him in Multán, and declared themselves willing to be the vanguard of the army, if he would only promise every horseman five tankahs, and each foot soldier two tankahs *per diem*, to keep them from starving; they were willing to go with him to Içfahán, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahángír would kill him, if he heard of the attachment of the Afgháns to him.

In the meantime matters changed. Sháhjahán rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahár was not undertaken, The emperor several times ordered Kh. J. to return, and wrote at last himself, adding the curious remark that even Sher Khán Súr, in spite of his enmity, would after so many requests have obeyed. The delay, it is said, was caused by severe illness. On his arrival at court, Kh. J. was made commandant of Fort Ágrah and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khán i A'zam, he was made governor of Gujrát, and when Mahábat Khán was sent to Bengal, he was appointed *atáliq* to Prince Parwíz, whom he joined at Burháupúr.

In 1035, the 21st year, Parwíz died, and the Dak'hin was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fath Khán, son of Malik 'Ambar, to Bálághát. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Hamíd Khán Habshí, the minister of the Nizám Sháh, to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of húns, though the revenue was 55 krors of dáms (*Pádisháhn.*, I., 271), and ordered the imperial Faujdárs and Thánahdárs to give up their places to the agents of the Nizám Sháh and repair to Burhánpúr. Only Sipahdár Khán who stood in Ahmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the Emperor.

Soon after, Mahábat Khán joined Sháhjahán at Junír, and was honored with the title of *Sipahsálár*. On the death of Jahángír, which took place immediately afterwards, Sháhjahán sent Ján Nisár Khán to Kh. J., to find out what he intended to do, and confirm him at the same time in his office as Çúbahdár of the Dak'hin; but as he in the meantime had formed other plans, he sent back Ján Nisár without answer. He intended to rebel. It is said that he was misled by Daryá Khán Rohílah and Fázil Khán, the Díwán of the Dak'hin: Dáwar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shahryár had proclaimed himself in Láhor, whilst Sháhj. had offended him by conferring the title of Sipahsálár on Mahábat Khán, who only lately had joined him; he, too, should aim at the crown, as he was a man of great power, and would find numerous adherents.

Sháhj. sent Mahábat to Mándú, where Kh. J.'s family was. Kh. J. renewed friendly relations with the Nizám Sháh, and leaving Sikandar Dutání in Burhánpúr, he moved with several Amírs to Mándú, and deposed the governor Muzaffar Khán Ma'múrí. But he soon saw how mistaken he was. The Amírs who had come with him, left him and paid their respects to Sháhj.; the proclamation of Dáwar Bakhsh proved to be a scheme made by Áçaf Khán in favor of Sháhj., and Kh. J. sent a vakíl to court and presented, after Sháhj.'s accession, a most valuable present.

The Emperor was willing to overlook past faults, and left him in possession of the government of Málwah.

In the second year, after punishing Jhujhár Singh, Kh. J. came to court, and was treated by the Emperor with cold politeness. Their mutual distrust soon showed itself. Sháhj. remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Ágrah, and several parganahs of his jágírs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbár, Mírzá Lashkarí, son of Mukhliç Khán, foolishly said to the sons of Kh. J., "He will some of these days imprison your father." Kh. J. on hearing this, shut himself up at home, and when the Emperor sent Islám Khán to his house to enquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an *amán-námah*, or letter of safety, as he was hourly expecting the displeasure of his master. Sháhj. was generous enough to send him the guarantee; but though even Áçaf Khán tried to console him, the old suspicions were never forgotten. In fact it would seem that he only feared the more for his safety, and on the night from the 26th to the 27th Çafar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Ágrah. When passing the Hatiápul[1] Darwázah, he humbly threw the reins of his horse over his neck, bent his head forward on the saddle, and exclaimed, "O God, thou knowest that I fly for the preservation of my honor; to rebel is not my intention." On the morning before his flight, Áçaf had been informed of his plan, and reported the rumour to the emperor. But Sháhj. said that he could take no steps to prevent Kh. J. from rebelling; he had given him the guarantee, and could use no force before the crime had actually been committed.

An outline of Kh. J.'s rebellion may be found in Elphinstone's history, where the main facts are given.

When he could no longer hold himself in the Dak'hin, he resolved to cut his way to the Panjáb. He entered Málwah, pursued by 'Abdullah Khán and Muzaffar Khán Bárha. After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundelah Rájah. But Jagráj Bikramájít, son of Jhujhár Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumáda II, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryá Khán (a commander of 4000) and his son, Kh. J.'s best officers (*Pádisháhn.*, I., 339; I., b., 296.) On arriving in Bhánder,[2] Kh. J. met Sayyid Muzaffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1000 men. During the fight Mahmúd Khán, one of Kh. J.'s sons, was killed. On approaching Kálinjar, he was opposed by Sayyid Ahmad, the commandant of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Hasan Khán, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Sehondá, where he resolved to die. He allowed his men to go away, as his cause was hopeless. On the 1st Rajab, 1040, he was again attacked by 'Abdullah Khán and S. Muzaffar, and was mortally wounded by Mádhú Singh with a spear. Before Muzaffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son 'Azíz to pieces (Pádisháhn. I., 351). Their

[1] The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Aurangzíb in Rajab, 1079, because the Muhammadan law forbids sculpture. *Maás. 'A'lamgírí*, p. 77.

[2] So the *Maásir*. The Bibl. Ind. Edition of the Pádisháhnámah, I., 348, has *Bándhú*. So likewise for *Salwání* (Pád. I., 290), the *Maásir* has Lánjhí (Gondwánah), where Kh. J. after the fight near Dholpúr and his march through the Bundelah State for the first time rested.

Bhánder lies N. E. of Jhánsí. Sehondá lies N. of Kálinjar, on the Ken.

heads were sent to Sháhjahán at Burhánpúr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Daulat Khán, Kh. J.'s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7000 (*Pádisháhn.*, I., b., 293).

Several of Kh. J.'s sons, as Husain, 'Azmat, Mahmúd, and Hasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Açálat Khán, a commander of 3000, died during the rebellion at Daulatábád, and Muzaffar had left his father, and gone to court. Faríd and Ján Jahán were captured; 'Alam and Ahmad had fled, and went after some time to court. 'But none of his sons ever prospered.'

The historical work entitled *Makhzan i Afgháni*, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of Khán Jahán, after whom the book is sometimes called *Táríkh i Khán Jahán Lodí.*

310. **Sha'h Muhammad,** son of Quraish Sulṭán (No. 178).

311. **Hasan Kha'n** Miyánah.

He was at first a servant of Çádiq Khán (No. 43), but later he received a *mançab*. He died in the Dak'hin wars.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (Tuzuk, p. 200). The second is *Buhlúl Khán*. He rose to a mançab of 1500 under Jahángír (*l. c.*, pp. 184, 200), and received the title of *Sarbaland Khán*. He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance. He served in Gondwánah.

At the accession of Sháhjahán, B. was made a commander of 4000, 3000 horse and jágírdár of Bálápúr. He joined Khán Jahán Lodí on his march from Gondwánah to Bálághát. When he saw that Khán Jahán did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Nizám Sháh.

A grandson of Buhlúl, Abul Muhammad, came in the 12th year of Aurangzíb's reign to court, was made a commander of 5000, 4000, and got the title of *Ikhláç Khán* (*Maás. 'A'lamgírí*, p. 81).

For other Miyánah Afgháns, *vide Pádisháhn.*, I., 241; *Maás. 'Alamgírí*, p. 225.

312. **Ta'hir Beg,** son of the Khán i Kalán (No. 16).

313. **Kishn Da's** Tunwar.

He was under Akbar and Jahángír accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant and horse stables. In the 7th year of J., he was made a commander of 1000. A short time before, he had received the title of Rájah (Tuzuk, p. 110).

314. **Ma'n Singh** Kachhwáhah.

The Akbarnámah (III., 333, 335) mentions a Mán Singh Darbárí.

315. **Mi'r Gada'i',** son of Mír Abú Turáb.

Abú Turáb belonged to the Salámí Sayyids of Shíráz. His grandfather, Mír Ghiásuddín, had come to Gujrát during the reign of Quṭbuddín, grandson of Sulṭán Ahmad (the founder of Ahmadábád); but he soon after returned to Persia. The disturbances, however, during the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl i Çafawí obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrát, where he arrived during the reign of Sulṭán Mahmúd Bígarah.[1] He settled with his son Kamáluddín (Abú Turáb's father) in Champánír-

[1] بيكره. This word is generally pronounced بيكَرِه, and is said to mean having conquered two forts (*gaṛh*), because Mahmúd's army conquered on one day the forts of Champánír and Júnágaṛh. But Jahángír in his 'Memoirs'

Mahmúdábád, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (*darsiyah kitáb*). Kamáluddín also was a man renowned for his learning.

The family had for a long time been attached to the *Salsalah i Maghribiyah*, or Maghribí (Western) Sect, the "lamp" of which was the saintly Shaikh[1] Ahmad i Khaṭṭú. The name 'Salámí Sayyids' is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary *salám*, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abú Turáb was a highly respected man. He was the first that paid his respects to Akbar on his march to Gujrát, and distinguished himself by his faithfulness to his new master. Thus he was instrumental in preventing I'timád Khán (No. 67) from joining, after Akbar's departure for Kambháyat, the rebel Ikhtiyár ul-Mulk. Later, Akbar sent him to Makkah as Mír Hajj, in which quality he commanded a large party of courtiers and begums. On his return, he brought a large stone from Makkah, which bore the footprint of the prophet (*qadam i sharíf*, or *qadam i mubárak*); *vide* p. 198. The 'táríkh' of his return is *khair ul aqdám* (A. H. 987), or 'the best of footprints.' The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jalál i Bukhárí at the time of Sulṭán Fírúz had brought to Dihlí. Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious farce, and though the stone was received with great *éclat*, Abú Turáb was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When I'timád was made governor of Gujrát, Abú Turáb followed him as Amín of the Çúbah, accompanied by his sons Mír Muhibbullah and Mír Sharafuddín.

Abú Turáb died in 1005, and was buried at Ahmadábád.

His third son Mír Gadáí, though he held a mançab, adopted the saintly mode of life which his ancestors had followed. In the 46th year, he served in the Dak'hin.

316. Qa'sim Khwa'jah, son of Khwájah 'Abdul Bárí. *Vide* No. 320.

317. Na'di 'Ali' Maidání.

In MSS. he is often wrongly called *Yád* 'Alí.

The word *nádi* is an Arabic Imperative, meaning *call*. It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

Nádi 'Aliyan mazharal'ajáib,
Tajidhu 'aunan fi kulli-lmaçáib.
Kullu hammin wa ghammin sayanjalí
Binubuwwatika yá Muhammad, biwiláyitika yá 'Alí.
Yá 'Alí, yá 'Alí, yá 'Alí.

Call upon 'Alí, in whom all mysteries reveal themselves,

---

says that بیکره means *burút i bargashtah*, 'having a turned up, or twisted, moustache,' which Sulṭán Mahmúd is said to have had (Tuzuk, p. 212).

Champánír, according to Bird, is also called Mahmúdábád. The *Maásir* has Champánír-*Muhammadábád*.

[1] Born A. H. 738, died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shawwál, 849. Shaikh Ahmad lies buried at Sark'hej near Ahmadábád. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the share which he had, as one of the four Gujráti Ahmads, in the foundation of Ahmadábád (founded 7th Zí Qa'dah, 813). *Khazínatul Açfiá* (Láhor), p. 957.

Khaṭṭú, where Shaikh Ahmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaikh Is-háq i Maghribí (died 776, A. H.) lies east of Nágor.

Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions.
Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish
Through thy prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Alí.
O 'Alí, O 'Alí, O 'Alí!

The beginning of the amulet suggested the name.

In the 26th year, Nádi 'Alí served against M. Muhammad Hakím, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kábul, and two years later under Zain Kokah (No. 34) against the Tárikís.

In the 6th year of Jahángír's reign, he was made a commander of 1500, chiefly for his services against the Kábul rebel Ahdád. In the 10th year, he served in Bangash, when he was a commander of 1500, 1000 horse. He died in the following year (1026); *vide* Tuzuk, p. 172. His sons were provided with mançabs.

His son Bízan (or Bízhan) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash, and was made a commander of 1000, 500 horse (*l. c.*, pp. 307, 309).

The *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., 322) mentions a Muhammad Zamán, son of Nádi 'Alí *Arlát*, who in the 10th year of Sháhjahán was a commander of 500, 350 horse.

Nádi 'Alí is not to be confounded with the Háfiz Nádi 'Alí, who served under Jahángír as Court Háfiz (*Tuzuk*, p. 155, and its *Díbájah*, p. 19), nor with the Nádi 'Alí who served under Sháhjahán (*Pádisháhn.*, II., 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.

318. Ni'l Kant'h, Zamíndár of Oṛísá.

319. Ghia's Beg of Ṭahrán [I'timád-uddaûlah].

His real name is Mírzá Ghiásuddín Muhammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayás, a corruption of *Ghiás*, not of Ayáz (ایاز).

Ghiás Beg's father was Khwájah Muhammad Sharíf, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of *Waçlí*. He was Vazír to Tátár Sulṭán, son of Muhammad Khán Sharafuddín Ughlú Taklú, who held the office of Beglar Begí of Khurásán. After Tátár Sulṭán's death, the Khwájah was continued in office by his son Qazáq Khán, and on Qazáq's death, he was made by Sháh Ṭahmásp Vazír of Yazd.[1]

Khwájah Muhammad Sharíf is said to have died in A. H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwájah Mírzá Ahmad, and Khwájagí Khwájah. The son of Kh. Mírzá Ahmad was the well known Khwájah Amín Rází (رازی, *i. e.* of the town of Rai, of which he was *kalántar*, or magistrate), who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled *Haft Iqlím*, A. H. 1002. Khwájagí Khwájah had a son of the name of Khwájah Shápúr, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghiás Beg was married to the daughter of Mírzá 'Alá-uddaulah, *son of*[2] Ágha Mullá. After the death of his father, in consequence of adverse circumstances, Gh. B. fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia. He was plundered on the

[1] The *Díbájah* (preface) of the Tuzuk (p. 20) and the Iqbálnámah (p. 54) agree *verbatim* in Ghiás Beg's history. They do not mention Qazáq Khán. For *Yazd* of the Maásir, Sayyid Ahmad's text of the Tuzuk has *Marw;* and the Bibl. Indica edition of the Iqbálnámah has خود 'he made him his *own* Vazír.'

[2] The words *son of* are not in the *Maásir*, but in the Tuzuk and the Iqbálnámah. Two Ágha Mullás have been mentioned on p. 369, and under No. 278, p. 497.

way, and had only two mules left, upon which the members of the family alternately rode. On his arrival at Qandahár, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihrunnisá ('the Sun of Women'), a name which her future title of Núr Jahán has almost brought into oblivion.[1] In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Mas'úd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiás Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Fathpúr Síkrí,[2] Gh. rose, up to the 40th year, to a command of 300. In the same year, he was made Díwán of Kábul, and was in course of time promoted to a mançab of 1000, and appointed *Díwán i Buyútát.*

Regarding Mihrunnisá's marriage with 'Alí Qulí, *vide* No. 394.

In the beginning of Jahángír's reign, Ghiás Beg received the title of I'timáduddaulah. In the second year, his eldest son, Muhammad Sharíf[3] joined a conspiracy, to set Khusrau at liberty and murder the emperor; but the plot being discovered, Sharíf was executed, and I'timád himself was imprisoned. After some time, he was let off on payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees. At the death of Sher Afkan (p. 497), Mihrunnisá was sent to court as a prisoner "for the murder of Quṭbuddín," and was handed over to Ruqaiyah Sulṭán Begum,[4] with whom she lived 'unnoticed (*banákámí*) and rejected.' In the 6th year (1020), she no longer slighted the emperor's proposals, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. She received the title of *Núr Mahall*, and a short time afterwards that of Núr Jahán.[5]

Ghiás, in consequence of the marriage, was made *Vakíl i kul*, or prime-minister, and a commander of 6000, 3000 horse. He also received a flag and a drum, and was in the 10th year allowed to beat his drum at court, which was a rare privilege. In the 16th year, when J. was on his way to Kashmír, Ghiás took ill. The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kángṛah Fort, and arrived in time to find him dying. Pointing to the Emperor, Núr Jahán asked her father whether he recognized him. He quoted as answer a verse from Anwarí—

آنکه نابینای مادرزاد اگر حاضر بود   در جبین عالم‌آرا پس به بیند مهتری

'If one who is blind from birth stood here, he would recognize his majesty by his august forehead.'

He died after a few hours. The Tuzuk (p. 339) mentions the 17th Bahman, 1031, (Rabí' I, 1031) as the day of his death, and says that he died broken-hearted three months and twenty days after his wife, who had died on the 29th Mihr, 1030, *i. e.*, 13th Zí Qa'dah, 1030).

Ghiás Beg was a poet. He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we

[1] It is said that Núr Jahán at her death in 1055 was in her seventy-second year. She would thus have been born in A. H. 984; hence Ghiás Beg's flight from Persia must have taken place immediately after the death of his father.

It is well to bear this in mind; for when Núr Jahán was married by Jahángír (in 1020), she must have been as old as 34 (solar) years, an age at which women in the East are looked upon as old women.

[2] Where he had some distant relations, as Ja'far Beg (No. 98).

[3] Who according to custom had the same name as his grandfather; *vide* p. 497, No. 278.

[4] The Tuzuk and the Iqbálnámah have Ruqaiyah Sulṭán Begum (p. 309). The Maásir has *Salímah* Sulṭán Begum (p. 309). The Iqbálnámah (p. 56) has wrong رقبه for رقیه.

[5] In accordance with the name of her husband *Núruddín Jahángír.*

saw, shewed itself a few hours before he died. He was a clever correspondent, and is said to have written a beautiful *Shikastah* hand. Jahángír praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand *mufarrih i yáqúts.*[1] He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry. 'Chains, the whip, and abuse, were not found in his house.' He protected the wretched, especially such as had been sentenced to death. He never was idle, but wrote a great deal; his official accounts were always in the greatest order. But he liked bribes, and shewed much boldness in demanding them.[2]

His mausoleum near A'grah has often been described.

Núr Jahán's power over Jahángír is sufficiently known from the histories. The emperor said, "Before I married her, I never knew what marriage really meant," and, "I have conferred the duties of government on her; I shall be satisfied, if I have a *ser* of wine and half a *ser* of meat *per diem.* With the exception of the *khuṭbah* (prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty. Thus her name was invariably mentioned on farmáns, and even on coins. The jágírs which she held, would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30000. A great portion of her zamíndárís lay near Rámsir, S. E. of Ajmír (Tuzuk, p. 169). She provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Dáí Dilárám, enjoyed much influence, and held the post of 'Çadr of the Women' (*Çadr i anás*), and when she conferred lands as *sayúrghúls*, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Çadr of the empire. Núr Jahán is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom she betrothed or gave outfits to, is estimated at five hundred. She gave the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the *'atr i Jahángírí* (a peculiar kind of rosewater). She possessed much taste in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. For many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her *Dudámí* for *peshwáz* (gowns), her *pánchtoliah* for *oṛhnís* (veils), her *bádlah* (brocade), *kinárí* (lace), and *farsh i chandaní*,[3] are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahángír's death and the capture of Shahryár, fifth son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher Afkan), Láḍlí Begum, in marriage. She had no children by Jahángír. Sháhjahán allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum.[4]

She died at Láhor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwál, 1055, and lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (*Pádishákn.*, II., 475).[5] She composed occasionally Persian poems, and wrote like Salímah Sulṭán Begum and Zebunnisá Begum under the assumed name of *Makhfí.*

Ghiás Beg's sons. The fate of his eldest son Muhammad Sharíf has been alluded to. His second son, Mírzá Abul Hasan A'çaf Khán (IV.), also called *A'çaf-jáh* or

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[1] As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison, so was the cornelian (*yáqút*) supposed to possess exhilarating properties. *Mufarrih* means an exhilarative.

[2] So the Tuzuk and the Iqbálnámah.

[3] *Dudámí*, weighing two dáms; *pánchtoliyah*, weighing five tolahs. The latter was mentioned on p. 94. *Farsh i chandaní*, carpets of sandalwood colour.

[4] Elphinstone has by mistake 2 lacs *per mensem.* The highest allowance of Begums on record is that of Mumtáz Mahall, *viz.* 10 lacs *per annum. Vide* Pádisháhn., I., 96.

[5] In the Pádisháhnámah Núr Jahán is again called *Núr Mahall.*

A'çafjáhí, is the father of Mumtáz Mahall (Táj Bíbí), the favorite wife of Sháhjahán, whom European Historians occasionally call Núr Jahán II. He received from Sháhjahán the title of *Yamínuddaulah* and *KhánKhánán Sipahsálár*, and was a commander of 9000. He died on the 17th Sha'bán, 1051, and was buried at Láhor, north of Jahángír's tomb. As commander of 9000 *duaspah, sihaspah* troopers, his salary was 16 krors, 20 lacs of dáms, or 4,050,000 Rupees, and besides, he had jágírs yielding a revenue of five millions of Rupees. His property at his death, which is said to have been more than double that of his father, was valued at 25 millions of Rupees, and consisted of 30 lacs of jewels, 42 lacs of Rupees in gold muhurs, 25 lacs of Rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, &c., and 23 lacs of other property. His palace in Láhor, which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Dárá Shikoh, and 20 lacs of rupees, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his 3 sons and 5 daughters. The rest escheated to the state.

A'çáf Khán was married to a daughter of Mírzá Ghíasuddín 'Alí A'çaf Khán II., p. 369).

His eldest son is the renowned Mírzá Abú Ṭálib Sháistah Khán, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E. I. Company. Sháistah was married to a daughter of Írij Shahnawáz Khán (No. 255), son of 'Abdurrahím KhánKhánán, by whom he had however no children. He died at A'grah in 1105, the 38th year of Aurangzíb's reign. His eldest son, Abú Ṭálib,[1] had died before him. His second son was Abul Fath Khán. One of his daughters was married to Rúhullah (I.), and another to Zulfaqár Khán Nuçrat-jang.

A'çaf Khán's second son, Bahmanyár, was in the 20th year of Sháhj. a commander of 2000, 200 horse (*Pádisháhn.*, II., 728).

Ghiás Beg's third son is Ibráhím Khán Fath-jang, who was governor of Bihár (p. 480, note) and Bengal. He was killed near his son's tomb during Sháhjahán's rebellion. His son had died young, and was buried near Rájmahall, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). Ibráhím Khán was married to Hájí Húr Parwar Khánum, Núr Jahán's maternal aunt (*khálah*). She lived up to the middle of Aurangzíb's reign, and held Kol Jalálí as *áltamghá*.

An Ahmad Beg Khán is mentioned in the histories as the son of Núr Jahán's brother.[2] He was with Ibráhím Fath-jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dháká, where he handed over to Sháhjahán 500 elephants and 45 lacs of rupees (Tuzuk, p. 384). On Sháhj.'s accession, he received a high mançab, was made governor of T'hat'hah and Síwistán, and later of Multán. He then returned to court, and received as jágír the Parganahs of Jáis and Ameṭhí, where he died. In the 20th year of Sháhj., he was a commander of 2000, 1500 horse (*Pádisháhn.*, II., 727).

A sister of Núr Jahán, Maníjah Begum, was mentioned on p. 499.

A fourth sister, Khadíjah Begum, was married to Hákim Beg, a nobleman of Jahángír's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable—

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[1] Also called Muhammad Ṭálíb. *Vide* Pádisháhn., II., 248.

[2] It seems therefore that he was the son of Muhammad Sharíf.

1. Khwájah Muhammad Sharíf (*d.* 984) .. 2. Khwájah Mírzá Ahmad ... 3. Khwájagí Khwájah

- 1. Khwájah Muhammad Sharíf (*d.* 984)
  - 1. Ághá Muhammad Țáhir, *Waçlí*.
  - 2. Mírzá Ghiás Beg I'timád-uddaulah. (*d.* 1031.)
    - 1. Muhammad Sharíf (executed)
      - ? Ahmad Beg Khán.
    - 2. Mírzá Abul Hasan Áçaf Khán (IV.) (*d.* 1051.)
      - 1. Mírzá Abú Țálib Sháistah Khán (*d.* 1105.)
        - 1. Abú Țálib.
        - 2. Abul Fath Khán.
      - 2. Bahmanyár.
      - 3. A son.
      - 4. Mumtáz Mahall, wife of Sháh Jahán (*died* 1040).
      - 5. 6. Two daughters.
    - 3. 4. Two daughters Maníjah and Khadíjah.
    - 4. Núr Jahán (wife of Jahángír, (*d.* 1055).
    - 5. Ibráhím Khán Fath-jang (left no children).
- 2. Khwájah Mírzá Ahmad
  - Mírzá Amín i Rází (author of the *Haft Iqlím*).
- 3. Khwájagí Khwájah
  - Khwájah Shápúr.

320. Khwa'jah Ashraf, son of Khwájah 'Abdul Bárí.

One MS. has *Sharaf* for *Ashraf*. *Vide* No. 316.

321. Sharaf Beg, of Shíráz.

322. Ibra'hi'm Quli', son of Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46).

XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

323. Abul Fath, son of Muzaffar, the Mughul.

324. Beg Muhammad Toqbái.

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrát, and was present in the fight near Maisánah, S. E. of Patan, in which Sher Khán Fúládí was defeated, and also against Muzaffar of Gujrát (*Akbarn.*, III., 423).

Regarding *Toqbái*, *vide* No. 129.

325. Ima'm Quli' Shighálí.

The Akbarnámah (III., 628) mentions an Imám Qulí, who, in the 37th year, served under Sulțán Murád in Málwah.

The meaning of *Shighálí* is unclear to me. A Muhammad Qulí Shighálí played a part in Badakhshán history (*Akbarn.*, III., 132, 249).

326. Safdar Beg, son of Haidar Muhammad Khán Ákhtah Begí (No. 66).

A Çafdar Khán served, in the 21st year, against Daudá of Bundí (p. 410).

327. Khwa'jah Sulaima'n of Shíráz.

He has been mentioned on pp. 356, 457.

328. Barkhurda'r [Mírzá Khán 'Álam], son of 'Abdurrahmán Duldai (No. 186).

Mírzá Barkhurdár was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 250.

His father (No. 186) had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat.[1] This Bihár Zamíndár was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy *peshkash*, he was allowed to return to his home. But B. wished to avenge the death of his father, and lay in ambush for Dalpat, who, however, managed to escape. Akbar was so annoyed at this breach of peace, that he gave orders to hand over B. to Dalpat; but at the intercession of several countries, B. was imprisoned.

As Jahángír was fond of him, he released him after his accession,[2] and made him *Qúshbegí*, or superintendent of the aviary. In the fourth year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of Khán 'Álam (Tuzuk, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, Sháh 'Abbás of Persia sent Yádgár 'Alí Sulṭán Ṭálish as ambassador to Ágrah, and B. was selected to accompany him on his return to Persia. The suite consisted of about twelve hundred men, and was according to the testimony of the *'Álamárá i Sikandarí* the most splendid embassy that had ever appeared in Persia. In consequence of a long delay at Harát and Qum, caused by the absence of the Sháh in Ázarbáiján on an expedition against the Turks, nearly one half of the suite were sent back. In 1027, the Sháh returned to Qazwín, and received the numerous presents, chiefly elephants and other animals, which B. had brought from India. The embassy returned in 1029 (end of the 14th year), and B. met the emperor at Kalánúr on his way to Kashmír. Jahángír was so pleased, that he kept B. for two days in his sleeping apartment, and made him a commander of 5000, 3000 horse.

The author of the Pádisháhnámah (I., 427), however, remarks that B. did not possess the skill and tact of an ambassador, though he has not stated his reasons or the source of his information.

On Sháhjahán's accession, B. was made a commander of 6000, 5000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of Bihár, *vice* M. Rustam Çafawí. But as he was given to *koknár* (opium and hemp), he neglected his duties, and was deposed before the first year had elapsed. In the fifth year (end of 1041), when Sháhj. returned from Burhánpúr to Ágrah, B. was pensioned off, as he was old

[1] Dalpat is called in the Akbarnámah اجینیه, *Ujjainiah*, for which the MSS. have various readings, as اجنیه, اوجینیه, &c. Under Sháhjahán, Dalpat's successor was Rájah Pratáb, who in the 1st year received a mançab of 1500, 1000 horse (*Pádisháhn.* I., 221). From the same work we see that the residence of the Ujjainiah Rájahs was Bhojpúr, west of Árah and north of Sahansrám (Sasseram), a parganah in Sirkár Rohtás, Bihár. Pratáb rebelled in the 10th year of Sháhjahán's reign, when 'Abdullah Khán Fírúz-jang besieged and conquered Bhojpúr (8th Zí Hajjah, 1046). Pratáb surrendered, and was at Sháhj.'s order executed. His wife was forcibly converted, and married to 'Abdullah's grandson. The particulars of this conquest will be found in the Pádisháhnámah (I., b., pp. 271 to 274).

The maps shew a small place of the name of Pratáb near Bhojpúr.

It is said that the Bhojpúr Rájahs call themselves *Ujjainiahs*, because they claim descent from the ancient Rájahs of Ujjain in Málwah.

In the 17th year of Sháhjahán, Dharnídhar Ujjainiah is mentioned to have several in the second expedition against Palámau; Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, for 1871, No. II, p. 123.

[2] If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the Akbarnámah, B. could not have been imprisoned for a long time; for in the end of the 44th year of Akbar's reign, he served again at court (*Akbarn.*, III., 825).

and given to opium, and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (*Pádisháhn.*, I., 426). He died a natural death at Ágrah. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with Khwájah Barkhurdár, a brother of 'Abdullah Khán Fírúz-jang.

B. 's brother Mírzá 'Abdussubhán (No. 349) was Faujdár of Iláhábád. He was then sent to Kábul, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the Áfrídís (Tuzuk, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

'Abdussubhán's son, Sherzád Khán Bahádur, was killed in the last fight with Khán Jahán Lodí at Sehondah (p. 505). *Pádisháhn.*, I., 349.

329. Mi'r Ma'su'm of Bhakkar.

Mír Ma'çúm belongs to a family of Tirmizí Sayyids, who two or three generations before him had left Tirmiz in Bukhárá, and settled at Qandahár, where his ancestors were *mutawallís* (trustees) of the shrine of Bábá Sher Qalandar.

His father, Mír Sayyid Çafáí, settled in Bhakkar, and received favors from Sultán Mahmúd (p. 362). He was related by marriage to the Sayyids of کهابروت in Síwistán. Mír Ma'çúm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under Mullá Muhammad of Kingú, کنکري, S. W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrát, where Shaikh Is-háq i Fárúqí of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwájah Nizámuddín Ahmad, then Díwán of Gujrát. Nizám was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled 'Ṭabaqát i Akbarí,' and soon became the friend of M. M., who was likewise well versed in history. He was also introduced to Shiháb Khán (No. 26), the governor of the province, and was at last recommended to Akbar for a mançab. In the 40th year, he was a commander of 250. Akbar became very fond of him, and sent him in 1012 as ambassador to Írán, where he was received with distinction by Sháh 'Abbás.

On his return from Írán, in 1015, Jahángír sent him as Amín to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar a command of 1000.

From the Akbarnámah (III., 416, 423, 546) and Bird's History of Gujrat (p. 426) we see that M. M. served in 992 (end of the 28th year) in Gujrát, was present in the fight of Maisánah, and in the final expedition against Muzaffar in Kachh.

M. M. is well-known as poet and historian. He wrote under the poetical name of *Námí*. He composed a Díwán, a Masnáwí entitled *Ma'dan-ulafkár* in the metre of Nizámí's Makhzan, the Táríkh i Sindh, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called *Mufridát i Ma'çúmí*. The author of the *Riyázushshu'ará* says that he composed a *Khamsah* (p. 491), and the Tazkirah by Taqí (*vide* under No. 352) says the same, *viz.* one masnawí corresponding to the Makhzan, the *Husn o Náz* to the Yúsuf Zalíkhá, the *Parí Çúrat* to the Lailí Majnún, and two others in imitation of the Haft Paikar and Sikandarnámah. Badáoní (died 1004) only alludes to the 'Husn o Náz,' though he gives no title (III., 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the Riyázushshu'ará says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Içfahán and Tabríz, where he was presented to Sháh 'Abbás, there are numerous mosques and public buildings, which he adorned with metrical inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions over the gate of the Fort of Ágrah, on the Jámi' Mosque of Fathpúr

Síkrí, in Fort Máudú (*vide* p. 372, and Tuzuk, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk (Díbájah, p. 4, note) gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the side of the entrance to Salím i Chishtí's shrine at Fathpúr Síkrí, the last words of which are—"*Said and written by Muhammad Ma'çúm poetically styled Námí, son of Sayyid Çafái of Tirmiz, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalandar, son of Bábá Hasan Abdál, who was born at Sabzwár and settled at Qandahár.* Dowson, in his edition of Elliot's Historians, mentions Kirmán as the residence of Sayyid Çáfáf, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the Táríkh i Sindh regarding the saint Bábá Hasan Abdál, who lived under Mírzá Sháhrukh, son of Timur. The town of Hasan Abdál in the Panjáb, east of Aṭak, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Suk'har opposite to Bhakkar, and in the midst of the branch of the Indus which flows round Bhakkar he built a dome, to which he gave the name of Ṣatiásur (ستیاسر). "It is one of the wonders of the world, and its *Táríkh* is contained in the words گنبد دریائی, water-dome, which gives 1007, A.H.

He was a pious man, and exceedingly liberal; he often sent presents to all the people of Bhakkar, great and small. But when he retired, he discontinued his presents, and the people even felt for some cause oppressed (*mutaazzí*). It is especially mentioned of him that on his jágír lands he laid out forests for hunting.

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the Táríkh i Sindh, was Mír Buzurg. He was captured in full armour on the day Prince Khusrau's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it. Jahángír asked him why he had his armour on. "My father," replied he, "advised me to dress in full armour when on guard," and as the *Chaukínawís*, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahángír is said to have left Mír Buzurg in possession of his father's property. He was for a long time Bakhshí of Qandahár, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Çúbahdárs. He spent the 30 or 40 lacs of Rupees which he had inherited from his father. His contingent was numerous and well mounted. He subsequently served in the Dak'hin; but as his jágír did not cover his expenses, he resigned and retired to Bhakkar, contenting himself with the landed property which he had inherited. He died in 1044. Some of his children settled in Multán.

330. Khwa'jah Malik Ali', Mír Shab.

His title of Mír Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 222).

331. Ra'i Ra'm Da's Di'wa'n. *Vide* No. 238.

332. Sha'h Muhammad, son of Sa'íd Khán, the Gak'khar.

For his relations *vide* under No. 247.

333. Rahi'm Quli', son of Khán Jahán (No. 24).

334. Sher Beg, Yasáwulbáshí

Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (III., 623).

XXII. Commanders of two Hundred.

335. **Iftikhár Beg,** son of Báyazíd Beg (No. 299).

He was alive in the end of 1007 A. H. (*Akbarn.*, III., 804).

336. **Pratáb Singh.** son of Rájah Bhagwán Dás (No. 27).

He was mentioned on p. 447, under No. 160.

337. **Husain Khán Qazwíní.** *Vide* No. 281.

338. **Yádgár Husain,** son of Qabúl Khán (No. 137).

He was mentioned on p. 437. In the 31st year, he served under Qásim Khán in Kashmír. The Yádgár Husain mentioned in the Tuzuk (p. 146) may be the same. He was promoted, in the 10th year of Jahángír's reign, to a command of 700, 500 horse, for his services in the Dak'hin. *Vide* also Pádisháhnámah I., b., p. 323, l. 2 from below.

He is not to be confounded with Khwájah Yádgár, a brother of 'Abdullah Khán Fírúz-jang.

339. **Kámrán Beg** of Gílán.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrát and Kachh against Fath Khán, the younger son of Amín Khán Ghorí, and Muzaffar, and in the 36th year, against Muzaffar and the Jám. *Akbarn.*, III., 553, 621.

340. **Muhammad Khán** Turkmán.

341. **Nizámuddín Ahmad,** son of Sháh Muhammad Khán (No. 95).

He is not to be confounded with the author of the Ṭabaqát.

342. **Sakat Singh,** son of Rájah Mán Singh (No. 30).

Vide No. 256.

343. **'Imád ul Mulk.**

The Akbarnámah mentions a Qází 'Imád ul Mulk, who in the end of 984 (21st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

344. **Sharíf i Sarmadí.**

He was a poet. *Vide* below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.

345. **Qará Bahrí,** son of Qarátáq.

Qarátáq, whose name in the Akbarnámah is spelled *Qaráṭáq*, was killed by Gajpatí in the same fight in which Farhang Khán, son of Farhat Khán (No. 145), was slain (p. 441).

346. **Tátár Beg,** son of 'Alí Muhammad Asp. (No. 258).

347. **Khwájah Muhibb 'Alí** of Khawáf.

Vide p. 445, note.

348. **Hakím** [Jaláluddín] **Muzaffar** of Ardistán.

Ardistán is a Persian town which lies between Káshán and Içfahán. He was at first a doctor at the court of Sháh Ṭahmásp, and emigrated when young to India, where he was looked upon as a very experienced doctor, though his theoretical reading is said to have been limited. Badáoní (III, 169) and the Tuzuk (p. 59) praise the purity of his character and walk of life.

He served in 988 (25th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrát and Kachh. *Akbarn.*, III, 283, 418, 620. Under Jahángír, he was

made a commander of 3000, 1000 horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 37). The emperor was fond of him, as he had been with him in Iláhábád, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar. The news of the Hakím's death reached J. on the 22nd Jumáda I, 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from *qarhah i shush*, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (*yakṭaurí*) prolonged his life. His cheeks and eyes often got quite red, and when he got older, his complexion turned bluish. He was accidentally poisoned by his compounder.

349. 'Abdussubhá'n, son of 'Abdurrahmán Duldai (No. 186).

He was mentioned under No. 328, p. 514.

350. Qa'sim Beg of Tabríz.

He served in the 36th year under Sulṭán Murád in Málwah, and died on the 23rd Ábán, (end of) 1007; *vide* Akbarn., III., 628, 803. *Vide* below under the learned men of Akbar's reign.

351. Shari'f [Amír ul Umará], son of Khwájah 'Abduççamad (No. 266).

Muhammad Sharíf was the school companion of Prince Salím, who was much attached to him. When the prince had occupied Iláhábád in rebellion against Akbar, Sharíf was sent to him to advise him; but he only widened the breach between the prince and his father, and gained such an ascendancy over Salím, that he made the rash promise to give him half the kingdom, should he obtain the throne. When a reconciliation had been effected between Salím and Akbar, Sh. had to fly for his life, and concealed himself in the hills and jungles. He was reduced to starvation, when he heard of Akbar's death. He went at once to court, and Jahángír, true to his promise, made him Amír ul Umará, Vakíl, entrusted him with the great seal (*úzuk*) and allowed him to select his jágír lands. The emperor says in his Memoirs, 'He is at once my brother, my friend, my son, my companion. When he came back, I felt as if I had received new life. I am now emperor, but consider no title sufficiently high to reward him for his excellent qualities, though I can do no more than make him Amír ul Umará and a commander of 5000. My father never did more.'

Sharíf seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afgháns from India; but the Khán i A'zam (No. 21) warned Jahángír against so unwise a step. Though Sh.'s position at court was higher than that of Mírzá 'Azíz, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upstart, and Sh. recommended the emperor to kill 'Azíz for the part he had played in Khusrau's rebellion. But 'Azíz was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharíf, and invite him to his house. The Khán i A'zam did so, and invited him and the other Amírs. At the feast, however, he said to him, in the blandest way, "I say, Nawáb, you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father 'Abduççamad, the *Mullá*, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in." Khán Jahán (p, 503) and Mahábat Khán could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall; and when Jahángír heard of it, he said to Sh., "The Khán cannot bridle his tongue; but don't fall out with him."

In the second year, Sh. accompanied the emperor on his tour to Kábul, but fell so ill, that he had to be left in Láhor, Áçaf Khán (No. 98, p. 412) being appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery, he was sent to the Dak'hin, but was soon afterwards called to court, as he could not agree with the KhánKhánán (No. 29).

It is said that illness deprived him of the faculty of memory, and Jahángír was on the point of making him retire, when Khán Jahán interceded on his behalf. He was again sent to the Dak'hin, and died there a natural death.

Like his father, Sh. was a good painter. He also made himself known as a poet, and composed a Díwán. His *takhalluç* is *Fárisí* (Badáoní, III., 310).

Sh.'s eldest son, Shahbáz Khán, died when young. A Sarái near Lak'hnau, about a *kos* from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mírzá Gul and Mírzá Járullah, used to play with Jahángír at chess and *nard;* but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Járullah was married to Miçrí Begum, a daughter of Áçaf Khán (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Áçaf's death, Jahángír made him divorce his wife, and married her to Mírza Lashkarí (No. 375), son of Mírzá Yúsuf Khán (p. 347).

Both brothers followed Mahábat Khán to Kábul, where they died.

352. **Taqiya'** of Shustar.

Taqiyá is the Írání form for *Taqí.* The Ṭabaqát calls him Taqí Muhammad. Badáoní (III., 206) has *Taqíuddín*, and says that he was a good poet and a well educated man. At Akbar's order he undertook a prose version of the *Sháhnámah.* He is represented as a 'muríd,' or disciple of Akbar's Divine Faith.

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahángír's reign (1017), when he received for his attainments the title of *Muarrikh Khán* (Tuzuk, p. 69, where in Sayyid Ahmad's edition we have to read *Shushtarí* for the meaningless *Shamsherí*).

Taqiyá is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqiyá of Balbán (a village near Içfahán), who, according to the *Mir-át ul 'Álam* came in the beginning of Jahángír's reign to India. He is the author of the rare *Tazkirah*, or Lives of Poets, entitled *'Arafát o 'Araçát*, and of the Dictionary entitled *Surmah i Sulaimání*, which the lexicographer Muhammad Husain used for his *Burhán i Qáṭi.*'

353. **Khwa jah Abdussamad** of Káshán.

354. **Haki'm Lutfullah,** son of Mullá 'Abdurrazzáq of Gílán.

He is the brother of Nos. 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers. Badáoní (III., 169) calls him a very learned doctor.

355. **Sher Afkan** }
356. **Ama'nullah** } sons of Saif Khán Kokah (No. 38, p. 350).

Amánullah died in the 45th year of Akbar's reign at Burhánpúr. "He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age, and died from excessive wine-drinking." *Akbarnámah*, III., 835.

357. **Sali'm Quli'** }
358. **Khali'l Quli'** } sons of Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46).

359. **Wali' Beg,** son of Páyandah Khán (No. 68).

He served under Qásim Khán (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmír.

360. **Beg Muhammad** Uighúr.

361. **Mi'r Kha'n** Yasáwul.

When Akbar during the first Gujrátí war (p. 434, note 2) had left Patan for Chotánah (Rajab, 980), it was reported that Muzaffar of Gujrát had fled from Sher Khán Fúládí, and was concealed in the neighbourhood; *vide* p. 386. Akbar, therefore,

sent Mír Khán the Yasáwul and Faríd the Qaráwul, and afterwards Abul Qásim Namakín (No. 199) and Karam 'Alí in search of him. Mír Khán had not gone far, when he found the *chatr* and *sáibán* (p. 50) which Muzaffar had dropped, and soon after captured Muzaffar himself in a field. Mír Khán took him to Akbar.

362. Sarmast Kha'n, son of Dastam Khán (No. 79).

363. Sayyid Abul Hasan, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl (No. 140).

364. Sayyid 'Abdul Wa'hid, son of the Mír 'Adl's brother.

365. Khwa'jah Beg Mi'rza', son of Ma'çúm Beg.

366. Sakra', brother of Ráná Pratáb.

Sakrá is the son of Ráná Udai Singh, son of Ráná Sánká (*died* 934, A. H.). When his brother Pratáb, also called Ráná Kíká, was attacked by Akbar (p. 418, note 2), he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200.

In the 1st year of Jahángír's reign, he got a present of 12000 Rupees, and joined the expedition led by Prince Parwíz against Ráná Amrá, Pratáb's successor. In the end of the same year, he served against Dalpat (p. 359), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2500, 1000 horse. He received, in the 11th year, a mançab of 3000, 2000 horse.

The Akbarnámah mentions another son of Udai Singh, of the name of *Sakat Singh*, who in the 12th year of Akbar's reign was at court. The emperor had just returned from the last war with Khán Zamán, when he heard that Udai Singh had assisted the rebellious Mírzás. He therefore resolved to punish the Ráná, and on a hunting tour in Parganah Bárí told Sakat Singh of his intentions, and expressed a hope that he would accompany him. Sakat, however, fled to his father, and told him of Akbar's intentions. This determined the emperor to carry out his plan without delay. Udaipúr was invaded, and Chítor surrendered.

367. Sha'di' Be Uzbak
368. Ba'qi' Be Uzbak } sons of Nazar Be (No. 169).

They have been mentioned above on p. 455. From the Akbarnámah (III., 628) we see that Nazar Be received a jágír in Handiah, where he rebelled and perished (36th year).

369. Yu'na'n Beg, brother of Murád Khán (No. 54).

Some MSS. have *Mírzá Khán* for *Murád Khán.*

370. Shaikh Kabi'r[1] i Chishti' [Shujá'at Khán, Rustam i Zamán].[2]

The *Maásir* calls him "an inhabitant of Mau." He was a relation of Islám Khán (p. 493) i Chishtí, and received the title of Shujá'at Khán from Prince Salím, who on his accession made him a commander of 1000 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He served under Khán Jahán (p. 503) in the Dak'hin as *haráwal,* an office which the Sayyids

[1] He is not to be confounded with another Shaikh Kabír, who in the 25th year served in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt; in the 26th year, in Kábul; and in the 32nd year against the Táríkís under Maṭlab Khán (No. 83). He died in the 36th year, in the war with the Jám and Muzaffar of Gujrát (*Akbarn.*, III., 283, 408, 541, 621, where the Lucknow edition calls him *the son* of *Mukammal Khán.*

[2] Kháfí Khán calls him wrongly (I, 273) *Shujá' Khán* and *Rustam Khán.*

of Bárha claimed as hereditary in their clan. Afterwards, he went to Bengal, and commanded the imperialists in the last war with 'Usmán. During the fight, he wounded 'U.'s elephant, when the Afghán chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Walí Khán, 'Usmán's brother, and Mamrez Khán, 'Usmán's son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaikh Kabír, they submitted with their families, and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered, were taken by Sh. K. to Islám Khán in Jahángírnagar (Dháká), 6th Çafar, 1021. *Tuzuk*, p. 104.

Jahángír gave him for his bravery the title of *Rustam i Zamán*. The *Maásir* says that Islám Khán did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K. had given the Afgháns, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road, they were executed by 'Abdullah Khán at the emperor's orders. Sh. K., annoyed at this breach of faith, left Bengal. While on the way, he received an appointment as governor of Bihár, At his entry in Patna, he sat upon a female elephant, when another elephant suddenly came up against his. Sh. K. jumped down, and broke his neck.

The Tuzuk tells the story differently, and says that Islám Khán appointed Sh. K. to Oṛísá, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about Usmán's relations.

Note on the death of 'Usmán Lohání.

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of 'Usmán. Khwájah 'Usmán, according to the *Makhzan i Afghání*, was the second son of Miyán 'Isá Khán Lohání, who after the death of Qutlú Khán was the leader of the Afgháns in Oṛísá and Southern Bengal. Qutlú left three sons— Naçíb Sháh, Lodí Khán, Jamál Khán. 'Isá Khán left five sons, Khwájah Sulaimán, 'Usmán, Walí, Ibráhím. Stewart makes 'Usmán a son of Qutlú (History of Bengal, p. 133). Sulaimán 'reigned' for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Rájah Mán Singh (*vide* p. 485, No. 244), held lands near the Bráhmaputra, and subjected the Rájahs of the adjacent countries. 'Usmán succeeded him, and received from Mán Singh lands in Oṛísá and Sátgánw, and later in Eastern Bengal, with a revenue of 5 to 6 lacs *per annum*. His residence is described to have been the *Kohistán i Dháká*, or 'hills of Dháká' (Tipárah ?), the *viláyat i Dháká*, or District of Dháká, and Dháká itself. The fight with Usmán took place on Sunday, 9th Muharram, 1021, or 2nd March, 1612,[1] at a distance of 100 *kos* from Dháká. My MS. of the Makhzan calls the place of the battle *Nek Ujyál*.[2] Stewart (p. 134) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnríkhá river" in Oṛísá, which is impossible, as Shujá'at Khán arrived again in Dháká on the 6th Çafar, or 26 days after the battle. According to the Tuzuk, Islám Khán was in Dháká, when the fight took place, and Walí Khán submitted to Shujá'at, who had been strengthened by a corps under

[1] According to Prinsep's Useful Tables, the 9th Muharram was a Monday, not a Sunday, Tuzuk, p. 102.

[2] There are several Ujyáls mentioned below among the Parganahs of Sirkár Mahmúdábád (Bosnah) and Sirkár Bázúhá (Mymensing-Bogra).

'Abdussalám, son of Mu'azzam Khán (No. 260); but the Makhzan says that Islám besieged Walí in the Mahalls where 'Usmán used to live, between the battle-field and Dháká, and afterwards in the Fort of Dháká itself. Walí, on his submission, was sent to court, with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from 'Usmán, received a title, a jágír, and was made a commander of 1000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the *Maásir*, as said above, he was murdered before he came to court. The Tuzuk says nothing about him.

Stewart says (p. 136) that he was taken to court by Hoshang, Islám Khán's son; but the Tuzuk, p. 115, though it has a long passage on the Mugs which he brought with him, does not mention the Afghán prisoners.

The Makhzan also says that 'Usmán, after receiving his wound at the time when the battle was nearly decided in his favor, was carried off by Walí in a litter, and buried on the road. When Shujá'at came up to the place where he had been buried, he had 'Usmán's corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court.

'Usmán is said to have been so stout, that he was obliged to travel on an elephant. At his death, he was forty-two years of age.

The Dutch traveller De Laët (p. 488, note) has the following interesting passage: *Rex* (Jahángír) *eodem tempore misit Tseziad ghanum Chiech zaden* (Shujá'at Khán Shaikhzádah) *ad Tzalanghanum* (Islám Khán) *qui Bengalae praeerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiae* (Oṛísá) *mitteret. Sed Osmanchanus Patanensis, qui jam aliquot annis regionem quae Odiam et Daeck* (between Oṛísá and Dháká, *i. e.* the Sunderban) *interjacet, tenuerat et limites regni incursaverat, cum potentissimo exercitu advenit, Daeck oppugnaturus. Tzalanchanus autem praemisit adversus ipsum* ('Usmán) *Tzesiad chanum, una cum Mirza Ifftager et Ethaman chano* (Iftikhár Khán and Ihtimám Khán[1]) *et aliis multis Omerauvvis, cum reliquis copiis X aut XV cosarum intervallo subsequens, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Orto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Efftager et Mierick Zilaier* (Mírak Jaláir—not in the Tuzuk) *tam acrem impressionem fecerunt, ut hostes loco moverent; sed Osman inter haec ferocissimum elephantum in illos emisit, ita ut regii vicissim cedere cogerentur, et Efftager caederetur; Tzesiad gaunus autem et ipse elephanto insidens, ut impetum ferocientis belluae declinaret, se e suo dejecit, et crus prefregit, ita ut aegre a suis e certamine subduceretur, et regii passim fugam capescerent; actumque fuisset de regiis, nisi inopinatus casus proelium restituisset; miles quidem saucius humi jacens, casu Osmano, qui elephanto vehebatur, oculum globo trajecit, e quo vulnere paulo post expiravit, cujus morte milites illius ita fuerunt consternati, ut statim de fuga cogitarent. Regii vero ordinibus sensim restitutis, eventum proelii Tzalanchano perscripsere: qui biduo post ad locum venit ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzedsiatgano e vulnere defuncto, magnis itineribus fratrem* (Walí Khán) *et biduam atque liberos Osmanis assecutus, vivos cepit, eosque cum elephantis et omnibus thesauris defuncti, postquam Daeck Bengalae metropolim est reversus, misit ad regem Anno......* (the year is left out).

[1] The Tuzuk (p. 102) mentions Kishwar Khán (p. 497), Iftikhár Khán, Sayyid Ádam Bárha, Shaikh Achhe, brother's son of Muqarrab Khán, Mu'tamid Khán, and Ihtimám Khán, as under Shujá'at's command. Sayyid Ádam (the Tuzuk, p. 132, l. 4 from below has wrong Sayyid A'zam), Iftikhár, and Shaikh Achhe were killed. Later, 'Abdussalám, son of Mu'azzam Khán (No. 260) joined, and pursued 'Usmán.

De Laët says that Shujá'at Khán died from a fall from his elephant during the battle; but the accident took place some time later. The Maásir says that he was on horseback, when Usmán's elephant, whom the Tuzuk calls *Gajpatí*, and Stewart *Bukhtah* (?), knocked him over, but Sh. quickly disentangled himself, and stuck his dagger into the animal's trunk.

The Makhzan says that the plunder amounted to 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants.

371. **Mi'rza' Khwa'jah,** son of Mírzá Asadullah. *Vide* No. 116.

372. **Mi'rza' Shari'f,** son of Mírzá 'Alá-uddín.

373. **Shukrullah** [Zafar Khán], son of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34).

He was mentioned above on p. 346. On the death of his father, he was made a commander of 700, and appears to have received, at the end of Akbar's reign, the title of Zafar Khán.

As his sister was married to Jahángír (p. 345, and p. 477, note 2), Z. Kh. was rapidly promoted. When the emperor, in the second year of his reign, left Láhor for Kábul, he halted at Mauza' Ahroí,[1] near Fort Aṭak, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the K'hatar (p. 456, note 2) and Dilahzák tribes (p. 487, note). Zafar was appointed to Aṭak, *vice* Ahmad Beg Khán (No. 191), and was ordered to remove the tribes to Láhor, keep their chiefs imprisoned, and restore all plunder to the rightful owners. On Jahángír's return from Kábul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a mançab of 2000, 1000 horse. In the 7th year, he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse, and governor of Bihár. In the 10th year, he was removed, went back to court, where he received an increase of 500 horse, and then served in Bangash. 'Nothing else is known of him.' *Maásir.*

From the Tuzuk (p. 343) we see that Zafar Khán died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahángír made his son Sa'ádat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Sa'ádat Khán, his son. He served in Kábul, and was at the end of Jahángír's reign a commander of 1500, 700 horse. In the 5th year after Sháhjahán's accession, he was made a commander of 1500, 1000 horse, and was promoted up to the 25th year to a full command of 3000 horse. He again served in Kábul, and under Murád Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshán, was made commandant of Tirmiz, and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subhán Qulí Khán, ruler of Bukhárá (19th year). Later he served in the Qandahár wars, was in the 29th year Faujdár of Upper and Lower Bangash, and two years later commandant of Fort Kábul.

In 1069, the second year of Aurangzíb's reign, he was killed by his son Sherullah. Mahábat Khán, çúbahdár of Kábul, imprisoned the murderer.

374. **Mi'r 'Abdul Mu'min,** son of Mír Samarqandí.

Mír Samarqandí was a learned man who came during Bairám's regency to Ágrah. *Badáoní* III., 149.

375. **Lashkari',** son of Mírzá Yúsuf Khán (No. 35).

Vide above p. 374, and for his wife under No. 351.

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[1] The *Maásir* has اهروئی; the *Tuzuk*, p. 48, اهروهی. I cannot find it on the maps. It is described as a green flat spot. The K'hatars and Dilahzáks are estimated in the Tuzuk at 7 to 8000 families.

376. A'gha' Mulla' Qazwíní. *Vide* No. 278.

377. Muhammad 'Ali' of Jám.

Jám is a place in Khurásán, famous for its *Bábá Shaikhí* melons. It has given name to the two poets Púr Bahá and the renowned 'Abdurrahmán Jámí.

378. Mat'hura' Da's, the K'hatrí.

379. Sat'hura' Da's, his son.

The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sulṭán Murád in Kábul. *Akbarn.*, III., 333.

380. Mi'r Mura'd, brother of Sháh Beg Kolabí (No. 148). *Vide* No. 282.

381. Kalla', the Kachhwáhah.

He served in 989 under Prince Murád in Kábul.

382. Sayyid Darwi'sh, son of Shams i Bukhárí.

383. Junaid Murul.

A Shaikh Junaid served under Shiháb Khán (No. 26) in Gujrát. He was killed in the Khaibar catastrophe (*Akbarn.*, III., 190, 498).

384. Sayyid Abu' Is-ha'q, son of Mírzá Rafí'uddín i Çafawí.

He was mentioned on p. 439. In the 36th year, he served against the Jám and Muzaffar of Gujrát.

His father Rafí'uddín was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at Ágrah in 954 or 957. One of his ancestors was Mu'ínuddín, author of a commentary to the Qorán, entitled *Tafsír i Ma'ání.*

385. Fath Kha'n, superintendent of the leopards.

In 985, Akbar cured his sore eyes by blood letting, which Abulfazl describes, according to his custom, as a miracle. F. K. was in change of the hunting leopards.

There is some confusion in the histories regarding the Fath Kháns of Akbar's reign. *First*, there is Fattú Khán Afghán. *Fattú* is the same as *Fath.* His title is *Masnad i 'Alí*, and his son was mentioned above, No. 306. *Secondly*, Fath Khán Fílbán, who when young was Akbar's elephant driver (*fílbán*). He was subsequently made Amír, and according to my two MSS. of the Ṭabaqát, died in 990. But Badáoní (II, 353) mentions Fath Khán Fílbán as alive in 994, when he accompanied Qásim Khán (No. 59) on his march to Kashmír; but the Akbarnámah, in the corresponding passage (III., 512) calls him *Fath Khán Masnad i 'Alí.* Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians (I, 244, 250) mentions a Fath Khán Bahádur. A Fath Khán Tughluq was mentioned under No. 187, p. 465.

386. Muqi'm Kha'n, son of Shujá'at Khán (No. 51). *Vide* p. 371.

He served in the siege of Ásír, and in the 46th year in the Dak'hin. *Akbarn.*, III., 825, 865.

387. La'lah, son of Rájah Bír Baṛ (No. 85).

The Akbarnámah (III., 865) calls him the *eldest* son of Rájah Bír Baṛ. *Vide* p. 405.

388. Yu'suf i Kashmi'ri'. *Vide* No. 228.

389. Ḥabi' Yasa'wul.

Habí is an abbreviation of *Habíb.*

390. Haidar Dost, brother of Qásim 'Alí Khán (No. 187).

391. Dost Muhammad, son of Bábá Dost.

392. Sha'hrukh Dantúrí.

Dantúr, Dhantúr, or Dhantáwar, is a district near the Kashmír[1] frontier. The Tuzuk (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhantúr, during Akbar's reign, was ruled over by Sháhrukh, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahángír) by his son Bahádur. Bahádur was a commander of 200, 100 horse, and served under Mahábat in Bangash.

393. Sher Muhammad.

He served in 993 in the Dak'hin. *Akbarn.*, III., 472.

A *Sher Muhammad Díwánah* was mentioned on p. 316. He had at first been in the service of Khwájah Mu'azzam, brother of Akbar's mother. When Akbar, in the 10th year, was at Jaunpúr, engaged with the rebellion of Khán Zamán, Sher Muhammad Díwánah plundered several places in Parganah Samánah, the faujdár of which was Mullá Núruddín Tarkhán. The Mullá had left his vakíl Mír Dost Muhammad in Samánah. Sh. M. D. invited him and treacherously murdered him at the feast. Plundering several places he went to Máler, when he was surprised by the Mullá at a place called Dhanúrí in Samánah. Sh. M. D. fled, but his horse ran against the trunk of a tree and threw him down. He was captured and executed, A. H. 973. *Akbarn.*, II., 332.

394. 'Alí Qulí [Beg, Istajlú, Sher Afkan Khán].

He was the *safarchí*, or table-attendant, of Ismá'íl II, king of Persia. After his death, he went over Qandahár to India, and met at Multán the KhánKhánán (No. 29), who was on his march to T'hat'hah. At his recommendation, he received a *mançab*. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Mihrunnisá (the future Núr Jahán), daughter of Mírzá Ghiás Ṭahrání (No. 319). Ghiás's wife had accession to the imperial harem, and was on her visits often accompanied by her daughter. Prince Salím saw her, and fell in love with her, and Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her quickly to 'Alí Qulí.

'Alí Qulí accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Ráná, and received from him the title of Sher Afkan Khán. On his accession, he received Bardwán as *tuyúl*. His hostile encounter with Shaikh Khúbú (No. 275) was related on p. 496. The *Maásir* says that when he went to meet the Çúbahdár, his mother put a helmet (*dubalghah*) on his head, and said, "My son make his mother cry, before he makes your mother weep," then kissed him, and let him go.

'Alí Q.'s daughter, who, like her mother, had the name of Mihrunnisá, was later married to Prince Shahryár, Jahángír's fifth son.

Jahángír in the Tuzuk expresses his joy at 'A. Q.'s death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell." Kháfí Khán (I., p. 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Núr Jahán's mother. According to her, Sher Afkan was not killed by Quṭbuddín's men, but, wounded as he was, managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, whom he did not wish to fall into the emperor's hands. But her mother would not

[1] *Vide* Cunningham's 'Geography of Ancient India,' p. 131. It lies on the Dor River, near Naushahrah.

let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Mihrunnisá had committed suicide by throwing herself into a well. "Having heard the sad news, Sher Afkan went to the heavenly mansions."

His body was buried in the shrine of the poet Bahrám Saqqá (*vide* below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwán.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Núr Jahán killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (Tuzuk, p. 186), and Núr Jahán requested Jahángír to let her shoot them. She killed two with one ball each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing, for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafís. One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment—

نور جهان گرچه بصورت زن است　　در صف مردان زن شیر افکن است

"Though Núr Jahán is a woman, she is in the array of men a *zan i sher afkan*," *i. e.* either the wife of Sher Afkan, or a woman who throws down (*afkan*) tigers (*sher*).

395. Sha'h Muhammad, son of Masnad i 'Alí.

Vide Nos. 306 and 385.

396. Sanwalda's Ja'don.

He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád (p. 416, note), and served in 989 under Prince Murád in Kábul. In 992, he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bháṭí. Akbar visited him, as he was given up by the doctors; but he recovered after an illness of three years.

He was the son of Rájah Gopál Jádon's brother (*vide* No. 305), and Abulfazl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. *Akbarn.*, III., 24, 333, 435.

397. Khwa'jah Zahi'ruddi'n, son of Shaikh Khalílullah.

He served in the 31st year under Qásim Khán (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmír, and in the 46th year in the Dak'hin.

His father is also called *Sháh* Khalílullah. He served in the 10th year against Khán Zamán, and under Mun'im Khán in Bengal and Oṛísá, and died in 983 at Gaur of fever (p. 376).

Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mír Khalílullah of Yazd and his son Mír Zahíruddín, who in the 2nd year of Jahángír came as fugitives from Persia to Láhor. The history of this noble family is given in the *Maásir.*

398. Mi'r Abul Qa'sim of Níshápúr.

399. Ha'ji' Muhammad Ardistání.

400. Muhammad Kha'n, son of Tarson Khán's sister (No. 32).

401. Khwa'jah Muqi'm, son of Khwájah Mírakí.

He served under 'Azíz Kokah in Bengal, and returned with him to court in the 29th year. In 993, he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Ṭáhir Saiful Mulúk (No. 201) in Fort G'horág'hát by several Bengal rebels. In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made *Bakhshí.* Akbarn., III., 418, 470, 610.

Vidè Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I., pp. 248, 251.

402. Qa'dir Quli', foster brother of Mírzá Sháhrukh (No. 7).

He served in the 36th year in Gujrát. *Akbarn.*, III., 621.

403. Fi'ru'zah, a slave of the emperor Humáyún.

Badáoní (III, 297) says that he was captured, when a child, by a soldier in one of the wars with India, and was taken to Humáyún, who brought him up with Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother. He played several musical instruments and composed poems. He came to India with Gházi Khán i Badakhshí (No. 144).

Badáoní also says that he was a Langá.

404. Ta'j Kha'n K'hatriah. *Vide* No. 172.

405. Zainuddi'n 'Ali'.

He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mán Singh against M. Muhammad Hakím.

406. Mi'r Shari'f of Koláb.

407. Paha'r Kha'n, the Balúch.

He served in the 21st year against Daudá, son of Surjan Háḍá (No. 96), and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was *tuyúldár* of Gházípúr, and hunted down Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, after the latter had plundered Muhammadábád (p. 444). In the 28th year, he served in Gujrát, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisánah, S. E. of Patan, in which Sher Khán Fuládí was defeated. *Akbarn.*, III., 160, 355, 416.

Dr. Wilton Oldham, C. S., states in his 'Memoir of the Ghazeepoor District' (p. 80) that Faujdár Paháṛ Khán is still remembered in Gházípúr, and that his tank and tomb are still objects of local interest.

408. Keshu' Da's, the Ráṭ'hor.

In the beginning of 993 (end of the 29th year), he served in Gujrát. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salím (p. 310). From the Akbarnámah, III., 623, it appears that he is the son of Rái Rái Singh's brother (No. 44), and perished, in the 36th year, in a private quarrel.

409. Sayyid La'd Ba'rha.

In 993, Sayyid Láḍ served with the preceding in Gujrát, and in the 46th year, in the Dak'hin.

410. Nasi'r Main.

Main (ماین), or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Rang'har Rájpúts, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Bahat Duáb. "The only famous man which this tribe has produced, is 'Isá Khán Main. He served under Bahádur Sháh and Jahándár Sháh." *Maásir.*

411. Sa'ngah, the Punwar.

412. Qa'bil, son of 'Atíq.

413. Adwand } Zamíndárs of Oṛísá.
414. Sundar }

415. Nu'ram, foster brother of Mírzá Ibráhím.

He served in the 31st year against the Afgháns on Mount Teráh, and in 1000, under Mán Singh in the expedition to Oṛísá. *Akbarn.*, III., 532, 642.

Mírzá Ibráhím was Akbar's youngest brother, who died as an infant.

The above list of Grandees includes the names of such Mançabdárs above the rank of commanders of Five hundred as were alive and dead in the 40th year of his Majesty's reign, in which this book was completed; but the list of the commanders from Five hundred to Two hundred only contains such as were alive in that year. Of those who hold a lower rank and are now alive, I shall merely give the number. There are at present

of Commanders	of 150	53
Do.	of 120	1
Do.	of 100, or *Yúzbáshis*,	250
Do.	of 80	91
Do.	of 60	204
Do.	of 50	16
Do.	of 40	260
Do.	of 30, or *Tarkashbands*,	39
Do.	of 20	250
Do.	of 10	224

[Total, 1388 Mançabdárs below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to mançabs or promoted to higher dignities. Many Arabians and Persians also come from distant countries, and are honoured with commissions in the army, whereby they obtain the object of their desires. A large number again, both of old and young servants, receive their discharge, and are rewarded by his Majesty with daily allowances or grants of land, that render them independent.

As I have mentioned the Grandees of the state, both such as are still alive and such as have gone to their rest, I shall also give the names of those who have been employed in the administration of the government, and thus confer upon them everlasting renown.

The following have been *Vakíls*, or prime-ministers,—[1]

Bairám Khán (No. 10); Mun'im Khán (No. 11); Atgah Khán (No. 15); Bahádur Khán (No. 22); Khwájah Jahán (No. 110); KhánKhánán Mírzá Khán (No. 29); Khán i A'zam Mírzá Kokah (No. 21).

The following have been *Vazírs*, or ministers of finances—

Mír 'Azízullah Turbatí; Khwájah Jaláluddín Mahmúd[2] of Khurásán (No. 65); Khwájah Mu'ínuddín i Farankhúdí (No. 128); Khwájah 'Abdul Majíd Áçaf Khán (No. 49); Vazír Khán (No. 41); Muzaffar Khán (No. 37); Rájah Todar Mall (No. 39); Khwájah Sháh Mançúr of Shíráz (No. 122); Qulij Khán (No. 42); Khwájah Shamsuddín Khawáfí (No. 159).

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[1] Abulfazl's list is neither complete, nor chronologically arranged.

[2] The MSS. and my text have wrong *Mas'úd*, for Mahmúd.

The following have been *Bakhshís*—

Khwájah Jahán (No. 110); Khwájah Ṭáhir of Sijistán (No. 111); Mauláná Habí Bihzádí,[1] Mauláná Darwísh Muhammad of Mashhad; Mauláná 'Ishqí,[2] Muqím of Khurásán (No. 401); Sulṭán Mahmúd of Badakhshán; Lashkar Khán (No. 90); Shahbáz Khán (No. 80); Rái Puruk'hotam; Shaikh Faríd i Bukhárí (No. 99); Qází 'Alí of Baghdád; Ja'far Beg Áçaf Khán (No. 98); Khwájah Nizámuddín Ahmad;[3] Khwájagí Fathullah (No. 258).

The following have been *Çadrs*—[4]

Mír Fathullah; Shaikh Gadáí, son of Shaikh Jamál i Kambú; Khwájagí Muhammad Çálih, descendant in the third generation from Khwájah 'Abdullah Marwáríd; Mauláná 'Abdul Báqí; Shaikh 'Abdunnabí; Sulṭán Khwájah (No. 108); Çadr Jahán (No. 194).

Concluding Note by the Translator on Akbar's Mançabdárs.

The principal facts which Abulfazl's list of Grandees discloses are, *first*, that there were very few Hindústání Musulmáns in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service, most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afgháns; *secondly*, that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindú Amírs, as among the 415 Mançabdárs there are 51 Hindús.

The Mançabdárs who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mír Sháh Abul Ma'álí; Khwájah Mu'azzam, brother of Akbar's mother; Bábá Khán Qáqshál; Ma'çúm i Kábulí (p. 431, note); 'Arab Bahádur; Jabárí, &c. But there are also several left out, as Khizr Khwájah (p. 365, note 2), Sulṭán Husain Jaláir (*vide* under No. 64), Kamál Khán the Gak'khar (*vide* p. 456), Mír Gesú (p. 421), Naurang Khán, son of Quṭbuddín Khán (p. 334), Mírzá Qulí (p. 385), Rájah Áskaran (p. 458), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abulfazl's list with that in the Ṭabaqát, or the careful lists of Sháhjahán's grandees in the Pádisháhnámah, we observe that Abulfazl has only given the *mançab*, but not the actual commands, which would have shewn the strength of the contingents (*tábínán*). In other words, Abulfazl has merely given the *záti* rank (p. 241). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nizámuddín in the Ṭabaqát, which

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[1] Some MSS. have *Hai* instead of *Habí* (an abbreviation for *Habíb*).

[2] Regarding him *vide* Akbarnámah, III., 210. He was of Ghazní.

[3] The Historian.

[4] *Vide* pp. 270 to 274. Regarding Mauláná 'Abdul Báqí., who was *Çadr* in the fifth year, *vide* Akbarnámah, II., 143.

may advantageously be given here. Nizám only gives mançabdárs of higher rank, *viz.*

	In the Ṭabaqát.[1]	*In Abulfazl's list.*
1.	KhánKhánán Bairám Khán, ...	No. 10. Mançab, 5000.
2.	Mírzá Sháhrukh, 5000, ...	,, 7; 5000.
3.	Tardí Beg Khán, ...	,, 12; do.
4.	Mun'im Khán, ...	,, 11; do.
5.	Mírzá Rustam, 5000, ...	,, 9; do.
6.	Mírzá KhánKhánán, ...	,, 29; do.
7.	'Alí Qulí Khán Zamán, ...	,, 13; do.
8.	Adham Khán, ...	,, 19; do.
9.	Mírzá Sharafuddín Husain, ...	,, 17; do.
10.	Shamsuddín Muhammad Atgah Khán, ...	,, 15; do.
11.	Muhammad 'Azíz Kokultash, 5000, ...	,, 21; do.
12.	Khizr Khwájah, ...	,, not in the Áín; *vide* p. 365.
13.	Bahádur Khán, 5000	,, 22; 5000.
14.	Mír Muhammad Khán Atgah, ...	,, 16; do.
15.	Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás,*	,, 31; do.
16.	Khán Jahán, 5000, ...	,, 24; do.
17.	Shihábuddín Ahmad Khán, 5000, ...	,, 26; do.
18.	Sa'íd Khán, 5000, ...	,, 25; do.
19.	Pír Muhammad Khán, ...	,, 20; do.
20.	Rájah Bihárá Mall,*	,, 23; do.
21.	Rájah Bhagwán Dás, 5000, ...	,, 27; do.
22.	Mán Singh, 5000, ...	,, 30; do.
23.	Khwájah 'Abdul Majíd Áçaf Khán, maintained 20,000 horse, ...	,, 49; 3000.
24.	Sikandar Khán Uzbak,*	,, 48; 3000.
25.	'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, ...	,, 14; 5000.
26.	Qiyá Khán Gung,*	,, 33; 5000.
27.	Yúsuf Muhammad Khán Kokah, 5000, ...	,, 18; 5000.
28.	Zain Khán Kokah, 5000, ...	,, 34; 4500.
29.	Shujá'at Khán, 5000, ...	,, 51; 3000.
30.	Sháh Budágh Khán, ...	,, 52; 3000.
31.	Ibráhím Khán Uzbak, 4000, ...	,, 64; 2500.
32.	Tarson Muhammad Khán, 5000, ...	,, 32; 5000.

[1] According to MS. No. 87 of the Library of the As. Soc., Bengal, and my own MS. The occasional differences in the names are mostly traceable to Akbar's hatred, which Abulfazl shared, of the names 'Muhammad,' 'Ahmad.'

* Mentioned in the *Ṭabaqát* as belonging to the *Umará i kibár*, 'the great Amírs', *i. e.*, probably, the commanders of 5000.

In the Țabaqát.	*In Abulfazl's list.*
33. Vazír Khán, 5000,	No. 41; 4000.
34. Muhammad Murád Khán,*	„ 54; 3000.
35. Ashraf Khán,*	„ 74; 2000.
36. Mahdí Qásim Khán,*	„ 36; 4000.
37. Muhammad Qásim Khán,	„ 40; 4000.
38. Khwájah Sulțán 'Alí,	„ 56; 3000.
39. Rájah Todar Mall, 4000,	„ 39; 4000.
40. Mírzá Yúsuf Khán Razawí, 4000,	„ 35; 4500.
41. Mírzá Qulí Khán,*	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 385.
42. Muzaffar Khán,	No. 37; 4000.
43. Haidar Muhammad Khán, 2000,	„ 66; 2500.
44. Sháham Khán Jaláir, 2000,	„ 97; 2000.
45. Ismá'íl Sulțán Duldai,	„ 72; 2000.
46. Muhammad Khán Jaláir,[1]	not in the Áín.
47. Khán i 'Álam, 3000,[1]	No. 58; 3000.
48. Quțbuddín Muhammad Khán, maintained 5000 horse,	„ 28; 5000.
49. Muhibb 'Alí Khán, 4000,	„ 107; 1000.
50. Qulij Khán, 4000,	„ 42; 4000.
51. Muhammad Çádiq Khán, 4000,	„ 43; 4000.
52. Mírzá Jání Beg, 3000,	„ 47; 3000.
53. Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, 3000,[2]	„ 46; 3500.
54. I'timád Khán Gujrátí, 4000,	„ 67; 2500.
55. Rájah Rái Singh, of Bíkánír and Nágor, 4000,	„ 44; 4000.
56. Sharíf Muhammad Khán, 3000,	„ 63; 3000.
57. Sháh Fakhruddín, Naqábát Khán, 1000,	„ 88; 2000.
58. Habíb 'Alí Khán,	„ 133; 1000.
59. Sháh Qulí Mahram, 1000,	„ 45; 3500.
60. Muhibb 'Alí Khán Rahtásí, 4000,	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 422.
61. Mu'ínuddín Ahmad,	No. 128; 1000.
62. I'timád Khán Khwájahsará,	„ 119; 1000.
63. Dastam[3] Khán,	„ 79; 2000.
64. Kamál Khán, the Gakk'har, 5000,	not in the Áín; *vide* pp. 456, 486.
65. Țáhir Khán Mír Farághat, 2000,	No. 94; 2000.

[1] He got insane. *Țabaqát.*
[2] MS., 1000.
[3] The MSS. of the Țabaqát also have wrong *Rustam Khán.*

* Mentioned in the *Țabaqát* as belonging to the *Umará i kibár,* 'the great Amírs', *i. e.*, probably, the commanders of 5000.

In the Ṭabaqát.	*In Abulfazl's list.*
66. Sayyid Hámid of Bukhárá, 2000, ...	No. 78; 2000.
67. Sayyid Mahmúd Khán, Bárha, 4000, ...	„ 75; 2000.
68. Sayyid Ahmad Khán, Bárha, 3000, ...	„ 91; 2000.
69. Qará Bahádur Khán,[1] 4000, (?)	„ 179; 700.
70. Báqí Muhammad Khán Kokah, 4000, ...	„ 60; 3000.
71. Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl,..................	„ 140; 1000.
72. Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, 2000, ...	„ 157; 1000.
73. Naurang Khán, 4000,.........................	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 334.
74. Sháh Muhammad Khán Atgah, younger brother of Shamsuddín Atgah,[2]	not in the Áín.
75. Maṭlab Khán, 2000, ...	No. 83; 2000.
76. Shaikh Ibráhím, 2000, ...	„ 82; 2000.
77. 'Alí Qulí Khán, 2000, ...	„ 124; 1000.
78. Tolak Khán Qúchín, 2000, ...	„ 158; 1000.
79. Sháh Beg Khán Kábulí, 3000, ...	„ 57; 3000.
80. Fattú Khán Afghán, 2000,.................	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 523.
81. Fath Khán, Fílbán, 2000,...................	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 523.
82. Samánjí Khán Mughul, 2000, ...	No. 100; 1500.
83. Bábú Manklí, 1000,............................	„ 202; 700.
84. Darwísh Muhammad Uzbak, 2000, ...	„ 81; 2000.
85. Shahbáz Khán Kambú, 2000,................	„ 80; 2000.
86. Khwájah Jahán Khurásání, ...	„ 110; 1000.
87. Majnún Khán Qáqshál, kept 5000 horse, ...	„ 50; 3000.
88. Muhammad Qásim Khán,[3] 3000, ...	„ 40; 4000.
89. Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, 1000, ...	„ 180; 700.
90. Rájah Jagannáth, 3000,......................	„ 69; 2500.
91. Rájah Áskaran, 3000, ...	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 458.
92. Rái Loṇkaran, 2000, ...	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 494.
93. Mádhú Singh, "brother of R. Mán Singh," 2000, ...	No. 104; 1500.
94. Saif Khán Kokah, ...	„ 38; 4000.
95. Ghiásuddín 'Alí Áçaf Khán, ...	„ 126; 1000.
96. Páyandah Khán Mughul, 2000,..............	„ 68; 2500.
97. Mubárak Khán, the Gak'khar, 1000,.........	„ 171; 1000.
98. Báz Bahádur Afghán, 2000, ...	„ 120; 1000.
99. Mírak Khán Jinkjank (?), ...	not in the Áín.
100. Sayyid Qásim Bárha, 2000, ...	„ 105; 1500.
101. Rájah Kangár, 2000,........................	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 436.

[1] MS., Bahádur Khán.
[2] This is probably a mistake of the author of the *Ṭabaqát.*
[3] The same as No. 37 on p. 530.

In the Ṭabaqát.	*In Abulfazl's list.*
102. Muhammad Husain Lashkar Khán, kept 2000 horse, ...	No. 90 ; 2000.
103. Husain Khán Tukriyah, 2000, ...	„ 53 ; 3000.
104. Jalál Khán, the Gakk'har, 1500, ...	„ 170 ; 1000.
105. Sa'íd Khán, the Gakk'har, 1500, ...	not in the Áín ; *vide* pp. 457, 486.
106. I'tibár Khán, the Eunuch, 2000.	No. 84 ; 2000.
107. Khwájah Ṭáhir Muhammad Tátár Khán, ...	„ 111 ; 1000.
108. Mot'h Rájah, 1500, ...	„ 121 ; 1000.
109. Mihtar Khán, Kháçah Khail, 2000, ...	„ 102 ; 1500.
110. Çafdar Khán, Kháçah Khail, 2000,[1]	not in the Áín.
111. Bahár Khán, Kháçah Khail, 2000,..............	No. 87 (?) ; 2000.
112. Farhat Khán, Kháçah Khail, 2000, ...	„ 145 ; 1000.
113. Rái Sál Darbárí, 2000,............................	„ 106 ; 1250.
114. Rái Durgá, 1500,[1]	„ 103 ; 1500.
115. Mírak Khán Bahádur,[2] 2000, ...	„ 208 ; 500.
116. Sháh Muhammad Qalátí,.........................	„ 95 ; 2000.
117. Maqçúd 'Alí Kor,......................................	„ 136 ; 1000.
118. Ikhláç Khán, the Eunuch, 1000, ...	„ 86 ; 2000.
119. Mihr 'Alí Sildoz, 1500, ...	„ 130 ; 1000.
120. Khudáwand Khán Dak'hiní, 1500,.............	„ 151 ; 1000.
121. Mír Murtazá Dak'hiní, 1000, ...	„ 162 ; 1000.
122. Hasan Khán, a Bataní Afghán, 1000, ...	„ 220 ; 500.
123. Nazar Beg, son of Sa'íd, the Gakk'har, 1000,	„ 247 ; 500.
124. Rájah Gopál, 2000,................................	not in the Áín ; *vide* p. 502.
125. Qiyá Khán, 1000, ...	No. 184 ; 700.
126. Sayyid Háshim Bárha, 2000,..................	„ 143 ; 1000.
127. Razawí Khán, 2000, ...	„ 141 ; 1000.
128. Rájah Bír Bal, 2000,...............................	„ 85 ; 2000.
129. Shaikh Faríd i Bukhárí, 1500, ...	„ 99 ; 1500.
130. Rájah Surjan, 2000, ...	„ 96 ; 2000.
131. Ja'far Beg Áçaf Khán, 2000, ...	„ 98 ; 2000.
132. Rájah Rúpsí Bairágí, 1500, ...	„ 118 ; 1000.
133. Fázil Khán, 1500, ...	„ 156 ; 1000.
134. Sháh Qulí Khán Náranjí, 1000, ...	„ 231 ; 500.
135. Shaikh Muhammad Khán Bukhárí, 2000,...	„ 77 ; 2000.
136. La'l Khán Badakhshí, ...	„ 209 ; 500.

[1] MS., 1000.

[2] He died in the explosion of a mine before Chítor.

In the Ṭabaqát.	In Abulfazl's list.
137. Khanjar Beg Chaghtá,[1]	not in the Áín.
138. Makhçúç Khán, 2500,	No. 70; 2500.
139. Sání Khán Arlát,	„ 216; 500.
140. Mírzá Husain Khán,	„ 149; 1000.
141. Jagat Singh, 1500,	„ 160; 1000.
142. Mírzá Naját Khán,	„ 142; 1000.
143. 'Alí Dost Khán, 1000,[2]	not in the Áín.
144. Sulṭán Husain Khán,	not in the Áín.
145. Khwájah Sháh Mançúr Shírází,	No. 122; 1000.
146. Salím Khán, 1000,	„ 132; 1000.
147. Sayyid Chhajhú Bárha,	„ 221; 500.
148. Darbár Khán, 1000,	„ 185; 700.
149. Hájí Muhammad Sístání, 1000 (?)	„ 55; 3000.
150. Muhammad Zamán,[3]	not in the Áín.
151. Khurram Khán, 2000,[4]	not in the Áín.
152. Muhammad Qulí Toqbái, 1000,	No. 129; 1000.
153. Mujáhid Khán, 1000,[5]	not in the Áín.
154. Sulṭán Ibráhím Aubahí,[6]	not in the Áín.
155. Sháh Ghází Khán Turkmán,	not in the Áín.
156. Sheroyah, 1000,	No. 168; 1000.
157. Kákar 'Alí Khán, 1000,	„ 92; 2000.
158. Naqíb Khán, 1000,	„ 161; 1000.
159. Beg Núrín Khán, 1000,	„ 212; 500.
160. Qutlú Qadam Khán, 1000,	„ 123; 1000.
161. Jalál Khán Qurchí, 1000,	„ 213; 500.
162. Shimál Khán Qurchí, 1000,	„ 154; 1000.
163. Mírzádah 'Alí Khán,	„ 152; 1000.
164. Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán,	„ 189; 700.

[1] "He belongs to the old Amírs of the present dynasty. He was an accomplished man, excelled in music, and composed poems. There exists a well known Masnawí by him, *dar báb i ak'hárah*, on the subject of dancing girls." *Ṭabaqát. Vide* Akbarnámah, II., 82.

[2] "He was a servant of Humáyún. In Akbar's service he rose to a command of 1000, and died at Láhor." One MS. calls him 'Alí Dost Khán *Nárangí*, the other has *Bárbegí*, an unusual title for the Mughul period.

[3] "Muhammad Zamán is the brother of Mírzá Yúsuf Khán (No. 35). He belonged to the commanders of 1000, and was killed in Gadha." *Ṭabaqát.*

[4] According to the Ṭabaqát, he was dead in 1000. *Vide* Akbarnámah, II., 98, 108, 200, 284, 287.

He is not to be confounded with Mírzá Khurram (No. 177).

[5] Mujáhid Khán was the son of Muçáhib Khán, one of Humáyún's courtiers. He was killed at Konbhalmír. *Akbarnámah*, III., 146, 168.

[6] He was the *khál*, or maternal uncle, of the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Kamáon.

In the Ṭabaqát.	*In Abulfazl's list.*
165. Mír Sharíf i Ámulí, 1000,	No. 166; 1000.
166. Farrukh Khán,	„ 232; 500.
167. Dost Khán,[1]	not in the Áín.
168. Ja'far Khán Turkmán, 1000,	No. 114; 1000.
169. Rái Manohar,	„ 265; 400.
170. Shaikh 'Abdurrahím of Lak'hnau,	„ 197; 700.
171. Mírzá Abul Muzaffar,	„ 240; 500.
172. Ráj Singh, son of Rájah Áskaran,	„ 174; 1000.
173. Rái Patr Dás,	„ 196; 700.
174. Jánish Bahádur,	„ 235; 500.
175. Muhammad Khán Niyází,	„ 239; 500.
176. Rám Dás Kachhwáhah,	„ 238; 500.
177. Mír Abul Qásim,	„ 251; 500.
178. Khwájah 'Abdul Hai, Mír 'Adl,	„ 230; 500.
179. Shamsuddín Husain, son of A'zam Khán,	„ 163; 1000.
180. Khwájah Shamsuddín Khawáfí,	„ 159; 1000.
181. Mír Jamáluddín Husain Injú, 1000,	„ 164; 1000.
182. Shaikh 'Abdullah Khán, son of Muhammad Ghaus, 1000,	„ 173; 1000.
183. Sayyid Rájú Bárha, 1000,	„ 165; 1000.
184. Mední Rái Chauhán, 1000,	„ 198; 700.
185. Mír Ṭáhir Razawí, brother of M. Yúsuf Khán,	„ 236; 500.
186. Tásh Beg Kábulí,	„ 172; 1000.
187. Ahmad Beg Kábulí, keeps 700 horse,	„ 191; 700.
188. Sher Khwájah,	„ 176; 800.
189. Muhammad Qulí Turkmán,	„ 203; 600.
190. Mírzá 'Alí 'Alamsháhí,[2]	„ 237; 500.
191. Wazír Jamíl,	„ 200; 700.
192. Rái Bhoj, 1000,	„ 175; 1000.
193. Bakhtyár Beg Turkmán,	„ 204; 600.
194. Mír Çadr Jahán,	„ 194; 700.
195. Hasan Beg Shaikh 'Umarí,	„ 167; 1000.
196. Shádmán, son of 'Azíz Kokah,	„ 233; 500.
197. Rájah Mukaṭmán Bhadauriah,	„ 249; 500.
198. Báqí Safarchí, son of Ṭáhir Khán Farághat,	not in the Áín; *vide* p. 408.

[1] One MS. calls his بهاري, the other سهارى. "He belonged to the commanders of 1000, and is now (A. H. 1001) dead."

[2] "He is the brother of 'Alamsháh, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms." *Ṭabaqát.* This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded on p. 482.

In the Ṭabaqát.	*In Abulfazl's list.*
199. Farídún Barlás, ...	No. 227; 500.
200. Bahádur Khán Qurdár, a Tarín Afghán, ...	„ 269; 400.
201. Shaikh Báyazíd i Chishtí, ...	„ 260; 400.

In this above list, a few grandees are mentioned whom Abulfazl classes among the commanders of 400. Nizám, however, adds the following note to his own list—"Let it be known that the title of *Amír* is given to all such as hold Mançabs from 500 upwards. *None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank.*"

The Historian Badáoní has not given a list of Amírs, but has compiled instead a very valuable list of the poets, doctors, learned men, and saints of Akbar's reign, together with biographical notices, which make up the third volume of the edition printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. With his usual animus he says (III. 1,)—"I shall not give the names of the Amírs, as Nizám has given them in the end of his work, and *besides, most of them have died without having obtained the pardon of God.*

I have seen none that is faithful in this generation;
If thou knowest one, give him my blessing."

Of the Mançabdárs whose names Abulfazl has not given, because the Áín list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the most famous are Mahábat Khán, Khán Jahán Lodí (p. 503), and 'Abdullah Khán Fírúz-jang.

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahángír's reign; but the Dutch traveller De Laët, in his work on India (p. 151), has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahángír's Mançabdárs, which may be compared with the lists in the Áín and the Pádisháhnámah (II., 717). Leaving out the princes, whose *mançabs* were above 5000, we have—

Commanders of	*Under Akbar.* (Áín)	*Under Jahángír.* (De Laët)	*Under Sháhjahán* (Pádisháhnámah)
5000	30	8	20
4500	2	9	0
4000	9	25	20
3500	2	30	0
3000	17	36	44
2500	8	42	11
2000	27	45	51
1500	7	51	52
1250	1	0	0
1000	31	55	97
900	38	0	23
800	2	0	40

700	25	58	61
600	4	0	30
500	46	80	114
Total,	249	439	563
400	18	73	
350	19	58	
300	33	72	not specified.
250	12	85	
200	81	150	
Total,	163	438	
150	53	242	
120	1	0	
100	250	300	
80	91	245	not specified.
60	204	397	
50	16	0	
40	260	298	
30	39	240	
20	250	232	
10	224	110	
Total,	1388	2064	

The number of Ahadís under Jahángír, De Laët fixes as follows—

Chaháraspahs,	741
Sihaspahs,	1322
Duaspahs,	1428
Yakaspahs,	950
	4441 Ahadís.

Under Sháhjahán, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to mançabs above 5000. There is no Hindú among them.

De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amírs were Hindús. But we may compare the lists of the Áín and the Pádisháhnámah.

We find under Akbar—

among 252 mançabdárs from 5000 to 500 .... 32 Hindús
„ 163 „ from 400 to 200 .... 25 Do.

Under Sháhjahán (20th year of his reign), we have—

among 12 mançabdárs above 5000 .... no Hindús.

„ 580 „ from 5000 to 500 ....110 Do.

The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the Pádisháhnámah. Regarding other facts connected with the relative position of Hindús and Muhammadans at the Mughul court, I would refer the reader to my '*Chapter from Muhammadan History*,' Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

ÁI'N 30 (continued).

THE LEARNED MEN OF THE TIME.

I shall now speak of the sages of the period and classify them according to their knowledge, casting aside all differences of creed. His Majesty who is himself the leader of the material and the ideal worlds, and the sovereign over the external and the internal, honours five classes of sages as worthy of attention. And yet all five, according to their light, are struck with his Majesty's perfection, the ornament of the world. The *first* class, in the lustre of their star, perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal, and in their understanding and the breadth of their views fully comprehend both realms of thought, and acknowledge to have received their spiritual power from the throne of his Majesty. The *second* class pay less attention to the external world; but in the light of their hearts they acquire vast knowledge. The *third* class do not step beyond the arena of observation (*nazar*), and possess a certain knowledge of what rests on testimony. The *fourth* class look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion, and handle nothing without proof. The *fifth* class are bigoted, and cannot pass beyond the narrow sphere of revealed testimony. Each class has many subdivisions.

I do not wish to set up as a judge and hold forth the faults of people. The mere classification was repugnant to my feelings; but truthfulness helps on the pen.

First Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of both worlds.

1. Shaikh Mubárak of Nágor.[1]

Vide p. 490. The Ṭabaqát also mentions a Shaikh Mubárak of Alwar, and a Sayyid Mubárak of Gwáliár.

[1] The notes are taken from the *Ṭabáqát*, the third volume of *Badáoní*, and the *Mir-átul 'Álam.*

2. Shaikh Nizám.

Abul Fazl either means the renowned Nizámuddín of Amet'hí, near Lak'hnau, of the Chishtí sect, who died A. H. 979; or Nizámuddín of Nárnaul, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaikh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtís, and died at Jaunpúr in 970.

4. Miyáṉ Wajíhuddín.

Died at Ahmadábád in 998. The Ṭabaqát mentions a contemporary, *Shaikh* Wajíhuddín Gujrátí, who died in 995.

5. Shaikh Ruknuddín.

He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddús of Gango. Badáoní saw him at Dihlí at the time of Bairám's fall.

6. Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azíz (of Dihlí).

7. Shaikh Jaláluddín.

He belongs to T'hanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (*khalífah*) of 'Abdul Quddús of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaikh Iláhdiyah.

Iláhdiyah is Hindústání for the Persian *Iláhdád*, 'given (*diyá*) by God,' 'Theodore.' He lived at Khairábád, and died in 993.

9. Mauláná Husámuddín.

"Mauláná Husámuddín Surkh of Láhor. He differed from the learned of Láhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious." *Ṭabaqát.*

10. Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafúr.

He belongs to A'zampúr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of 'Abdul Quddús. died in 995.

11. Shaikh Panjú.

He was wrongly called Bechú on p. 104, note 2. He died in 969. *Badáoní* II., 53.

12. Mauláná Ismá'íl.

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaikh Husain, who taught in Humáyún's Madrasah at Dihlí. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.

13. Madhú Sarsutí.
14. Madhúsúdan.
15. Náráin Asram.
16. Harijí Súr.
17. Damúdar Bhat.
18. Rámtírt'h.
19. Nar Sing.
20. Parmindar.
21. Ádit.

Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.

22. Shaikh Ruknuddín Mahmúd[1] Kamángar (the bow maker).
23. Shaikh Amánullah.
24. Khwájah 'Abdushshahíd.

He is the son of Khwájagán Khwájah, son of the renowned Khwájah Ahrár. *Vide* No. 17, p. 322, and No. 108, p. 423. He died in 982, and was buried at Samarqand. He had been for twenty years in India, and held a jágír in Parganah جهاري, in the Bárí Duáb, where he maintained two thousand poor.

25. Shaikh Músá.

He was a smith (*dhangar*), and performed many miracles. He died in the beginning of Akbar's reign, and was buried at Láhor. The elder brother of Shaikh Salím i Chishtí also was called Shaikh Músá; *vide* p. 402. *Vide* also below, No. 102.

26. Bábá Balás.
27. Shaikh 'Aláuddín Majzúb. *Vide* Badáoní III., 61.
28. Shaikh Yúsuf Harkun.

The Ṭabaqát calls him Shaikh Yúsuf Harkun Majzúb of Láhor.

29. Shaikh Burhán.

He lived as a recluse in Kálpí, and subsisted on milk and sweetmeats, denying himself water. He knew no Arabic, and yet explained the Qurán. He was a Mahdawí. He died in 970 at the age of one hundred years, and was buried in his cell.

30. Bábá Kapúr.

Shaikh Kipúr Majzúb of Gwáliár, a Husainí Sayyid, was at first a soldier, then turned a *bhíshtí*, and supplied widows and the poor with water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.

31. Shaikh Abú Is-háq Firang. *Vide* Badáoní III., 48.
32. Shaih Dáúd.

He is called Jhanníwál from Jhanní near Láhor. His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sítpúr in Multán, where Dáúd was born. Badáoní (III., p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in 982.

33. Shaikh Salím i Chishtí.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Faríd i Shakarganj, and lived in Fathpúr Síkrí, highly honoured by Akbar. Jahángír was called after him Salím. He died in 979. Several of his relations have been mentioned above, pp. 402, 4?2.

34. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwáliár.

Vide No. 173, p. 457.

35. Rám Bhadr.
36. Jadrúp.

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[1] Badáoní (III., p. 151) mentions a *Zainuddín Mahmúd Kamángar*.

Third Class.—Such as know philosophy and theology.[1]

37. Mír Fathullah of Shíráz.

Vide pp. 33, 104, 199, 274. His brother was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluç* of *Fárighí; vide* Badáoní III., 292. His two sons were Mír Taqí and Mír Sharíf.

38. Mír Murtazá.

He is not to be confounded with Mír Murtazá, No. 162, p. 449. Mír Murtazá Sharíf of Shíráz died in 974 at Dihlí, and was buried at the side of the poet Khusrau, from where his body was taken to Mashhad. He had studied the Hadís under the renowned Ibn Hajar in Makkah, and then came over the Dak'hin to Ágrah. *Vide* Akbarnámah II., 278, 337.

39. Mauláná Sa'íd of Turkistán.

He came in 968 from Máwará-lnahr to Ágrah. Bad. II., 49. He died in Kábul in 970; *l. c.*, III., 152.

40. Háfiz of Táshkand.

He is also called Háfiz Kumakí. He came in 977 from Táshkand to India, and was looked upon in Máwará-lnahr as a most learned man. He had something of a soldier in him, and used to travel about, like all Turks, with the quiver tied to his waist. He went over Gujrát to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazírship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. *Vide* Badáoní II., 187.

41. Mauláná Sháh Muhammad.

Vide p. 106; Bad. II., 295, *l. l.*

42. Mauláná 'Aláuddín.

He came from Láristán, and is hence called *Lárí*. He was the son of Mauláná Kamáluddín Husain, and studied under Mauláná Jalál Dawwání Sháfi'í. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a darbár he placed himself before the Khán i A'zam, when the Mír Tozak told him to go back. "Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools," said he, and left the hall, and never came again. He got 4000 bíghahs as sayúrghál in Sambhal, where he died.

43. Hakím Miçrí. *Vide* No. 254, p. 491.

44. Mauláná Shaikh Husain (of Ajmír).

He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Mu'ín i Chishtí of Ajmír, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions. Badáoní III., 87.

45. Mauláná Mír Kalán.

He died in 981, and was buried at Ágrah. He was Jahángír's first teacher. Bad. II., 170.

46. Ghází Khán. *Vide* No. 144, p. 440.

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[1] *Ma'qúl o manqúl*, pr. that which is based on reason (*'aql*) and traditional testimony (*naql*).

47. Mauláná Çádiq.

He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kábul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The Ṭabaqát calls him Mullá Çádiq Halwáí. Badáoní (III., 255, where the Ed. Bibl. Indica has wrong *Halwání*) puts him among the poets.

48. Mauláná Sháh Muhammad.

Vide No. 41. This seems to be a mere repetition. Other Histories only mention one Mauláná of that name.

Fourth Class.—Such as know philosophy ('aqlí kalám[1]).

49. Mauláná Pír Muhammad. *Vide* No. 20, p. 324.

50. Mauláná 'Abdul Báqí.

He was a Çadr; *vide* pp. 272, 528.

51. Mírzá Muflis.

He was an Uzbak, came from Máwará-lnahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jámi ' Masjid of Mu'ínuddín Farankhúdí (p. 434) at Ágrah. He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. *Vide* Bad. II., 187.

52. Maulánázádah Shukr.

53. Mauláná Muhammad.

He lived at Láhor and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. Badáoní (III., 154) calls him Mauláná Muhammad Muftí.

Abulfazl, however, means perhaps Mauláná Muhammad of Yazd, a learned and bigoted Shí'ah, who was well received by Akbar and Abulfazl, with whose innovations he at first agreed. But he got tired of them and asked for permission to go to Makkah. He was plundered on the road to Súrat. *Mir-át.* But Badáoní tells quite a different story; *vide* p. 189.

Or it may refer to No. 140, p. 438.

54. Qásim Beg.

Vide No. 350, p. 517, and p. 106. The Ṭabaqát also says of him that he was distinguished for his acquirements in the *'aqlí 'ulúm.*

55. Mauláná Núruddín Tarkhán.

Vide p. 524. He was a poet and a man of great erudition. Towards the end of his life "he repented" and gave up poetry. He was for a long time Mutawallí of Humáyún's tomb in Dihlí, where he died.

The Ṭabaqát says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the Maásir, he was born in Jám in Khurásán, and was educated in Mashhad. He

[1] This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason, not on revelation. Abulfazl evidently takes it in a wider sense, as he includes the doctors in this class.

was introduced to Bábar, and was a private friend of Humáyún's, who like him was fond of the astrolabe. He went with the emperor to 'Iráq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the *takhalluç* of 'Núrí.' He is also called 'Núrí of Safídún,' because he held Safídún for some time as jágír. Akbar gave him the title of Khán, and later that of Tarkhán[1], and appointed him to Samánah.

56. Náráin.
57. Madhú bhat.
58. Sríbhat.
59. Bishn Nát'h.
60. Rám Kishn.
61. Balbhadr Misr.
62. Básúdev Misr.
63. Báman bhat.
64. Bidyá niwás.
65. Gorínát'h.
66. Gopínát'h.
67. Kishn Pandit.
68. Bhaṭṭáchárj.
69. Bhagírat Bhaṭṭáchárj.
70. Káshí Nát'h Bhaṭṭáchárj.

Physicians.

71. Hakím Miçrí. *Vide* No. 254, p. 491.
72. Hakím ul Mulk.

His name is Shamsuddín and, like several other doctors of Akbar's court, he had come from Gílán on the Caspian to India. He was a very learned man. When the learned were driven from court and the innovations commenced, he asked for permission to go to Makkah (988), where he died.

73. Mullá Mír.

The Ṭabaqát calls him Mullá Mír Ṭabíb of Harát, grandson of Mullá 'Abdul Hai Yazdí.

74. Hakím Abul Fath. *Vide* No. 112, p. 424.
75. Hakím Zanbíl Beg. *Vide* No. 150, p. 442.
76. Hakím 'Alí of Gílán. *Vide* No. 192, p. 466.
77. Hakím Hasan.

He also came from Gílán. His knowledge, says Badáoní (III., 167), was not extensive, but he was an excellent man.

78. Hakím Aristú.
79. Hakím Fathullah.

He also came from Gílán, knew a great deal of medical literature, and also of astronomy. He wrote a Persian Commentary to the Qánún. In the first year of Jahángír's reign, he was a Commander of 1000, 300 horse (Tuzuk, p. 34). The *Pádisháhnámah* (I, b., 350) says that he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide. His grandson, Fathullah, was a doctor at Sháhjahán's court.

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[1] The title carried with it none of the privileges attached to it; *vide* p. 364. The *Maásir* has some verses made by Núrí on his empty title.

80. Hakím Masíh ul Mulk.

He came from the Dak'hin, where he had gone from Shíráz. He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sulṭán Murád. He died in Málwah.

81. Hakím Jaláluddín Muzaffar. *Vide* No. 348, p. 516.

82. Hakím Luṭfullah. *Vide* No. 354, p. 518.

83. Hakím Saiful Mulk Lang.

Badáoní and the Ṭabaqát call him Saiful Mulúk. Because he killed his patients, he got the nickname of *Saif ul Hukamá*, 'the sword of the doctors.' He came from Damáwand, and was in Ágrah during Bairám's regency. Later he went back to his country. He was also a poet and wrote under the *takhalluç* of 'Shujá'í'. He is not to be confounded with No. 201, p. 473.

84. Hakím Humám. *Vide* No. 205, p. 474.

85. Hakím 'Ain ul Mulk. *Vide* No. 234, p. 480.

86. Hakím Shifáí.

The *Mir-át* mentions a Hakím Shifáí, who in his poetical writings calls himself 'Muzaffar ibn i Muhammad Al-husainí Al-shifáí.' He was born at Içfahán, and was a friend of Sháh'Abbás i Çafawí. He died in 1037. There is a copy of his Masnawí in the Library of the Asiatic Socy. of Bengal (No. 795).

87. Hakím Ni'matullah.

88. Hakím Dawáí.

Dawáí was also the takhalluç of No. 85.

89. Hakím Ṭalab 'Alí.

90. Hakím 'Abdurrahím.

91. Hakím Rúhullah.

92. Hakím Fakhruddín 'Alí.

93. Hakím Is-háq.

94. Shaikh Hasan and 95. Shaikh Bíná.

Shaikh Hasan of Pánípat, and his son Shaikh Bíná were renowned surgeons. Instead of 'Bíná', the MSS. have various readings. The Maásir has *Phaniyá*, the Ṭabaqát *Bhaniyá*.

Shaikh Bíná's son is the well known Shaikh Hasan, or Hassú, who under Jahángír rose to great honours, and received the title of *Muqarrab Khán*. Father and son, in the 41st year, succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight. Hassú was physician to Prince Salím, who was much attached to him. After his accession, he was made a commander of 5000 and governor of Gujrát, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Súrat. He gave no satisfaction, and was recalled. In the 13th year (1027), he was made governor of Bihár, and in the 16th, governor of Ágrah. In the beginning of Sháhjahán's reign, he was pensioned off, and received Parganah Kairánah, his birthplace, as jágír. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharafuddín of Pánípat, and died at the age of ninety.

In Kairánah he built many edifices, and laid out a beautiful garden with an immense tank. He obtained excellent fruit trees from all parts of India, and the Kairánah mangoes, according to the *Maásir*, have since been famous in Dihlí.

Muqarrab's son, Rizqullah, was a doctor under Sháhjahán, and a commander of 800. Aurangzeb made him a Khán. He died in the 10th year of Aurangzeb.

Muqarrab's adopted son is Masíhá i Kairánawí. His real name was Sa'dullah. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sítá, Rámchandra's wife.

96. Mahádev.

97. Bhím Nát'h.

98. Náráin.

99. Síwají.[1]

Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naql).[2]

100. Miyán Hátim.

He lived at Sambhal. The Historian Badáoní, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hátim died in 969.

101. Miyán Jamál Khán.

He was Muftí of Dihlí, and died more than ninety years old in 984. He was a Kambú.

102. Mauláná 'Abdul Qádir.

He was the pupil of Shaikh Hámid Qádirí (buried at Hámidpúr, near Multán), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaikh Músá regarding the right of succession. 'Abdul Qádir used to say the *nafl*-prayers[3] in the audience-hall of Fathpúr Síkrí, and when asked by Akbar to say them at home, he said, "My king, this is not your kingdom, that you should pass orders." Akbar called him a fool, and cancelled his grant of land, whereupon 'Abdul Qádir went back to Uchh. Shaikh Músá did better; he joined the army, and became a commander of 500. *Vide* below Nos. 109, 131.

The *Mir-át* mentions a Mauláná 'Abdul Qádir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar's age.

103. Shaikh Ahmad.

The Ṭabaqát mentions a Shaikh Hájí Ahmad of Láhor, and a Shaikh Ahmad Hájí Púládí Majzúb of Sind. *Vide* also pp. 106, 206.

104. Makhdúm ul Mulk. *Vide* p. 172.

This is the title of Mauláná 'Abdullah of Sulṭánpúr, author of the *'Açmat i Anbiyá*, and a commentary to the *Shamáil unnabí*. Humáyún gave him the titles of Makhdúm ul Mulk and Shaikh ul Islám. He was a bigoted Sunní, and looked upon Abulfazl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujrát after his return from Makkah.

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[1] The Ṭabaqát mentions a few other Hindú doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar's reign, *viz.* Bhíraun, Durgá Mall, Chandr Sen ("an excellent surgeon"), and Illí (one MS. has Abí).

[2] As religious law, Hadís, history, &c.

[3] Voluntary prayers.

105. Mauláná 'Abdussalám.

The Ṭabaqát says, he lived at Láhor and was a learned man.

The *Mir-át* mentions another Mauláná 'Abdussalám of Láhor, who was a great lawyer (*faqíh*) and wrote a commentary to Baizáwí. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Sháhjahán's reign.

106. Qází Çadruddín.

Qází Çadruddín Quraishí 'Abbásí of Jálindhar was the pupil of Makhdúm ul Mulk (No. 104). He was proverbial for his memory. He was attached to dervishes and held so broad views, that he was looked upon by common people as a heretic. When the learned were driven from court, he was sent as Qází to Bhronch, where he died. His son, Shaikh Muhammad, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrát.

107. Mauláná Sa'dullah.

He lived at Biánah, and was looked upon as the best grammarian of the age. He was simple in his mode of life, but liberal to others. Towards the end of his life, he got silent and shut himself out from all intercourse with men, even his own children. He died in 989.

108. Mauláná Is-háq.

He was the son of Shaikh Kákú, and lived at Láhor. Shaikh Sa'dullah, Shaikh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996.

109. Mír 'Abdullaṭíf. *Vide* No. 161, p. 447.

110. Mír Núrullah.

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Hakím Abul Fath. He was a Shí'ah, but practised *taqiyah* among Sunnís, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abú Hanífah. When Shaikh Mu'ín, Qází of Láhor, retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction. After Jahángír's accession, he was recalled. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

111. Mauláná 'Abdul Qádir.

He was Akbar's teacher (*ákhúnd*). *Vide* No. 242, p. 485.

112. Qází 'Abdussamí.'

He was a Miyánkálí,[1] and according to Badáoní (II., 314) played chess for money, and drank wine. Akbar made him, in 990, Qází-lquzát, in place of Qází Jaláluddín Multání (No. 122). *Vide* Akbarnámah, III., 593.

113. Mauláná Qásim.

The Ṭabaqát mentions a Mullá Qásim of Qandahár.

114. Qází Hasan. *Vide* No. 281, p. 498.

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[1] Miyánkál is the name of the hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhárá.

115. Mullá Kamál.

The Ṭabaqát mentions a Shaikh Kamál of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaikh Salím.

116. Shaikh Ya'qúb (of Kashmír). *Vide* below among the poets.

117. Mullá 'Álam. *Vide* p. 159, note.

He died in 991, and wrote a book, entitled *Fawátih ulwiláyat.* Bad. II., 337.

118. Shaikh 'Abbunnabí. *Vide* pp. 173, 177, 185, 187, 272, 490, 547, note.

He was the son of Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddús of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Hadís. When he held the office of Çadr, he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Bráhman, the details of which are related in Badáoní (III., 80), led to the Shaikh's deposal.

Badáoní (III., 83) places his death in 991, the *Mir-át* in 992. 'Abdunnabí's family traced their descent from Abú Haniífah.

119. Shaikh Bhík.

The Ṭabaqát has also 'Bhík', Badáoní (III., 24) has 'Bhíkan.' Shaikh Bhík lived in Kákor near Lak'hnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 981.

120. Shaikh Abul Fath.

Shaikh Abul Fath of Gujrát was the son-in-law of Mír Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpúr, the great Mahdawí. He was in Ágrah at the time of Bairám Khán.

121. Shaikh Baháuddín Muftí.

He lived at Ágrah, and was a learned and pious man.

122. Qázi Jaláluddín Multání. *Vide* pp. 175, 185.

He comes from near Bhakkar and was at first a merchant. He then took to law. In 990, he was banished and sent to the Dak'hin, from where he went to Makkah. He died there.

123. Shaikh Ziáuddín.

It looks as if Shaikh Ziáullah was intended; *vide* No. 173, p. 457.

124. Shaikh 'Abdul Wahháb.

125. Shaikh 'Umar.

126. Mír Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl. *Vide* No. 140, p. 438, and No. 251, p. 490.

127. Malána Jamál.

The Ṭabaqát has a Mullá Jamál, a learned man of Multán. Badáoní (III, 108) mentions a Mauláná Jamál of تلة, which is said to be a Mahallah of Láhor.

128. Shaikh Ahmadí.

Shaikh Ahmadí Fayyáz of Amet'hí, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Nizámuddín of Amethí (p. 537).

129. Shaikh 'Abdul Ghaní.[1]

He was born at Badáon and lived afterwards in Dihlí a retired life. The KhánKhánán visited him in 1003.

130. Shaikh 'Abdul Wáhid.

He was born in Bilgrám, and is the author of a commentary to the *Nuzhat-ul Arwáh*, and several treatises on the technical terms (*içtiláhát*) of the Çúfís, one of which goes by the name of *Sanábil*.

131. Çadr i Jahán. *Vide* No. 194, p. 468.

132. Mauláná Ismá'íl. *Vide* above No. 12.

The Ṭabaqát mentions a Mullá Ismá'íl Muftí of Láhor, and a Mullá Ismá'íl of Awadh.

133. Mullá 'Abdul Qádir.

This is the historian Badáoní. Abulfazl also calls him *Mullá* in the Akbarnámah.

134. Mauláná Çadr Jahán.

This seems a repetition of No. 131.

135. Shaikh Jauhar.

136. Shaikh Munawwar.

Vide p. 106. He was born at Láhor, and was noted for his memory and learning. He is the author of commentaries to the *Masháriqul-anwár* (Hadís), the *Badí 'ul bayán*, the *Irshád i Qázi*, &c. When the learned were banished from Court, he was imprisoned in Gwáliár, where he died in 1011.

His son, Shaikh Kabír, was also renowned for his learning. He died in 1026, in Ahmadábád, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Ahmadábádí saint Sháh 'Álam. *Mir-át*.

137. Qází Ibráhím.

Vide pp. 172, 174, 189. Badáoní and the Ṭabaqát mention a Hájí Ibráhím of Ágrah, a teacher of the Hadís.

138. Mauláná Jamál. *Vide* above No. 127.

139. Bijai Sen Súr.

140. Bhán Chand.

[1] Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, (p. 91, l. 11 from below) mentions that Jahángír when a child read the Hadís under "*Shaikh 'Abdulghaní*, whose fate is related in the Akbarnámah." This as a mistake for 'Abdunnabí (No. 118).

Áín 30 (continued).

THE POETS OF THE AGE.

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right to say a few words about them. Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius. But many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter it away from a wish to possess inferior store: they pass their time in praising the mean-minded, or soil their language with invectives against the wise. If it were not so, the joining of words were wonderful indeed; for by this means lofty ideas are understood.

He who joins words to words, gives away a drop from the blood of his heart.[1]

Every one who strings words to words, performs, if no miracle, yet a wonderful action.[2]

I do not mean a mere external union. Truth and falsehood, wisdom and foolishness, pearls and common shells, though far distant from each other, have a superficial similarity. I mean a spiritual union; and this is only possible in the harmonious, and to recognize it is difficult, and to weigh it still more so.

For this reason his Majesty does not care for poets; he attaches no weight to a handful of imagination. Fools think that he does not care for poetry, and that for this reason he turns his heart from the poets. Notwithstanding this circumstance, thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *díwán*, or have written a *masnawí*. I shall now enumerate the best among them.

1. Shaikh Abul Faiz i Faizí.

(*Vide* p. 490.)

He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world. His Majesty understood the value of his genius and conferred upon him the title of *Malikush-shu'ará*, or king of the poets.[3] He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of *Faizí*, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to *Fayyází*, as he himself says in his 'Nal Daman'—

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[1] *I. e.*, gives men something valuable.

[2] Saints perform wonderful actions (*karámát*), prophets perform miracles (*mu'jizát*). Both are miracles, but the *karámát* are less in degree than the *mu'jizát*. Whenever the emperor spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry "*karámat, karámat,*" "a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!" *De Laët.*

[3] Ghazálí of Mashhad (*vide* below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Faizí got it. Under Jahángír, Ṭálib of Ámul was *malik ushshu'ará*, and under Sháhjahán, Muhammad Ján Qudsí and, after him, Abú Ṭálib Kalím. Aurangzíb hated poetry as much as history and music.

Before this, whenever I issued anything,
The writing on my signet was 'Faizí.'
But as I am now chastened by spiritual love,
I am the 'Fayyází' of the Ocean of Superabundance (God's love).[1]

His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius. He was eminently distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawáṭi' ul-ilhám*[2] ('rays of inspiration'), which is a commentary to the Qorán in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the *Çúrat ul Ikhlaç*[3] contain the date of its completion.

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty,[4] and adversity of fortune was in his eyes an ornament to cheerfulness. The door of his house was open to relations and strangers, friends and foes; and the poor were comforted in his dwelling. As he was difficult to please, he gave no publicity to his works, and never put the hand of request to the forehead[5] of loftiness. He cast no admiring glance on himself. Genius as he was, he did not care much for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy; what he had read with his eyes was nourishment for the heart. He deeply studied medicine, and gave poor people advice gratis.

The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit, and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his verses.[6]

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[1] *Faiz* is an Arabic word meaning 'abundance;' *Faizí* would be a man who has abundance or gives abundantly. *Fayyáz* is the intensive form of *Faizí*, giving superabundantly. *Fayyází*, originally, is the abstract noun, 'the act of giving superabundantly,' and then becomes a title.

The form of *fayyází* agrees with the form of *'Allámí*, Abulfazl's *takhalluç*, and some historians, as Badáoní, have maintained that the mere form suggested the change of *Faizí* to *Fayyází*.

[2] I have not seen a copy of this work. It is often confounded with the *Mawárid ulkilam*, because the latter also is written *be nuqaṭ*, without the use of dotted letters. The *Mawárid* was printed at Calcutta in A. H. 1241, by the professors of the Madrasah and Maulawí Muhammad 'Alí of Rámpúr. It contains sentences, often pithy, on the words *Islám, salám, 'ilm ulkalám, Ádam, Muhammad, kalámullah, ahlullah, &c.*, and possesses little interest. Faizí displays in it his lexicographical abilities.

[3] This is the 112th chapter of the Qorán, which commences with the words *Qul hua-lláhu ahad*. The letters added give 1002; Faizí, therefore, wrote the book two years before his death. This clever *táríkh* was found out by *Mír Haidar Mu'ammáí* of Káshán, poetically styled *Rafí'í*. *Vide* below, the 31st poet.

[4] *I. e.*, the more he had, the more he gave away, and thus he became poor, *or*, he considered that riches make a man poor in a spiritual sense.

[5] *Tárak*, properly the crown of the head. Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the *salám*. Abulfazl wishes to say that Faizí was never mean enough to ask for favours or presents.

[6] Abulfazl kept his promise, and collected, two years after Faizí's death, the stray leaves of the *Markiz uladwár* (p. 491), regarding which the curious will find a notice by Abulfazl in the 3rd

But now it is brotherly love—a love which does not travel along the road of critical nicety—, that commands me to write down some of his verses.

Extracts from Faizí's Qaçídahs (Odes).

1. O Thou who existest from eternity and abidest for ever, sight cannot bear Thy light, praise cannot express Thy perfection.

2. Thy light melts the understanding, and Thy glory baffles wisdom; to think of Thee destroys reason, Thy essence confounds thought.

3. Thy holiness pronounces that the blood drops of human meditation are shed in vain in search of Thy knowledge: human understanding is but an atom of dust.

4. Thy jealousy, the guard of Thy door, stuns human thought by a blow in the face, and gives human ignorance a slap on the nape of the neck.

5. Science is like blinding desert sand on the road to Thy perfection; the town of literature is a mere hamlet compared with the world of Thy knowledge.

6. My foot has no power to travel on this path which misleads sages; I have no power to bear the odour of this wine, it confounds my knowledge.

7. The tablet of Thy holiness is too pure for the (black) tricklings of the human pen; the dross of human understanding is unfit to be used as the philosopher's stone.

8. Man's so called foresight and guiding reason wander about bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory.

9. Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first letter of the alphabet of Thy love.

10. Whatever our tongue can say, and our pen can write, of Thy Being, is all empty sound and deceiving scribble.

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book of his *Maktúbát*. The same book contains an elegy on Faizí's death.

MSS. of Faizí's Nal Daman are very numerous. His Díwán, exclusive of the *Qaçáid*, was lithographed at Dihlí, in A.H. 1261, but has been long out of print. It ends with a Rubá'í (by Faizí), which shews that the words *Díwán i Faizí* contain the *táríkh, i. e.*, A. H. 971, much too early a date, as he was only born in 954. The *Mir-át ul 'Álam* says that Faizí composed 101 books, Badáoní estimates his verses at 20,000, and Abulfazl at 50,000. The Akbarnámah (40th year) contains numerous extracts from Faizí's works. Dághistání says in his *Riyáz ushshu'ará* that Faizí was a pupil of Khwájah Husain Sanáí of Mashhad, and it seems that Abulfazl has for this reason placed Sanáí immediately after Faizí. The same writer remarks that Faizí is in Persia often wrongly called *Faizí i Dakhiní*.

Many of the extracts given below are neither found in printed editions nor in MSS. of Faizí's works.

[1] The same realistic idea will be found in an *Alfiyah Qaçídah* by the old poet Imámí.

11. Mere beginners and such as are far advanced in knowledge are both eager for union with Thee; but the beginners are tattlers, and those that are advanced are triflers.

12. Each brain is full of the thought of grasping Thee; the brow of Plato even burned with the fever heat of this hopeless thought.

13. How shall a thoughtless man like me succeed when Thy jealousy strikes down with a fatal blow the thoughts[1] of saints?

14. O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain; for if not, my restlessness (*quṭrub*)[2] will end in madness.

15. For him who travels barefooted on the path towards Thy glory, even the mouths of dragons would be as it were a protection for his feet (*lit.* greaves).[3]

16. Compared with Thy favour, the nine metals of earth are but as half a handful of dust; compared with the table of Thy mercies, the seven oceans are a bowl of broth.

17. To bow down the head upon the dust of Thy threshold and then to look up, is neither correct in faith, nor permitted by truth.

18. Alas, the stomach of my worldliness takes in impure food like a hungry dog, although Love, the doctor,[4] bade me abstain from it.

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1. O man, thou coin bearing the double stamp of body and spirit, I do not know what thy nature is; for thou art higher than heaven and lower than earth.

2. Do not be cast down, because thou art a mixture of the four elements; do not be self-complacent, because thou art the mirror of the seven realms (the earth).

3. Thy frame contains the image of the heavenly and the lower regions, be either heavenly or earthly, thou art at liberty to choose.

4. Those that veil their faces in Heaven [the angels] love thee; thou, misguiding the wise, art the fondly petted one of the solar system (*lit.* the seven planets).

5. Be attentive, weigh thy coin, for thou art a correct balance [*i. e.*, thou hast the power of correctly knowing thyself], sift thy atoms well; for thou art the philosopher's stone (اکسیر اکبری).

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[1] *Literally*, strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints.

[2] My text has *fiṭrat;* but several MSS. of Faizí's Qaçídahs have *quṭrub*, which signifies incipient madness, restlessness of thought.

[3] *I. e.* the terror of the mouths of dragons is even a protection compared with the difficulties on the road to the understanding of God's glory.

[4] *Literally*, Hippocrates.

6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys *(mushtarí)* thy light, in order to bestow it upon the planets.[1]

7. Do not act against thy reason, for it is a trustworthy counsellor; put not thy heart on illusions, for it (the heart) is a lying fool.

8. Why art thou an enemy to thyself, that from want of perfection thou shouldst weary thy better nature and cherish thy senses (or tongue)?

9. The heart of time sheds its blood on thy account [*i. e.*, the world is dissatisfied with thee]; for in thy hyprocrisy thou art in speech like balm, but in deeds like a lancet.

10. Be ashamed of thy appearance; for thou pridest thyself on the title of 'sum total,' and art yet but a marginal note.

11. If such be the charm of thy being, thou hadst better die; for the eye of the world regards thee as an optical illusion *(mukarrar)*.

12. O careless man, why art thou so inattentive to thy loss and thy gain; thou sellest thy good luck and bargainest for misfortunes.

13. If on this hunting-ground thou wouldst but unfold the wing of resolution, thou wouldst be able to catch even the phœnix with sparrow feathers.[2]

14. Do not be proud (*farbih*) because thou art the centre of the body of the world. Dost thou not know that people praise a waist (*miyán*) when it is thin?[3]

15. Thou oughtest to be ashamed of thyself, when thou seest the doings of such as from zeal wander barefooted on the field of love; since thou ridest upon a swift camel [*i. e.*, as thou hast not yet reached the higher degree of zeal, that is, of walking barefooted], thou shouldst not count thy steps [*i. e.*, thou shouldst not be proud].

16. If thou wishest to understand the secret meaning of the phrase 'to prefer the welfare of others to thy own,' treat thyself with poison and others with sugar.

17. Accept misfortune with a joyful look, if thou art in the service of Him whom people serve.

18. Place thy face, with the humble mien of a beggar, upon the threshold of truth, looking with a smile of contempt upon worldly riches;—

19. Not with the (self-complacent) smirk which thou assumest[4] in private, whilst thy worldliness flies to the east and the west.

20. Guard thine eye well; for like a nimble-handed thief it takes by force the jewel out of the hand of the jeweller.

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[1] This is a pun. *Mushtarí* also means Jupiter, one of the planets.

[2] *I. e.*, thou wouldst perform great deeds.

[3] *Proud*, in Persian *farbih*, pr. fat. In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The pun on *farbih* and *miyán* cannot be translated.

[4] As a hypocrite does.

21. Those who hold in their hand the lamp of guidance often plunder caravans on the high road.

22. My dear son, consider how short the time is that the star of good fortune revolves according to thy wish; fate shews no friendship.

23. [1]There is no one that understands me; for were I understood, I would continually cleave my heart and draw from it the wonderful mirrors of Alexander.

24. My heart is the world, and its Hindústán is initiated in the rites of idolatry and the rules of idol making [*i. e.*, my heart contains wonderful things].

25. This [poem] is the master-piece of the Greece of my mind; read it again and again: its strain is not easy.

26. Plunged into the wisdom of Greece, it [my mind] rose again from the deep in the land of Hind; be thou as if thou hadst fallen into this deep abyss [of my knowledge, *i. e.*, learn from me].

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1. The companion of my loneliness is my comprehensive genius; the scratching of my pen is harmony for my ear.

2. If people would withdraw the veil from the face of my knowledge, they would find that what those who are far advanced in knowledge call certainty, is with me (as it were) the faintest dawn of thought.

3. If people would take the screen from the eye of my knowledge, they would find that what is revelation (ecstatic knowledge) for the wise is but drunken madness for me.

4. If I were to bring forth what is in my mind, I wonder whether the spirit of the age could bear it.

5. On account of the regulated condition of my mind, I look upon myself as the system of the universe, and heaven and earth are the result of my motion and my rest.

6. My vessel does not require the wine of the friendship of time; my own blood is the basis of the wine of my enthusiasm [*i. e.*, I require no one's assistance].

7. Why should I wish for the adulation of mean people? My pen bows down its head and performs the *sijdah* in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Faizí's Ghazals.

1. Rise and ask, in this auspicious moment, a favour at my throne; in noble aspirations I excel any army.

[1] The next verses are *fakhriyah* (boastful). All Persian poets write encomiums on themselves.

Wonderful stories are told about the mirror of Alexander the Great. He ordered his friend, the philosopher Balínás, to erect in Alexandria a tower 360 yards high. A mirror was then placed on the top of it, 7 yards in diameter and above 21 in circumference. The mirror reflected everything that happened in the world, even as far as Constantinople.

2. Expect in my arena the victory of both worlds; the banner of royalty weighs down the shoulder of my love.

3. When I cast a favourable glance upon those that sit in the dust, even the ant from my good fortune becomes possessed of the brain of Sulaimán.[1]

4. The keepers of my door have their swords drawn; where is the desire that dares intrude on my seclusion?

5. Although I have buried my head in my hood, yet I can see both worlds; it may be that Love has woven my garment from the threads of my contemplation.

6. My eye is open and waits for the manifestation of truth; the spirit of the Universe flees before the insignia of my ecstatic bewilderment.

7. I am the simple Faizí; if you do not believe it, look into my heart through the glass of my external form.

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1. The flame from my broken heart rises upwards; to-day a fiery surge rages in my breast.

2. In the beginning of things, each being received the slate of learning [*i. e.*, it is the appointed duty of each to learn something]; but Love has learned something from looking at me, the duties of a handmaid.

3. May the eye of him who betrays a word regarding my broken heart be filled with the blood of his own heart!

4. O Faizí, thou dost not possess what people call gold; but yet the alchemist knows how to extract gold from thy pale cheek.

It were better if I melted my heart, and laid the foundation for a new one: I have too often patiently patched up my torn heart.

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1. From the time that love stepped into my heart, nothing has oozed from my veins and my wounds but the beloved.[2]

---

[1] The insignificance of the ant is often opposed to the greatness of Solomon. Once when all animals brought Solomon their presents, the ant offered him the leg of a locust as her only treasure.

[2] The beloved has taken entire possession of the poet. He has no blood left in him; for blood is the seat of life, and he only lives in the beloved who has taken the place of his blood. The close union of the lover and the beloved is well described in the following couplet by Khusrau—

من تو شدم تو من شدي
من تن شدم تو جان شدی
تا کس نگوید بعد ازین
من دیگرم تو دیگري

I have become thou, and thou hast become I,
I am the body and thou art the soul.
Let no one henceforth say
That I am distinct from thee and thou from me.

2. The wings of angels have melted in the heat of my wine. Woe to the world, if a flash of lightning should some day leap from my jar [*i. e.*, the world would come to an end, if the secret of my love were disclosed]!

---

1. Two difficulties have befallen me on the path of love: I am accused of bloodshed, but it is the beloved who is the murderer.

2. O travellers on the right road, do not leave me behind! I see far, and my eye espies the resting place.

I walk on a path [the path of love], where every foot step is concealed; I speak in a place where every sigh is concealed.[1]

Although life far from thee is an approach to death, yet to stand at a distance is a sign of politeness.

---

1. In this world there are sweethearts who mix salt with wine, and yet they are intoxicated.

2. The nightingale vainly pretends to be a true lover; the birds on the meadow melt away in love and are yet silent.[2]

---

1. My travelling companions say, "O friend, be watchful; for caravans are attacked suddenly."

2. I answer, "I am not careless, but alas! what help is there against robbers that attack a watchful heart?"

3. A serene countenance and a vacant mind are required, when thou art stricken by fate with stripes from God's hand.[3]

---

1. The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine; they made Khizr thirst for this fiery fountain.

---

[1] A sigh indicates that a man is in love; hence if the sigh is a stranger [*i. e.*, does not appear), the love will remain a secret. Eastern poets frequently say that love loses its purity and value, if it becomes known. The true lover bears the pangs of love, and is silent; the weak lover alone betrays his secret. Hence the nightingale is often found fault with: it pours forth its plaintive songs to the rose, it babbles the whole night, instead of silently fixing its eye on the beauty of the rose, and dying without a murmur.

[2] Salt is an antidote against drunkenness. 'Wine' stands for beauty, 'salt' for 'wit.' The nightingale is in love with the rose, but sings in order to lighten its heart; the birds of the meadows, however, which are in love with the nightingale, shew a deeper love, as they remain silent and hide their love-grief.

[3] Love is compared to robbers. The woe of love ought to be endured as a visitation of providence.

2. What wine could it have been that the cupbearer poured into the goblet? Even Masíh and Khizr are envious (of me), and struggle with each other to possess it.[1]

Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love: they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison.[2]

For me there is no difference between the ocean (of love) and the shore (of safety); the water of life (love) is for me the same as a dreadful poison.

I, Faizí, have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims who go to the Ka'bah; indeed, I am a step in advance of them.[3]

---

1. How can I complain that my travelling companions have left me behind, since they travel along with Love, the caravan chief?
2. O, that a thousand deserts were full of such unkind friends! They have cleared the howdah of my heart of its burden.[4]

---

1. I am the man in whose ear melodies attain their perfection, in whose mouth wine obtains its proper temper.
2. I shew no inclination to be beside myself; but what shall I do, I feel annoyed to be myself.

---

1. Do not ask how lovers have reached the heavens; for they place the foot on the battlement of the heart and leap upwards.
2. Call together all in the universe that are anxious to see a sight: they have erected triumphal arches with my heart-blood in the town of Beauty.

---

1. Those who have not closed the door on existence and non-existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and the world to come.

---

[1] Masíh (the 'Messiah') and Khizr (Elias) tasted the water of life (*áb i hayát*). Wine also is a water of life, and the wine given to the poet by the pretty boy who acts as cupbearer, is so reviving, that even Messiah and Khizr would fight for it.

[2] *Vide* p. 510, note 1. Fragments of diamonds when swallowed tear the liver and thus cause death. Hence poison mixed with diamond dust is sure to kill. This is the case with every antidote against love: it does not heal, it kills.

[3] Faizí is ahead of his co-religionists.

[4] The beloved boy of the poet has been carried off. Faizí tries to console himself with the thought that his heart will now be free. But his jealousy is ill-concealed; for he calls the people unkind that have carried off his beloved.

2. Break the spell which guards thy treasures; for men who really know what good luck is have never tied their good fortune with golden chains.[1]

The bright sun knows the black drops of my pen, for I have carried my book (*bayáz*) to the white dawn of morn.[2]

O Faizí, is there any one in this world that possesses more patience and strength than he who can twice walk down his street?[3]

Desires are not to be found within my dwelling place: when thou comest, come with a content heart.

Renounce love; for love is an affair which cannot be satisfactorily terminated. Neither fate nor the beloved will ever submit to thy wishes.

1. Come, let us turn towards a pulpit of light, let us lay the foundation of a new Ka'bah with stones from Mount Sinai!

2. The wall *(haṭím)* of the Ka'bah is broken, and the basis of the *qiblah* is gone, let us build a faultless fortress on a new foundation![4]

1. Where is Love, that we might melt the chain of the door of the Ka'bah, in order to make a few idols for the sake of worship.

2. We might throw down this Ka'bah which Hajjáj has erected, in order to raise a foundation for a (Christian) monastery.[5]

1. How long shall I fetter my heart with the coquettishness of beautiful boys? I will burn this heart and make a new, another heart.

2. O Faizí, thy hand is empty, and the way of love lies before thee, then pawn the only thing that is left thee, thy poems, for the sake of obtaining the two worlds.

---

[1] To the true Çúfí existence and non-existence are indifferent: he finds rest in Him. But none can find this rest unless he gives away his riches.

[2] Observe the pun in the text on *sawád*, *bayáz*, and *musawwadah*.

[3] The street where the lovely boy lives. Can any one walk in the street of love without losing his patience?

[4] If the *ka'bah* (the temple of Makkah) were pulled down, Islám would be pulled down; for Muhammadans would have no *qiblah* left, *i. e.*, no place where to turn the face in prayer.

[5] When a man is in love, he loses his faith, and becomes a *káfir*. Thus Khusrau says—*Káfir i 'ishqam, mará musalmání darkár níst, &c.*, 'I am in love and have become an infidel—what do I want with Islám?' So Faizí is in love, and has turned such an infidel, that he would make holy furniture into idols, or build a cloister on the ground of the holy temple.

How can I approve of the blame which certain people attach to Zalíkhá? It would have been well if the backbiting tongues of her slanderers had been cut instead of their hands.[1]

I cannot shew ungratefulness to Love. Has he not overwhelmed me with —sadness and sadness?

I cannot understand the juggler trick which love performed: it introduced Thy form through so small an aperture as the pupil of my eye is into the large space of my heart, and yet my heart cannot contain it.

Flee, fate is the raiser of battle-fields; the behaviour of thy companions is in the spirit of (the proverb) 'hold it (the jug) oblique, but do not spill (the contents).'[2]

My intention is not to leave my comrades behind. What shall I do with those whose feet are wounded, whilst the caravan travels fast onwards?

This night thou tookst no notice of me, and didst pass by;
Thou receivedst no blessing from my eyes, and didst pass by.
The tears, which would have caused thy hyacinths to bloom,
Thou didst not accept from my moistened eye, but didst pass by.

---

1. On the field of desire, a man need not fear animals wild or tame: in this path thy misfortunes arise from thyself.

2. O Love, am I permitted to take the banner of thy grandeur from off the shoulder of heaven, and put it on my own?

---

1. O Faizí, I am so high-minded, that fate finds the arm of my thought leaning against the thigh of the seventh heaven.

---

[1] When Zalíkhá, wife of Potiphar, had fallen in love with Yúsuf (Joseph), she became the talk of the whole town. To take revenge, she invited the women who had spoken ill of her, to a feast, and laid a sharp knife at the side of each plate. While the women were eating, she called Yúsuf. They saw his beauty and exclaimed, '*Má hua basharan,*' 'He is no man (but an angel)!', and they suddenly grew so incontinent, that from lust they made cuts into their hands with the knives which Zalíkhá had placed before them.

[2] Fate leads you into danger (love); avoid it, you cannot expect help from your friends, they merely give you useless advice.

'You may hold (the jug) crooked, but do not spill (the contents)' is a proverb, and expresses that A allows B to do what he wishes to do, but adds a condition which B cannot fulfil. The friends tell Faizí that he may fall in love, but they will not let him have the boy.

2. If other poets [as the ancient Arabians] hung their poems on the door of the temple of Makkah, I will hang my love story on the vault of heaven.

---

1. O cupbearer Time, cease doing battle! Akbar's glorious reign rolls along, bring me a cup of wine:

2. Not such wine as drives away wisdom, and makes fools of those who command respect, as is done by fate;

3. Nor the harsh wine which fans in the conceited brain the fire of foolhardiness on the field of battle;

4. Nor that shameless wine which cruelly and haughtily delivers reason over to the Turk of passion;

5. Nor that fiery wine the heat of which, as love-drunken eyes well know, melts the bottles [the hearts of men];—

6. But that unmixed wine the hidden power of which makes Fate repent her juggling tricks [*i. e.*, which makes man so strong, that he vanquishes fate];

7. That clear wine with which those who constantly worship in cloisters sanctify the garb of the heart;

8. That illuminating wine which shews lovers of the world the true path;

9. That pearling wine which cleanses the contemplative mind of fanciful thoughts.

In the assembly of the day of resurrection, when past things shall be forgiven, the sins of the Ka'bah will be forgiven for the sake of the dust of Christian churches.[1]

---

1. Behold the garb of Faizí's magnanimity! Angels have mended its hem with pieces of the heaven.

2. The most wonderful thing I have seen is Faizí's heart: it is at once the pearl, the ocean, and the diver.

The look of the beloved has done to Faizí what no mortal enemy would have done.

---

1. The travellers who go in search of love are on reaching it no longer alive in their howdahs; unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean [love].

---

[1] The sins of Islám are as worthless as the dust of Christianity. On the day of resurrection, both Muhammadans and Christians will see the vanity of their religious doctrines. Men fight about religion on earth; in heaven they shall find out that there is only one true religion, the worship of God's Spirit.

2. Walk on, Faizí, urge on through this desert the camel of zeal; for those who yearn for their homes [earthly goods] never reach the sacred enclosure, the heart.

The dusty travellers on the road to poverty seem to have attained nothing; is it perhaps because they have found there [in their poverty] a precious jewel?

---

1. In the beginning of eternity some love-glances formed mirrors, which reduced my heart and my eye to a molten state [*i. e.*, my heart and eye are pure like mirrors].

2. What attractions lie in the curls of idols, that the inhabitants of the two worlds [*i. e.*, many people] have turned their face [from ideal] to terrestrial love?

3. If a heart goes astray from the company of lovers, do not enquire after it; for whatever is taken away from this caravan, has always been brought back, [*i. e.*, the heart for a time did without love, but sooner or later it will come back and love].

It is not patience that keeps back my hand from my collar; but the collar is already so much torn, that you could not tear it more.[1]

---

1. If Lailí[2] had had no desire to be with Majnún, why did she uselessly ride about on a camel?

2. If any one prevents me from worshipping idols, why does he circumambulate the gates and walls in the Haram [the temple in Makkah]?[2]

3. Love has robbed Faizí of his patience, his understanding, and his sense; behold, what this highway robber has done to me, the caravan chief!

When Love reaches the emporium of madness, he builds in the desert triumphal arches with the shifting sands.

---

1. Take the news to the old man of the tavern on the eve of the 'Íd,[3] and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs[4] of the last thirty days.

2. Take Faizí's Díwán to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free-thinker who belongs to a thousand sects.

---

[1] A lover has no patience; hence he tears the collar of his coat.

[2] Each man shews in his own peculiar way that he is in love. Lailí rode about in a restless way; some people shew their love in undergoing the fatigues of a pilgrimage to Makkah; I worship idols.

[3] The *'íd ulfiṭr*, or feast after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramazán. Faizí, like a bad Muhammadan, has not fasted, and now intends to drink wine (which is forbidden), and thus make up for his neglect.

[4] Done by me by not having fasted.

1. I have become dust, but from the odour of my grave, people shall know that man rises from such dust.

2. They may know Faizí's[1] end from his beginning: without an equal he goes from the world, and without an equal he rises.

O Love, do not destroy the Ka'bah; for there the weary travellers of the road sometimes rest for a moment.

Extracts from the Rubá'is.

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call *zúfunún* [possessor of the sciences], and our guide on the path of religion.

Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God's light. How then can we call him a shadow?[2]

He is a king who opens at night the door of bliss, who shows the road at night to those who are in darkness.

Who even once by day beholds his face, sees at night the sun rising in his dream.

If you wish to see the path of guidance as I have done, you will never see it without having seen the king.

Thy old fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee—see Akbar, and you see God.[3]

O king, give me at night the lamp of hope, bestow upon my taper the everlasting ray!

Of the light which illuminates the eye of Thy heart,[4] give me an atom, by the light of the sun!

---

[1] Faizí means the heart.

[2] A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the *Mir-át ul 'Álam* to the poet Yahyá of Káshán, who, during the reign of Sháhjahán, was occupied with a poetical paraphrase of the *Pádisháh-námah*.

گرے شریک خوانمت ای شاه دین رواست
زین گفته حاجتم بدلیل و بآیه نیست
تو سایهٔ خدائی و این همچو آفتاب
روشن بود که هیچ یکے را دو سایه نیست

If I call thee, o king of Islám 'one without equal,' it is but right.
I require neither proof nor verse for this statement.
Thou art the shadow of God, and like daylight;
It is clear that no one has two shadows.

[3] This is a strong apotheosis, and reminds one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome.

[4] Kings receive a light immediately from God; *vide* p. III. of Abulfazl's Preface.

No friend has ever come from the unseen world; from the caravan of non-existence no voice has ever come.

The heaven is the bell from which the seven metals come, and yet no sound has ever come from it notwithstanding its hammers.[1]

In polite society they are silent; in secret conversation they are screened from the public view.

When you come to the thoroughfare of Love, do not raise dust, for there they are all surmahsellers.[2]

Those are full of the divine who speak joyfully and draw clear wine without goblet and jar.

Do not ask them for the ornaments of science and learning; for they are people who have thrown fire on the book.[3]

O Faizí, go a few steps beyond thyself, go from thyself to the door, and place thy furniture before the door.[4]

Shut upon thyself the folding door of the eye, and then put on it two hundred locks of eyelashes.

O Faizí, the time of old age has come, look where thou settest thy feet. If thou puttest thy foot away from thy eyelashes, put it carefully.

A pair of glass spectacles avails nothing, nothing. Cut off a piece from thy heart,[5] and put it on thine eye.

A sigh is a zephyr from the hyacinthbed of speech, and this zephyr has spread a throne for the lord of speech.

I sit upon this throne as the Sulaimán of speech; hear me speaking the language of birds.[6]

O Lover, whose desolate heart grief will not leave, the fever heat will not leave thy body, as long as the heart remains!

---

[1] *Muhrahá*, pl. of *muhrah*, according to the Bahár i 'Ajam, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of *haft josh* (a mixture of seven metals), to indicate the time. The metal cups are said to have been in use at the courts of the ancient kings of Persia.

[2] Lovers are silent in polite society. *Surmah* is the well known preparation of lead or antimony, which is applied to eyes to give them lustre.

[3] The disciples of Akbár's divine faith have burnt the Qorán. They are different from the *'ulamá* and *fuzalá*, the learned of the age.

[4] Things are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Faizí wishes to leave the house of his old nature.

[5] For thy heart is pure and transparent.

[6] Solomon understood the language of the birds.

A lover possesses the property of quicksilver, which does not lose its restlessness till it is *kushtah.*[1]

O Faizí, open the ear of the heart and the eye of sense; remove thy eye and ear from worldly affairs.

Behold the wonderful change of time, and close your lip; listen to the enchanter Time and shut thy eye.

What harm can befall me, even if the ranks of my enemies attack me? They only strike a blow to the ocean with a handful of dust.

I am like a naked sword in the hand of fate: he is killed who throws himself on me.

To-day I am at once both clear wine and dreg; I am hell, paradise, and purgatory.

Any thing more wonderful than myself does not exist; for I am at once the ocean, the jewel, and the merchant.

Before I and thou were thought of, our free will was taken from our hands.

Be without cares, for the maker of both worlds settled our affairs long before I and thou were made.

2. Khwa'jah Husain Sana'i' of Mashhad.[2]

He held the office of a magistrate[3] and turned to poetry. He made himself widely known. His manners were simple and pure.

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[1] *Kushtah*, pr. killed, is prepared quicksilver, as used for looking-glasses. The lover must die before he can find rest.

[2] The author of the *Átashkadah i A'zar* says that Khwájah Husain was the son of 'Ináyat Mírzá, and was in the service of Sulṭán Ibráhím Mírzá Çafawí. But in his own Díwán he is said to describe himself as the son of Ghiásuddín Muhammad of Mashhad, and the عنایت of the Átashkadah is a bad reading for غیاث.

Regarding his poems the same author says, "either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning"—a critical remark which Abulfazl's extracts confirm. Neither does Badáoní (III, 208) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The *Ṭabaqát* again praises his poems. The *Mir-át ul 'Álam* says that 'he was in the service of Ibráhím Mírzá, son of Sháh Ṭahmásp. On the accession of Sháh Ismá'íl II, Sanáí presented an ode, but Ismá'íl was offended, as the poem did not mention his name, and accused the poet of having originally written it in honor of Ibráhím Mírzá. Sanáí fled to Hindústán, and was well received at court. He died at Láhor in A. H. 1000. His Díwán, Sikandarnámah, and Sáqínámah are well known.' Sprenger (Catalogue, pp. 120, 578) says that he died in 996. The *Maásir i Rahímí* states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mírzá Báqir, son of Mír 'Arabsháh. It was mentioned on p. 549, note 6, that Faizí looked upon him as his teacher.

[3] My text has *arbábí*. *Arbáb* is the plural of *rabb*, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of *kalántar*, or *ríshsafíd*, the head man of a place, *Germ.* Amtmann; hence *arbábí*, the office of a magistrate.

1. My speech is the morning of sincere men; my tongue is the sword of the morning of words.

2. It is clear from my words that the *Rúhulquds* is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition].[1]

3. It is sufficient that my pen has made my meanings fine, a single dot of my pen is my world.

4. In short, words exist in this world of brief duration, and my words are taken from them.

5. No one on the day of resurrection will get hold of my garment except passion, which numbers among those whom I have slain.

When thou goest out to mingle in society at evening, the last ray of the sun lingers on thy door and thy walls, in order to see thee.

---

1. In the manner of beauty and coquetry, many fine things are to be seen, (as for example) cruel ogling and tyrannical flirting.

2. If I hold up a mirror to this strange idol, his own figure does not appear to his eye as something known to him.[2]

3. If, for example, thou sittest behind a looking glass, a person standing before it would see his own face with the head turned backwards.[3]

4. If, for example, an ear of corn was to receive its water according to an agreement made with thee [O miser], no more grain would ever be crushed in the hole of a mill.

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1. A sorrow which reminds lovers of the conversation of the beloved, is for them the same as sweet medicine.

2. I exposed the prey of my heart to death, but the huntsman has given me quarter on account of my leanness and let me run away.[4]

3. If lovers slept with the beloved till the morning of resurrection, the morning breeze would cause them to feel the pain of an arrow.[5]

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[1] *Rúhulquds*, pr. the spirit of holiness. *Maryam*, the Virgin Mary.

[2] So strange is the boy whom I love.

[3] This verse is unintelligible to me.

[4] Or we may read *kurezam* instead of *girízam*, when the meaning would be, 'the huntsman has given me quarter on account of the leanness arising from my moulting.'

[5] There are four verses after this in my text edition, which are unintelligible to me.

O sober friends, now is the time to tear the collar; but who will raise my hand to my collar?[1]

The messenger Desire comes again running, saying[2] ....

It is incumbent upon lovers to hand over to their hearts those (cruel) words which the beloved (boy) took from his heart and put upon his tongue.

When my foot takes me to the Ka'bah, expect to find me in an idol temple; for my foot goes backwards, and my goal is an illusion.

---

1. The spheres of the nine heavens cannot contain an atom of the love grief which Sanáí's dust scatters to the winds.
2. Like the sun of the heaven thou livest for all ages; every eye knows thee as well as it knows what sleep is.

3. Huzni' of Ispaha'n.

He was an enquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and goodhearted; friendliness was stamped upon his forehead.[3]

1. I search my heart all round to look for a quiet place—and, gracious God! if I do not find sorrow, I find desires.
2. Zalíkhá stood on the flowerbed, and yet she said in her grief that it reminded her of the prison in which a certain ornament of society [Yúsuf] dwelled.
3. I am in despair on thy account, and yet what shall I do with love? for between me and it (love) stands (unfulfilled) desire.

Gabriel's wing would droop, if he had to fly along the road of love; this message (love) does not travel as if on a zephyr.

Whether a man be an Ayáz or a Mahmúd, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.[4]

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[1] The poet has no strength left in him to raise his hand to his collar. *Vide* p. 560, note 1.

[2] The remaining hemistich is unclear.

[3] The *Ṭabaqát* calls him Mír Huzní, and says he left Persia with the intention to pay his respects at court, but died on his way to India. His verses are pretty. The *Átashkadah* (p. 101, of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Junábud, and was a merchant. The Haft Iqlím says he was pupil of Qásim i Káhí, (the next poet).

[4] Ayáz was a slave of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several Masnawís entitled Mahmúd o Ayáz.

1. Last night my moist eye caught fire from the warmth of my heart; the lamp of my heart was burning until morning, to shew you the way to me.

2. The power of thy beauty became perfectly known to me, when its fire fell on my heart and consumed me unknown to myself.

O Huzní, I sometimes smile at thy simplicity: thou hast become a lover, and yet expectest faithfulness from the beloved.

Don't cast loving eyes at me; for I am a withered feeble plant, which cannot bear the full radiance of the life-consuming sun [of thy beauty].

Alas! when I throw myself on the fire, the obstinate beloved has nothing else to say but "Huzní, what is smoke like?"

I hear, Huzní, that thou art anxious to be freed from love's fetters. Heartless wretch, be off; what dost thou know of the value of such a captivity!

To-day, like every other day, the simple minded Huzní was content with thy false promises, and had to go.

4. Qa'sim i Ka'hi'.[1]

He is known as Miyán Kálí. He knew something of the ordinary sciences, and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people

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[1] *Káhí*, 'grassy,' is his *takhallúç*. Badáoní (III, 172) says that his verses are crude and the ideas stolen from others; but yet his poems are not without merit. He was well read in the exegesis of the Qorán, in astronomy, mysticism, and the sciences which go by the name of *kalám;* he wrote on music, and was clever in *táríkhs* and riddles. He had visited several Shaikhs of renown, among them the great poet Jámí (*died* 899, A. H.). But he was a free-thinker, and was fond of the company of wandering faqírs, prostitutes, and sodomites. "He also loved dogs, a habit which he may have contracted from Faizí." Káhí wrote a Masnawí, entitled *gul-afshán*, a reply, or *jawáb*, to the Bostán, and completed a *díwán*. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Humáyún and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years.

The *A'tashkadah i A'zar* (Calcutta edition, p. 250) calls him 'Mírzá Abul Qásim of Kábul,' and says that he was born in Turkistán and brought up in Kábul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timur, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistán. Káhí was well received by Humáyún.

The same work calls him a *Gulistánah Sayyid*—a term not known to me. Hence, instead of 'Mírzá,' we should read 'Mír.'

The *Haft Iqlím* has a lengthy note on Káhí. Amín of Rai (p. 512) says that Káhí's name is Sayyid Najmuddín Muhammad, his *kunyah* being Abul Qásim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jámí, and afterwards Háshimí

in high position. On account of his generous disposition, a few low men had gathered round him, for which reason well meaning people who did not know the circumstances, often upbraided him. Partly from his own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his Majesty, he counted himself among the disciples, and often foretold future events.

A low minded man must be he who can lift up his hand in prayer to God's throne for terrestrial goods.

If lovers counted the hours spent in silent grief, their lives would appear to them longer than that of Khizr.[1]

Wherever thou goest, I follow thee like a shadow; perhaps, in course of time, thou wilt by degrees cast a kind glance at me.[2]

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1. When I saw even elephants attached to my beloved, I spent the coin of my life on the road of the elephant.

2. Wherever I go, I throw like the elephant dust on my head, unless I see my guide above my head.

3. The elephant taming king is Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets.

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of Kirmán, who was called Sháh Jahángír. He went over Bhakkar to Hindústán. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a pugilist, and would not mind to fight ten or even twenty at a time, and yet be victorious. No one excelled him in running. He followed no creed or doctrine, but did as the Khwájahs do, whose formula is '*hosh dar dam, nazar bar qadam, khalwat dar anjuman, safar dar waṭan,* 'Be careful in your speech; look where you set the foot; withdraw from society; travel when you are at home.' He was liberal to a fault, and squandered what he got. For an ode in praise of Akbar, in every verse of which the word *fíl*, or elephant, was to occur,—Abulfazl has given three verses of it—Akbar gave him one lac of tankahs, and gave orders that he should get a present of one thousand rupees as often as he should come to court. He did not like this, and never went to court again. He lived long at Banáras, as he was fond of Bahádur Sháh (No. 22, p. 328). Subsequently, he lived at Ágrah, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it مدارجاي با (?). He died on the 2nd Rabí' II, 988. Faizí's táríkh (Rubá'í metre)

تاریخ وفات سال و ماهش جستم
گفتا دوم از ماه ربیع الثاني

gives 2nd Rabí' II, 978, unless we read دويم for دوم. Mauláná Qásim of Bukhárá, a pupil of Káhí, expressed the *táríkh* by the words

رفت ملا قاسم کاهي

'Mullá Qásim i Káhí died,' which gives 988. *Vide* also *Iqbálnámah i Jahángírí*, p. 5; and above p. 209.

Abulfazl calls him *Miyán Kálí.* Miyánkál (*vide* p. 545) is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Bukhárá.

[1] *Khizr* (p. 556, note 1) is the 'Wandering Jew' of the East.

[2] A verse often quoted to this day in India.

1. O friend, whose tongue speaks of knowledge divine, and whose heart ever withdraws the veil from the light of truth,

2. Never cherish a thought of which thou oughtest to be ashamed, never utter a word, for which thou wouldst have to ask God's pardon!

5. Ghaza'li' of Mashhad.[1]

He was unrivalled in depth of understanding and sweetness of language, and was well acquainted with the noble thoughts of the Çúfís.

I heard a noise and started from a deep sleep, and stared—the awful night had not yet passed away—I fell again asleep.[2]

Beauty leads to fame, and love to wretchedness. Why then do you speak of the cruelties of the sweetheart and the faults of the miserable lover?

Since either acceptance or exclusion awaits all in the world to come, take care not to blame any one; for this is blameworthy.

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1. O Ghazálí, I shun a friend who pronounces my actions to be good, though they are bad.

2. I like a simple friend, who holds my faults like a looking-glass before my face.

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[1] Badáoní (III, 170) says that Ghazálí fled from Irán to the Dak'hin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khán Zamán (No. 13, p. 319) to Jaunpúr, where he lived for a long time. He afterwards went to court, and was much liked by Akbar, who conferred upon him the title of *Malikushshu'ará* (p. 548, note 3). He accompanied the emperor in the Gujrát war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar's orders, he was buried at Sarkach, near Ahmadábád. Faizí's clever táríkh on his death is سنهٔ نهصد و هشتاد, 'the year 980.' At his death, he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The *Mir-át ul 'A'lam* mentions two books written by him, entitled *Asrár i Maktúm* and *Rashahát ul hayát*, to which the Haft Iqlím adds a third, the *Mir-át ul Káinát*. Badáoní and the *Mir-át* estimate his verses at 40 to 50000; the Haft Iqlím, at 70000; the Ṭabaqát Akbarí, at 100000. The *A'tashkadah i A'zar* (p. 122) says that he wrote sixteen books containing 40000 verses, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Ṭahmásp i Çafawí. *Vide* Sprenger's Catalogue, pp. 61, 411, where particulars will be found regarding Ghazálí's works. Sprenger calls him *Ghazzálí*, an unusual form, even if the metre of some of his ghazals should prove the double *z*.

Badáoní relates a story that Khán Zamán sent him one thousand rupees to the Dak'hin with a couplet, for which *vide Bad.* III, 170, where the *sar i khud* refers to the غ in Ghazálí's name, because غ stands for 1000.

The Haft Iqlím mentions another Gházalí.

[2] This is to be understood in a mystic sense. Badáoní (III, 171) says that he had not found this verse in Gházalí's Díwán.

1. In love no rank, no reputation, no science, no wisdom, no genealogical tree is required.

2. For such a thing as love is a man must possess something peculiar: the sweetheart is jealous,—he must possess decorum.

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1. The king says, "My cash is my treasure." The Çúfí says, "My tattered garment is my woollen stuff."

2. The lover says, "My grief is my old friend." I and my heart alone know what is within my breast.

---

1. If thy heart, whilst in the Ka'bah, wanders after something else, thy worship is wicked, and the Ka'bah is lowered to a cloister.

2. And if thy heart rests in God, whilst thou art in a tavern, thou mayest drink wine, and yet be blessed in the life to come.

6. 'Urfí of Shíráz.[1]

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak

[1] The Maásir i Rahímí (MS., As. Soc., Bengal, p. 537) says that Urfí's name was Khwájah Sayyidí (سیدی) Muhammad. The *takhalluç* 'Urfí' has a reference to the occupation of his father, who as Dárogah to the Magistrate of Shíráz had to look after *Shar'í* and *'Urfí* matters. He went by sea to the Dak'hin, where, according to the *Haft Iqlím*, his talent was not recognized; he therefore went to Fathpúr Síkrí, where Hakím Abul Fath of Gílán (No. 112, p. 424) took an interest in him. When the Hakím died, 'Urfí became an attendant on 'Abdurrahím KhánKhánán, and was also introduced at court. He died at Láhor, in Shawwál 999, A. H., according to the Haft Iqlím and several MSS. of the Ṭabaqát, of dysentry (*is-hál*). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 14000 verses, which at the KhánKhánán's order were arranged by Sirájá of Isfahán. He was at his death only thirty-six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Çábir of Içfahán and buried in holy ground at Najaf (*Sarkhush*). His early death, in accordance with an idea still current in the East, was ascribed to the abuse he had heaped on the ancients; hence also the *táríkh* of his death—

عرفی جوانه مرگ شدی

'Urfí, thou didst die young.' The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 Qaçídahs, 270 Ghazals, 700 Qaṭ'ahs and Rubá'ís; *vide* also Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 529.

The Tazkirah by 'Alí Qulí Khán i Dághistání calls 'Urfí *Jamáluddín*, and says that he was much liked by Prince Salím, towards whom 'Urfí's attachment was of a criminal nature, and that he had been poisoned by people that envied him.

'Urfí was a man of high talent; but he was disliked for his vanity. Badáoní says (III, 285), "His poems sell in all bazars, unlike those of Faizí, who spent the revenue of his jágír in getting copies made of his verses; but yet no one had a copy of them, unless it was a present made by Faizí." Hakím Háziq (p. 474) preferred 'Urfí's ghazals to his odes. His Masnawí, *Majma' ul Abkár*, is often wrongly called *Majma 'ul Afkár*.

One day, 'Urfí called on Faizí, whom he found surrounded by his dogs, and asked him to tell him the names of "the well-bred children of his family." Faizí replied, "Their names are *'urfí*" (*i. e.*, well-known). "*Mubárak*" (God bless us), rejoined 'Urfí, to the intense disgust of Faizí whose father's name was Mubárak.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 126) states on

lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.

Cling to the hem of a heart which saddens at the plaintive voice of the nightingale; for that heart knows something.

If some one cast a doubt on the loftiness of the cypress, I melt away from envy; for loftiness is so desirable that even a doubtful mention of it creates envy.

He who is intimate with the morning zephyr, knows that the scent of the Jasmin remains notwithstanding the appearance of chill autumn.

My wounded heart cannot endure a healing balm; my turban's fold cannot endure the shadow of a blooming rose.

---

1. It is incumbent on me, when in society, to talk low; for the sensible people in society are stupid, and I speak but Arabic.

2. Remain within the boundary of thy ignorance, unless you be a Plato; an intermediate position is mirage and raving thirst.

Do not say that those who sing of love are silent: their song is too fine, and the audience have cotton in their ears.

The more I exert myself, the more I come into trouble; if I am calm, the ocean's centre is at the shore.

There is some hope that people will pardon the strange ways of 'Urfí for the homeliness of his well known poems.

No one has yet come into the world that can bear the grief of love; for every one has through love lost the colour of his face and turned pale.

---

the authority of the Tazkirah Hameshah-Bahár that 'Urfí's name was Khwájah Çaidí (صیدی), a mistake for *Sayyidí*. The Atashkadah also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyid Muhammad. Taqí's note (*loc. cit.*, p. 37) is wrong in the dates.

There exist several lithographs of 'Urfí's Odes. The Calcutta printed edition of 1254, A. H., contains a Commentary by Ahmad ibn i 'Abdurrahím (author of the Arabic Dictionary Muntahal Arab) of Çafipúr.

O 'Urfí, live with good and wicked men in such a manner, that Muhammadans may wash thee (after thy death) in Zamzam water, and Hindús may burn thee.

If thou wishest to see thy faults clearly, lie for a moment in ambush for thyself, as if thou didst not know thee.

'Urfí has done well to stand quietly before a closed door, which no one would open. He did not knock at another door.

To pine for the arrival of young spring shews narrowness of mind in me; for there are hundreds of pleasures on the heap of rubbish in the backyard, which are not met with in a rose garden.

My heart is sinking as the colour on Zalíkhá's cheek when she saw herself alone; and my grief has become the talk of the market like the suspicion cast on Yúsuf.

---

1. On the day when all shall give an account of their deeds, and when the virtues of both Shaikh and Bráhman shall be scrutinized,

2. Not a grain shall be taken of that which thou hast reaped, but a harvest shall be demanded of that which thou hast not sown.

---

1. O thou who hast experienced happiness and trouble from good and bad events, and who art in consequence full of thanks and sometimes full of complaints,

2. Do not take high ground, so that thy efforts may not be in vain; be rather (yielding) like grass that stands in the way of the wind, or like a bundle of grass which others carry off on their shoulders.

---

1. O 'Urfí, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few verses which thou hast left behind?

2. Alas! thou losest even that which thou leavest behind as something once belonging to thee. Thou oughtest to have taken it with thee; but hast thou taken it with thee?

7. Maili' of Hara't.

His name was Mírzá Qulí.[1] He was of Turkish extraction, and lived in the society of gay people.

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[1] The Nafáis mentions 979, and Taqí 983, as the year in which Mailí came to India (Sprenger, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The *A'tashkudah* says, he was brought

Since I have become famous through thy love, I shun all whom I see; for I am afraid lest my going to any one might put thee into his thoughts.

I die and feel pity for such as remain alive; for thou art accustomed to commit such cruelties as thou hast done to me.

1. My heart derived so much pleasure from seeing thee, that fate—God forbid, that it should think of revenge.
2. Thou art neither a friend nor a stranger to me; what name is man to give to such a relation?

Thou knowest that love to thee does not pass away with the lives of thy lovers; for thou passest by the tombs of those whom thy love slew, and yet thou behavest coquettishly.

When thou biddest me go, cast one glance upon me; for from carefulness people tie a string round the foot of a bird, even if it were so tame as to eat from the hand.

My last breath is at hand! O enemy, let me have him [the lovely boy] but for a moment, so that with thousands of pangs I may restore him to thee.

1. I promised myself that I would be patient, and did not go to him [the boy]; I had hopes to be content with loneliness.
2. But the woe of separation kills me, and whispers every moment to me, "This is the punishment of him who puts confidence in his patience."

1. Thy clients have no cause to ask thee for anything; for every one of them has from a beggar become a Crœsus in wealth.
2. But thou findest such a pleasure in granting the prayers of beggars, that they make requests to thee by way of flattery.

8. Ja'far Beg of Qazwi'n.

He is a man of profound thought, has learnt a good deal, and describes very well the events of past ages. As accountant he is unrivalled.

up in Mashhad. According to Dághistání, he belonged to the Jaláir clan, lived under Ṭahmásp, and was in the service of Sulṭán Ibráhím Mírzá, after whose death he went to India. The *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí* says that he was in the service of Naurang Khán (pp. 334, 528); and Badáoní adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was in Málwá when he was killed.

He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the *A'tashkadah* says that he was one of his favorite poets.

From his knowledge of human nature he leans to mirth and is fond of jokes. He was so fortunate as to obtain the title of Áçaf Khán, and was admitted as a disciple of his Majesty.[1]

I am jealous of the zephyr, but I gladden my heart with the thought that this is a rose garden, and no one can close the door in the face of the wind.

When the town could not contain the sorrows of my heart, I thought that the open country was created for my heart.

I am prepared for another interview to-night; for I have patched up my torn, torn heart.

It is the fault of my love that he [the lovely boy] is my enemy. What is love worth, if it makes no impression?

I admire the insight of my heart for its familiarity with beauties whose ways are so strange.

He came and made me confused; but he did not remain long enough for me to introduce my heart to consolation.

As I am entirely at fault, do not threaten me with revenge; for the pleasure of taking revenge on thee makes me bid my fault defiance.

1. Dost thou shew me thy face so boldly, Happiness? Wait a moment, that I may announce my love-grief.

2. Ja'far came to-day so broken-hearted to thy house, that the hearts of the stones burnt on seeing his extraordinary condition.

1. Whoever has been in thy company is for a night, is the companion of my sad fate.

2. Ja'far has found the road to the street of the sweetheart so difficult, that he can no more rise to his feet.

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[1] His biography was given above on p. 411, No. 98. *Vide* also *Iqbálnámah i Jahángírí*, p. 5; *Dabistán*, p. 387. His *takhalluç* was Ja'far, as may be seen from Abulfazl's extracts.

The Masnawí by Ja'far mentioned by Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 444) may belong to Mírzá Zainul 'Ábidín, regarding whom *vide* above p. 412, and Sprenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 120, where for 1212 read 1021, A. H.

The morning zephyr, I think, wafts to me the scent of a certain sweetheart, because Jacob keeps his closed eye turned towards a caravan.[1]

A new rose must have opened out in the garden; for last night the nightingale did not go asleep till the morning.

9. Khwájah Husain of Marw.[2]

He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the Court of Humáyún, and was also during this reign highly favoured.

1. The realms of speech are in my possession, the banker of speech is the jeweller of my pearl strings.
2. Creation's preface is a sheet of my book, the secrets of both worlds are in the nib of my pen.

10. Hayátí of Gílán.[3]

A stream from the ocean of thought passes by his house; correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united; he is free from the bad qualities of poets.

1. Whenever you speak, watch yourself; repentance follows every word which gladdens no heart.
2. You do not require the swift wing of a bird; but since fortune is so, borrow the foot of the ant and flee.

[1] Jacob had become blind from weeping over the loss of Joseph. One day he smelled the scent of Joseph's coat, which a messenger was bringing from Egypt. When the coat was applied to his eyes, he recovered his sight.

[2] Khwájah Husain was a pupil of Mauláná 'Içámuddín Ibráhím and the renowned Ibn Hajar of Makkah (*Haft Iqlím*). Abulfazl's remark that he sold his encomiums at a high price seems to refer to Husain's Odes on the birth of Jahángír and Prince Murád, given in full by Badáoní (II, pp. 120, 132), for which the Khwájah got two lacs of tankahs. The odes are peculiar, as each hemistich is a chronogram.

[3] The *Maásir i Rahímí* says that Mullá Hayátí was born at Rasht in Gílán, and belonged to the *ádmízádagán, i. e.* common people, of the place. To better his circumstances, he went to India, was introduced by Hakím Abul Fath i Gílání (No. 112, p. 424) at Court, got a jágír, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the KhánKhánán in the Dak'hin wars and remained in his service, living chiefly at Burhánpúr, where he built a villa and a mosque, which, according to the *Mir-át ul 'Álam*, was called *Masjid i Mullá Hayátí*. He was still alive in 1024, when the *Maásir i Rahímí* was composed.

The Ṭabaqát and Badáoní praise his poems, and say that he belonged to the *ahl i yárán i dardmandán, i. e.*, he was a man of feeling and sympathy. Sprenger, (Catalogue, p. 58) translates this, "He was a friend of Dardmand."

A love sick man is so entangled in his grief, that even the wish of getting rid of it does him harm.

Whatever you see is, in some way or other, a highway robber. I know no man that has not been way-laid.

---

1. This is the thoroughfare of love, it is no open market; keep your lips closed, no talk is required.
2. I, too, have been among the heathens, but have seen no waist worthy of the sacred thread.
3. Covetous people are, from covetousness, each other's enemies; in friendship alone there are no rivals.

---

1. Let every thorn which people sow in thy road, bloom in the lustre of thy smiles.
2. Say nothing, and heal the wound of the heart with poisoned arrows.

---

1. My love makes me delay over everything, even if it were a scent in the house, or a colour in the bazar.
2. Thou knowest what people call me—'mad from shame, and dejected from baseness.'

Since everything which I mended has broken again, my heart has gone altogether from trying to patch it.

---

1. I suffer thy cruelties and die; perhaps I thus complete my faithfulness.
2. Thou canst not deprive me of the means of union with thee, unless thou shuttest the zephyr in a box.[1]

This turf and this field have a tinge of madness; insanity and drunkenness have to-day a good omen.

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1. Love-grief is followed by an increase of sorrow, the desire to meet him is followed by bloody tears.
2. Neither the one nor the other, however, is the means of attaining love's perfection; be sound in mind, or else, completely mad.

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[1] Because the zephyr wafts the breath of the beloved boy to the poet.

1. I am neither as high as the Pleiades, nor as low as the abyss; I neither cherish the old grief, nor do I possess a new thought.

2. If I am not the wailing nightingale, there is yet this excellence left, I am the moth and am pledged to the flame.[1]

---

1. I am the heart-grief of my dark nights, I am the misfortune of the day of my fate.

2. Perhaps I may go a step back to myself; it is a long time that I have been waiting for myself.

11. Shikebi' of Ispaha'n.

He possesses taste and writes well. He is acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence.[2]

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciousness of my life.

Grief, not mirth, is my ware. Why dost thou wish to know its price? I know, that thou wilt not buy it, and that I shall not sell it.

---

[1] The love of the moth for the candle seems to be a very ancient idea. Psalm xxxix, 11, Thou rebukest man and causest his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight, *viz.* the fire, where the word *Khamod* seems to have been purposely chosen to allude to the love of the moth. The passage in Sa'dí's preface to the Gulistán

عاشقان کشتگان معشوقند
برنیاید ز کشتگان آواز

'The lovers are killed by the beloved, no voice rises from the killed ones'—is also an allusion to the love of the moth.

[2] The *Maásir i Rahímí* says that Mullá Shikebí was the son of Zahíruddín 'Abdullah Imámí of Içfahán. He studied under Amír Taqíuddín Muhammad of Shíráz, but left when young his native town for Harát, and became acquainted with the poets Sanái, Mailí, and Walí Dasht Bayází. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shíráz, after which he went to India, and became the constant attendant of the KhánKhánán.

The *Mir-át ul 'Álam* says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dak'hin to Ágrah, where Mahábat Khán introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Írán; but Jahángír would not let him go, and appointed him Çadr of Dihlí. He died there at the age of sixty-seven in 1023, the *táríkh* of his death being صدر دهلي رفت. Another Chronogram شکیبی رفت gives only 1022. For his Sáqínámah, 'Abdurrahím gave him 18000, or, according to the *Haft Iqlím*, 10000 Rupees as a present. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The Maásir ul-Umará mentions a Masnawí on the conquest of T'hat'hah (A. H. 999-1000), for which Jání Beg and 'Abdurrahím gave him one thousand Ashrafís. I do not know whether this Masnáwí is the same as the Masnawí written by Shikebí in the Khusrau Shírín metre.

On account of the jealousy of the watcher I had resolved to stay away from thy feast. I was deceived by my bad luck and called it jealousy, and stayed away.

O God, bestow upon my wares a market from the unseen world! I would sell my heart for a single interview; vouchsafe a buyer!

Thou art warm with my love; and in order to keep off bad omens, I sit over the fire, and burn myself as wild rue.[1]

I uprooted my heart from my being, but the burden of my heart did not leave my being. I severed my head from my body, but my shoulders did not leave my collar.

---

1. To-day, when the cup of union with thee is full to the brim, I see Neglect sharpen the sword, in order to kill me.
2. Thou dost not dwell in my heart and hast girded thy loins with hatred towards me,—ruin upon the house which raises enemies!

---

1. The plaintive song of my bird [heart] turns the cage to a rosebed; the sigh of the heart in which thou art, turns to a rosebed.
2. When thy beauty shines forth, covetousness also is love; straw, when going up in flames, turns to a rosebed.

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1. Happy are we if we come to thee, through thee; like blind men we search for thee, through thee.
2. Increase thy cruelties till the tenaciousness of my life takes revenge on me, and thy cold heart on thee.

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1. The world is a game, the winning of which is a loss; playing cleverly consists in being satisfied with a low throw.
2. This earthly life is like a couple of dice—you take them up, in order to throw them down again.

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[1] *Sipand.* People even now-a-days put the seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates. The smoke is said to drive away evil spirits. *Vide* p. 139, note 1.

12. Ani'si' Sha'mlu'.[1]

His real name is Yol Quli. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners; he is brave and sincere.

In seeking after thee, a condition is put upon us miserable lovers, *viz.* that our feet remain unacquainted with the hems of our garments.[2]

It is possible to travel along this road, even when one lightning only flashes. We blind lovers are looking for the ray of thy lamp.

If I remain restless even after my death, it is no wonder; for toil undergone during the day makes the sleep of the night restless.

---

1. How can the thought of thy love end with my death? for love is not like wine, which flows from the vessel when it is broken.
2. The lover would not snatch his life from the hand of death, though he could. Why should the owner of the harvest take the grain from the ant?

---

1. The rosebed of time does not contain a songster like me, and yet it is from the corner of my cage that I have continually to sing.
2. In order satisfactorily to settle my fortune, I spent a life in hard work; but with all my mastership I have not been able to draw silk from reeds.

The nature of love resembles that of the magnet; for love first attracts the shaft, in order to wound the heart when it wishes to get rid of the point.

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[1] The *Maásir i Rahímí* says that Yol Qulí Beg belonged to the distinguished clan of the Shámlü Turkmáns. He was a good soldier, and served as librarian to 'Alí Qulí Khán Shámlü, the Persian governor of Harát, where he made the acquaintance of Shikebí and Mahwí. He wrote at first under the *takhalluç* of Jáhí; but the Persian prince Sultán Ibráhím Mírzá gave him the name of Anísí, under which he is known in literature. When Harát was conquered by 'Abdullah Khán, king of Turkistán and Máwará-lnahr, Anísí was captured by an Uzbak soldier and carried off to Máwará-lnahr. He then went to India, and entered the service of Mírzá 'Abdurrahím Khán-Khánán, who made him his Mír 'Arz, and later his Mír Bakhshí. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the war with Suhail i Habshí (p. 335). His military duties allowed him little leisure for poetry. He died at Burhánpúr in 1014. There exists a Masnawí by him in the Khusrau-Shírín metre, also a Díwán, and several Qaçídahs in praise of the Khán Khánán.

The Calcutta edition of the *Átashkadah i Ázar* (p. 19) calls him wrongly 'Alí Qulí Beg, and his Harát patron 'Alí Naqí Khán, after whose death he is said to have gone to India.

[2] *I. e.*, our garments are always tucked up (Arab. *tashmír*), as Orientals do when walking quickly. A lover finds no rest.

May God preserve all men from falling into my circumstances! for my sufferings keep the rose from smiling and the nightingale from singing.

Love has disposed of me, but I do not yet know who the buyer is, and what the price is.

Anísí drinks the blood of his heart, and yet the vessel is never empty; it seems as if, at the banquet of love's grief, the red wine rises from the bottom of the goblet.

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1. I am intoxicated with love, do not bring me wine; throw me into the fire, do not bring me water.
2. Whether I complain or utter reproaches, I address him alone, do not answer me.

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1. I went away, in order to walk a few steps on the path of destruction, and to tear a few ties that bind me to existence.
2. I will spend a few days without companions, and will pass a few nights without a lamp till morning make its appearance.

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1. O heart, beware! O heart, beware! Thus should it be: the hand of asking ought to be within the sleeve.[1]
2. O that I could but once catch a certain object! the hunter is for ever in the ambush.

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13. Nazi'rí of Ni'sha'pu'r.[2]

He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man; but he also devises plans for the architecture of the heart.

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[1] The heart should not ask, but patiently love.

[2] Muhammad Husain Nazírí of Níshápúr left his home for Káshán, where he engaged in poetical contests (*mushá'arah*) with several poets, as Fahmí, Hátim, &c. He then went to India, where he found a patron in Mírzá 'Abdurrahím Khán-Khánán. In 1012, he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India, he lived at Ahmadábád in Gujrát, where he died in 1022. The *Tuzuk* (p. 91) says:—"I [Jahángír] had called Nazírí of Níshápúr to court. He is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and lives [end of 1019] in Gujrát where he is merchant. He now came and presented me with an encomium in imitation of a Qaçídah by Anwarí. I gave him one thousand Rupees, a horse, and a dress of honor." The *Maásir i Rahímí* says

Every place, whether nice or not, appears pleasant to me: I either rejoice in my sweetheart, and grieve for him.

If thou destroyest the ware of my heart, thy loss is for once; whilst to me it would be the loss of world and faith.

If thou wilt not put my cage below the rose tree, put it in a place where the meadow hears my plaint.

It is from kindness that he [the beautiful boy] favours me, not from love; I can distinguish between friendship and politeness.

It is a generation that I have been girding my waist in thy service, and what am I worth? I must have become a Brahman, so often have I put on the badge (the thread).

Thy blood is worth nothing, Nazírí, be silent! Suffice it that he who slew thee, has no claim against thee.

I am costly and there are no buyers; I am a loss to myself, and am yet the ornament of the bazar.

The impression which my sorrow makes upon him, consists in depriving his heart of all sympathy; and the peculiar consequence of my reminding him of my love is that he forgets it.

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that Nazírí was a skilful goldsmith; and that he died, after having seen his patron in Ágrah, in 1022 at Ahmadábád, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the *Mir-át ul 'A'lam*, he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. How esteemed he was as a poet may be seen from a couplet by the great Persian poet Çáib, quoted by Dághistání—

صايب چه خيالست شوي همچو نظيري
عرفي بنظيري نرسانيد سخن را

O Çáib, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Nazírí?
'Urfí even does not approach Nazírí in genius.

The *Táríkh* of Nazírí's death lies in the hemistich '*Az dunyá raft Hassán-ul'ajam, áh!*,' 'the Hassán of Persia has gone from this world, alas!'—in allusion to the famous Arabian poet Hassán. This gives 1022 A. H.; the other *táríkh*, given by Dághistání, *markiz i dáirah i bazm kujá ast*, 'where is the centre of the circle of conviviality,' only gives 1021, unless we count the *hamzah* in دايرۀ as *one*, which is occasionally done in *táríkhs*. Dághistání also mentions a poet Sawádí of Gujrát, a pious man, who was in Nazírí's service. On the death of his master, he guarded his tomb, and died in A. H. 1031.

Like a watch-dog I lie at his threshold; but I gnaw the whole night at my collar, and think of chasing him, not of watching him.

1. From carelessness of thought I transformed a heart, by the purity of which the Ka'bah swore, into a Firingí church.

2. The simoom of the field of love possesses so inebriating a power, that the lame wanderer thinks it sublime transport to travel on such a road.

3. The ship of love alone is a true resting place; step out of it, and thou art surrounded by the stormy sea and its monsters.

4. Tell me which song makes the greatest impression on thy heart, so that I may utter my plaint in the same melody.

14. Darwi'sh Bahra'm.[1]

He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayát tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier.

1. I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it; I have been sitting in the bazar of ignominy [love], to see what would come of it.

2. I have wickedly spent a lifetime in the street of the hermits; now I am a profligate, a wine-bibber, a drunkard, to see what will come of it.

3. People have sometimes counted me among the pious, sometimes among the licentious; whatever they call me I am, to see what will come of it.

15. Sairafi' [Sarfi'] of Kashmír.[2]

His name is Shaikh Ya'qúb. He is well acquainted with all branches of poetry and with various sciences. He knows well the excellent writings of Ibn 'Arab, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints. He obtained higher knowledge under Shaikh Husain of Khwárazm, and received from him permission to guide others.

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[1] Bahrám's *takhalluç* is *Saqqá*, i. e. water-carrier. This occupation is often chosen by those who are favored with a sight of the Prophet Khizr (Elias). Khizr generally appears as an old man dressed in green (in allusion to the meaning of the name in Arabic or to his functions as spring deity).

The Bayát tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Ázarbáiján, Erivan, Ṭahrán, Fárs, and Níshápúr.

Bahrám is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwán near Calcutta. Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him, *vide* my 'Arabic and Persian Inscriptions,' Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871, Pt. I, pp. 251 to 255.

[2] Shaikh Husain of Khwárazm, Ya'qúb's teacher, was a pupil of Muhammad A'zam Hájí, and died in Syria in 956 or 958.

Shaikh Ya'qúb also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Hajar, the great teacher of the Hadís, and then came to India, where he was held in high esteem as a learned man

He stole from my heart all patience, and then took the whole mad heart itself; my thief stole the house with its whole furniture.

The weakness of the body has brought the love-sick man into a strange position: from weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery.

16. Sabu'hi', the Chaghta'i.[1]

He was born in Kábul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amír Khusrau, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem. As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision, and lay down in another place; but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order. The first verse that he uttered is the following—

When I am far from thee, my tears turn gradually into an ocean. Come and see, enter the ship of my eye and make a trip on the ocean.[2]

My sweetheart saw the scroll of my faith, and burnt my sad heart, so that no one afterwards might read its contents.[3]

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1. I have no need to explain him my condition; for my heart, if really burning, will leave a trace behind.

2. Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart has sunk under its sorrow. Who shall now inform him of my wretched state?

---

and a poet. He was liked by Humáyún and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Badáoní. His death took place on the 12th Zí Qa'dah, 1003, and Badáoní found as *tárikh* the words *Shaikh i umam búd*, 'he was the Shaikh of nations.' A complete *Khamsah*, a treatise on the *Mu'ammá*, or riddle, and numerous Çúfistic Rubá'is with a commentary, are said to have been written by him. A short time before his death, he had nearly finished a large commentary to the Qorán, and had just received permission from Akbar to return to Kashmír, when he died. *Vide* above, pp. 182, 546.

His *takhalluç* is variously given as *çairafí* and *çarfí*. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badáoní (III, 148). Both words occur as *takhalluç*; thus there was a Qází Çairafí, encomiast of Fírúz Sháh. *Vide* also poet No. 21.

[1] *Çabúhí* means 'a man that drinks wine in the morning.' The real name of the poet is not given in the Tazkirahs to which I have access. Badáoní says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the *Mir-át ul 'A'lam* calls him a *rind* (profligate). He died at A'grah in 973, and Faizí found as *tárikh* the words صبوحيِ ميخوار 'Çabúhí, the wine-bibber.' Dághistání says, he was from Samarqand, and the *A'tashkadah* calls him 'Badakhsháni,' but says that he is known as *Harawí*, or from Harát.

[2] The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen; *vide* Badáoní, III, 180, under 'A'tashí.'

[3] If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thought and words from A'çafí, Jámí's pupil, who has a verse—

دل که طومار وفا بود من محزون را
پاره کردند ندانسته بنان مضمون را

17. Mushfiqí of Bukhárá.[1]

I went to his street, and whilst I was there, a thorn entered deep into the foot of my heart. Thanks be to God that I have now a reason for staying in it!

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1. Hindústán is a field of sugar-cane, its parrots are sugar-sellers.
2. Its flies are like the darlings of the country, wearing the *chírah* and the *ṭakauchiah*.[2]

18. Sáliḥí.[3]

His name is Muhammad Mírak. He traces his descent from Nizám ul-mulk of Ṭús.

Men without feeling tell me to use my hand and catch hold of his garment. If I had a hand [*i. e.* if I had the opportunity], I would tear my collar to pieces.

There are many reasons why I should be dead, and yet I am alive. O grief! thy forbearance has made me quite ashamed of myself.

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[1] Badáoní (III, 328) says that he was originally from Marw, and came twice to India. For his *Qaçídahs* some called him 'the Salmán of the age;' and Dághistání says that under 'Abdullah Khán he was *Malik ushshu'ará*. According to the *Haft Iqlím*, he was born and died at Bukhárá. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 508) says, he was born in 945, and his second Díwán was collected in 983. From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 203) we see that Mushfiqí was presented to Akbar at Pák Patan in the end of 985. He died in 994 (Vámbéry's Bokhara, p. 301).

[2] This verse is a parody on the well-known Ghazal, which Háfiz sent from Shíráz to Sulṭán Ghiás of Bengal (Metre Muzári')

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند
زین قند پارسي که به بنگاله میرود

The parrots of Ind will learn to enjoy sweets,
When this Persian sugar (the poem) *reaches Bengal.*

Abulfazl has meddled with Mushfiqí's verse; for the *Haft Iqlím* gives instead of *nekuán i diyár* the words *hinduán i siyáh;* hence the verse is 'India's flies are (black) like the black Indians, wearing like them a big turban (*chírah*) and a ṭakauchiah.' This means, of course, that the Indians are like flies. The *ṭakauchiah* was described above on p. 88; the big head of a fly looks like a turban, and its straight wings like the straight Indian coat (*chapkan*). It may be that Abulfazl substituted the words *nekuán i diyár*, the 'dear ones of the country,' with a satirical reference to the "learned," whom he always calls خالي درون عمیمه پوش 'turban-wearing empty-headed,' in which case we would have to translate 'the simpletons of the country.'

The verse is better given by Badáoní (III, 329).

[3] Badáoní calls him 'Harawí' (from Harát), and says that he was employed at court as a Munshí. He was a good penman. After his return to his country, he died. The Átashkadah says that he was a descendant of Khwájah 'Abdullah Marwáríd Kirmání, and that his family had always been employed by kings.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 50) calls him wrongly *Muhammad Mír Beg*. The *A'tashkadah* and the MSS. have Muhammad Mírak; and thus also his name occurs in the *Maásir i Rahímí*.

I told him [the beautiful boy] my grief, he paid no heed. Oh, did you ever see such misery! I wept, he laughed—Oh, did you ever see such contempt!

My life is in his hand. It is quite clear, Çálih, that even the falcon Death sits tame on his hand.

19. Mazharí of Kashmír.[1]

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in 'Iráq. From living together with good people, he acquired excellent habits.

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1. I cannot understand the secret of Salmá's beauty; for the more you behold it, the greater becomes your desire.
2. What friendly look lay in Lailí's eyes, that Majnún shut his eyes to friends and strangers?

I admire the looking-glass which reflects my sweetheart standing on a flower-bed,[2] although he is inside his house.

The good fortune of thy beauty has caused thy affairs to prosper; else thou wouldst not have known how to manage matters successfully.

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1. Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart. Though the road is not bad, I make myself footsore.
2. Though I break through a hundred screens, I cannot step out of myself; I wander over a hundred stages, and am still at the old place.

I am a tulip of Sinai, and not like the stem-born flower. I cast flames over the slit of my collar instead of hemming it.[3]

He of whom my eye makes light, appears to heaven dull and heavy.

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[1] Dághistání says that in 'Iráq he was in company with Muhtashim and Wahshí. After his return to India, Mazharí was employed by Akbar as Mír Bahrí of Kashmír, which employment he held in 1004 (Badáoní). He had turned Shí'ah, and as his father was a Sunní, both used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mazharí died in 1018. All Tazkirahs praise his poems.

[2] The eyes of the beautiful boy are crocus-like or almond-shaped; the chin is like an apple; the black hair, like *sumbuls*—in fact, his whole face resembles a garden.

[3] The hot tears of the poet fall like flames on his collar; hence he is surrounded by flames like a flower on Mount Sinai; for Mount Sinai is surrounded by God's glory.

20. Mahwi' of Hamada'n.[1]

His name is Mughís. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom.

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1. Once I did not know burning sorrow, I did not know the sighs of a sad heart.
2. Love has now left neither name nor trace of me—I never thought, Love, that thou art so.

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1. You said that my condition was low from love-grief. A cup! bring me a cup! for my heart is stagnant.
2. Be ashamed of thyself, be ashamed! Which is the cup and which is the wine that has inebriated the nightingale?

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1. O Mahwí, beckon to a friend, and ring the bell of the carawan.
2. The stage is yet far and the night is near. O thou who hast fettered thy own foot, lift up thy foot and proceed!

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1. A single lover requires hundreds of experiences, hundreds of wisdoms, and hundreds of understandings.
2. Thy luck is excellent, go away: love is a place where misery is required.

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1. O Mahwí, do not sing a song of the passion of thy heart, do not knock at the door of a single house in the street.
2. Thou hast seen this strange world, beware of speaking of a friend.

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[1] Mír Mughís, according to the *Maásir i Rahímí*, was born in Asadábád (Hamadán), and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabíl, where he studied for four years at the "Astánah i Çafawiah." From youth, he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbalá, and Harát. Mauláná Shikebí and Anísí (pp. 576,578) looked upon him as their teacher and guide. He held poetical contests (*mushá'arah*) with Mauláná Sahábí (صحابي). He embarked at Bandar Jarún for India, and was patronized by the Khán Khánán. After receiving from him much money, he went back to 'Iráq, where the author of the *Maásir* saw him at Káshán. He visited Najaf and Karbalá, and returned to Hamadán, where he died in 1016. He lies buried in the *Maqbarah* of the Sayyids at Asadábád. The author of the Maásir edited Mahwí's Rubá'ís during his lifetime, and wrote a preface to the collection. Mahwí is best known as a Rubá'í writer: Abulfazl's extracts also are all Rubá'ís.

The *Átashkadah* says that he is often called Níshápúrí, because he was long in that town.

The *Mir-át* mentions a Mahwí whose name was Mír Mahmúd, and says that he was for twenty-five years Akbar's Munshí.

21. Sarfí of Sáwah.[1]

He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence.

My dealer in roses wishes to take his roses to the bazar, but he ought first to learn to bear the noisy crowd of the buyers.

I am shut out from the road that leads to the Ka'bah, else I would gladly wound the sole of my feet with the thorns of its acacias.[2]

I have no eye for the world, should it even lie before my feet; he who takes care of the end, looks behind himself.

That which I desire[3] is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

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22. Qarárí of Gílán.[4]

His name is Núruddín. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him: he looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abulfath, as the personification of the world, and the

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[1] The MSS. of the Aín call him 'Çairafí,' but the metre of several verses given in the *Maásir i Rahímí* shews that his takhalluç is 'Çarfí.'

According to the Átashkadah, his name is Saláhuddín, and he was a relation of Salmán of Sáwah. He was a pupil of Muhtashim of Káshán. The author of Haft Iqlím says that he was a most amiable man, and marvellously quick in composing táríkhs. He lived in the Dak'hin, and went to Láhor, to present Akbar with a Qaçídah; but finding no suitable opportunity, he returned to the Dak'hin, and went to Makkah, where he died. The *Maásir i Rahímí* states that he lived chiefly at Ahmadábád, made Faizí's acquaintance in the Dak'hin, and went with the Khán i A'zam (p. 327) to Makkah. According to Badáoní, he came with the Historian Nizámuddín Ahmad from Gujrát to Láhor, and accompanied Faizí to the Dak'hin, where he died. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 382) gives his name *Çaláhuddín:* but the Átashkadah (the only work in which I have found his full name) has *Saláhuddín.*

[2] The road of love (the ideal Ka'bah) is as difficult as the road to the Ka'bah in Makkah. Muhammadans do not lie down with their feet towards Makkah, which is against the law; hence the poet says that he is prevented from stepping forward on the road of love.

[3] Self-knowledge.

[4] Núruddín Muhammad came in 983 with his brothers Abul Fath (p. 424) and Humám (p. 474) to India. Akbar appointed him to a command in the army; but Núruddín was awkward, and had no idea how to handle a sword. Once, at a muster, he came without arms, and when some young fellows quizzed him about it, he said that military duties did not suit people of his class (literary men); it had been Timur's custom to place camels, cattle, and the baggage between the ranks, and the women behind the army, and when Timur had been asked where the learned were to go, he had said, "In the rear of the women." (This resembles the

doctor Humám as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.

The longer the grief of separation lasts, the gladder I am; for like a stranger I can again and again make his acquaintance.

I doubt Death's power; but an arrow from thy eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years.

He [the beautiful boy] must have been last night away from home; for I looked at his door and the walls of his house, but had no pleasure from looking.

If in that hour, when I tear the hood of my life, I should get hold, what God forbid, of Thy collar, I would tear it to pieces.

I envy the fate of those who, on the last day, enter hell; for they sit patiently within the fire.[1]

My madness and ecstacy do not arise from nightly wine; the burning of divine love is to be found in no house.

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1. O heart! when I am in love, do not vex me with the jealousy of the watchman; thou hast made me lose my faith [Islám], do not speak ill of my Brahmanical thread.[2]

2. To be far from the bliss of non-existence seems death to him who has experienced the troubles of existence. O Lord! do not wake me up on the day of resurrection from the sleep of non-existence.

---

story of Napoleon I., who in Egypt had often to form squares against the hostile cavalry, and then invariably gave orders to place the donkeys and the savans in the middle). Akbar, to punish him, sent him on active service to Bengal, where he perished in the disturbances, in which Muzaffar Khán (p. 348) lost his life. *Badáoní* II, 211; III, 312.

Abulfazl is sarcastic in referring to Núruddín's monomania. Núruddín wished to say that Abulfath was a man of intense worldliness (*ṭálib uddunyá*) and Humám longed for the pleasures of paradise as the reward of virtue (*ṭálib-ulákhirat*), whilst he himself was a 'true lover' (*ṭálib ulmaulá*, one who feels after God).

The Átashkadah adds that Núruddín had been in Gílán in the service of Khán Ahmad Khán, and that he went, after the overthrow of Gílán, to Qazwín.

[1] Whilst the fire of love deprives me of patience.

[2] Love has made the poet a heathen.

1. If the love of my heart should meet with a buyer, I would do something openly.

2. I have spread the carpet of abstinence in such a manner that every thread of the texture ends in a thousand Brahmanical threads.

---

1. The drinking of my heart-blood has surfeited me; like my sweetheart, I have become an enemy to myself.

2. I have killed myself and, from excessive love to him, have cast the crime on my own shoulders.[1]

23. 'Ita'bi' of Najaf.[2]

He possesses harmony of thought; but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life.

I am the nightingale of thy flower-bed. I swear by the pleasure of thy society that the rose has passed away, and I do not know where the garden is.

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1. May all hearts rest peacefully in the black night of thy curls, when I, the miserable, wander restless from thy street!

2. I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islám, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulmán.

3. I had come from the land of faithfulness: what wonder, if I vanish from the dear memory of the [faithless] fair?

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1. I have consumed my sober heart on the rubbish-heap of passion; I have burnt the Ka'bah's candle at the idol temple's gate.

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[1] Though in reality the beautiful boy murdered me.

[2] Sayyid Muhammad of Najaf had lived for some time in the Dak'hin, honoured as a poet, when he went to Hindústán, and paid his respects to Akbar at Allahábád. He looked bold and slovenly (*bebák u náhamwár*). When asked whether he had in the Dak'hin made satires on Sháh Fathullah (p. 540), he said, "In the Dak'hin I would not have looked at a fellow like him." Akbar, who made much of Fathullah, was annoyed, imprisoned 'Itábí, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and 'Itábí was sent for ten years (or according to the Ṭabaqát, for two years) to Fort Gwáliár. At the request of Prince Salím and several courtiers, he was at last released, and ordered to come to Láhor. But he was as bad as before. The emperor gave him 1000 rupees, and ordered Qulij Khán (p. 354) to send him from Súrat to Hijáz; but 'Itábí escaped, went to the Dak'hin, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent; he also was a clever *kátib* and letter-writer. *Badáoní* III, 275.

The Átashkadah says that he came from Gulpáigán (or جرباقان). Dághistání calls him 'Mír 'Itábí.' *'Itábí* means 'worthy of reproach;' compare *ruswáí*.

2. The flower-bed of a certain beloved has not wafted to me the fragrance of fulfilled desires, and hopelessly do I consume myself in my dismal corner.

3. No one has ever said the word 'friend' to me, not even by mistake, though I consume myself before acquaintances and strangers.[1]

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1. O heart, what portion of his wine-coloured lip dost thou keep in thy flagon, that thy inside is full of sighs and thy neck full of sobs.[2]

2. Love has thrown me into oceans of bloody tears; go, go away, that for once thou mayest reach the banks of the stream.

I have given thee permission to shed my blood without retaliation. I have said so, and give it thee black on white, and stamped with my seal.

Sometimes I am drowned in floods, sometimes burning in flames. Let no one build a house in my street!

In the name of God, let us go, if you belong to my travelling companions. This caravan[3] has no bell to sound the hour of starting.

In a realm where the word 'faithfulness' produces tears, the messenger and the letter he brings[4] produce each separately tears.

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1. Is the killing of a man like me worth a single sign of anger and hatred? Is shedding my blood worth the bending of thy arm [pr. thy sleeve]?

2. If thou art resolved to break my heart, is it worth thy while to illtreat thy lovers?

---

[1] The Ṭabaqát ascribes this verse to a poet called Ruknuddín, whose *takhalluç* is not given in my MS.

[2] In allusion to the gurgling noise in the neck of the bottle.

[3] The caravan of love.

[4] The messenger, because he comes from the beloved boy, and the letter, because it declines the request of a rendezvous.

24. Mulla' Muhammad Su'fi', of Mázandarán.[1]

He is in affluent circumstances, but from virtuous motives he mixes little with the world. He seeks retirement by travelling about.

Look upon me, when standing below the revolving roof of the heavens, as a lamp concealed under a cover.

---

1. O heart, thy road is not without thorns and caltrops, nor dost thou walk on the wheel of good fortune.
2. If it be possible, pull the skin from the body, and see whether thy burden will be a little lighter.

---

1. You asked me, "How are you, Muhammad, after falling in love with him?—long may you live!" "I stand," said I, "below the heaven as a murderer under the gibbet."

25. Juda'i'.[2]

His name is Sayyid 'Alí, and he is the son of Mír Mançúr. He was born and educated in Tabríz, and attained, under the care of his Majesty, the greatest perfection in the art of painting.

The beauty of idols is the Ka'bah to which I travel; love is the desert, and the obstinacy of the worthless watchers[3] the acacia thorns.

I am a prey half-killed and stretched on the ground, far from the street of my beloved. I stagger along, tumbling down and rising up again, till I come near enough to catch a glimpse of him.

In the morning, the thorn boasts of having been together with the rose, and drives a nail through the broken heart of the nightingale.

---

[1] According to the Mir-át ul 'Álam, Mullá Muhammad was called 'Çúfí' from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed 'Çúfí-çáhib,' so much so that the word is often used as the equivalent of 'a simpleton.' Mullá Muhammad early left his home, and lived chiefly at Ahmadábád, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jalál i Bukhárí. The Mir-át and the Haft Iqlím praise his verses, and the former quotes from a *Sáqínámah* of his. The Átashkadah wrongly puts him under Içfahán, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mullá Jámí—which is impossible.

[2] Judáí had been mentioned above on p. 107. He had the title of 'Nádir ul Mulk,' and had already served under Humáyún. He left a Díwán; but he has also been accused of having stolen Ashkí's Díwán (*vide* below, the 37th poet).

[3] The Átashkadah and Taqí's Tazkirah mention another Judáí of Sáwah.

26. Wuqu"i' of Níshápúr.[1]

His name is Sharíf.

Love and the lover have in reality the same object in view. Do not believe that I lose by giving thee my life.

---

1. I do not care for health.[2] O Lord, let sorrow be my lot, a sorrow which deprives my heart of every hope of recovery!

2. I am smitten by the eye which looks so coquettishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart.

27. Khusrawí' of Qáin.[3]

He is a relation of [the poet] Mírzá Qásim of Gúnábád, [or Junábád, or Junábíd, in Khurásán]. He writes *Shikastah* well, and is a good hand at shooting with the bow and the matchlock.

If the dust of my body were mixed with that of others, you would recognize my ashes by their odour of love.

Thy coming has shed a lustre on the ground, and its dust atoms serve as *surmah* for my eyes.

---

[1] Muhammad Sharíf Wuqú'í belonged, according to the *Maásir i Rahímí*, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Níshápúr. His mother was the sister of Amír Sháhmír, who had been for a long time assay-master under Sháh Ṭahmásp. He died in 1002.

Badáoní (III, p. 378) says that Sharíf was a relation of Shiháb Khán (p. 332). "His name was Muhammad Sharíf. Alas, that so impure a man should have so excellent a name! His heretical opinions are worse than the heresies of those who, in this age, bear the same name [Sharífi A'mulí, pp. 176, 452; and the poet Sharíf i Sarmadí, mentioned below No. 53,—two archheretics in the eyes of Badáoní]. Though he belongs neither exclusively to the Basakhwánís [p. 452, note 2], nor to the Çabáhís, he holds an intermediate place between these accursed and damned sects; for he strenuously fights for the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (*tanásukh*). One day, he came to me at Bhimbar on the Kashmír frontier, asking me whether he could accompany me to Kashmír. Seeing large blocks of rocks of several thousand *mans* lying about near my house, he exclaimed with a sigh, "All these helpless things are only waiting to assume human form." Notwithstanding his wicked belief, he composed poems in praise of the Imáms; but he may have done so, when he was young. He was an excellent kátib and letter-writer, and was well acquainted with history. He died in 1002 A. H.

[2] Health is the equivalent of 'indifference to love.'

[3] Qáin lies between Yazd and Harát. Dághistání calls him Sayyid Amír Khusrawí, and says that he excelled in music. According to Badáoní, his mother was Mírzá Qásim's sister, and he came to India after having visited Makkah. He was in the service of Prince Salím (Jahángír).

The lions of the Haram should not stain their paws with my blood.
O friend, give the dogs of the Christian monastery this food as a treat.

What do I care for comfort! I think myself happy in my misery; for the word 'rest' is not used in the language of this realm [love].

28. Shaikh Raha'i'.[1]

He traces his descent from Zainuddín Kháfí. He pretended to be a Çúfí.

No one has, in thy love, been more brought up to sorrow than I; and that thou knowest not my sorrow is a new sorrow.

I took to travelling in order to allay my grief, not knowing that my road would pass over hundred mountains of grief.

29. Wafa'i' of Içfahán.[2]

He possesses sparks of taste. He had been for some time wandering in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders.[3]

I do not call him a buyer who only wishes to buy a Yúsuf. Let a man buy what he does not require![4]

Knock at night at the door of the heart; for when it dawns, the doors are opened, and the door of the heart is closed.

[1] His name is Mauláná Sa'duddín, of Kháf, or Khawáf (p. 445). The Átashkadah quotes the same verse as Abulfazl. Badáoní says, he left a well-known díwán. In Dághistání, two Raháis are mentioned, one Mauláná Raháí, "known in literary circles;" and another Raháí from Ardistán. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) calls him *Riháí;* and says that, according to the Nafáis, he died in 980.

Zainuddín Kháfí, from whom Raháí traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of Shawwál, 838, A. H. He was first buried at Málín (or Bálín), then at Darwíshábád, then at Harát. His biography is given in Jámí's *Nafhát ul Uns*, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zainuddín Táibádí, mentioned above on p. 366, note 2.

[2] Badáoní says (III, p. 385), that Wafáí was for some time in Kashmír, went to Láhor, and entered the service of Zain Khán (p. 344). According to the Átashkadah, he belonged to the 'Imádiyah Kurds, and was brought up at Içfahán; his Rubá'ís are good. Dághistání calls him a Turk, and states that Wafáí at first was an *uttúkash* (a man who irons clothes). From a fault in his eye, he was called *Wafáí i kor*, 'the blind Wafáí.'

[3] "His impudent flattery was proverbial." *Dághistání.*

[4] As, for example, love grief.

I am secure from the dangers of life: no one deprives the street-beggar of his bareness.

---

1. The dart of fate comes from the other side of the armour;[1] why should I uselessly put on an armour?

2. Flash of death, strike first at me! I am no grain that brings an ear to the harvest.

Joy and youth are like the fragrance of the rose that chooses the zephyr as a companion.

30. Shaikh Sa'qí'.[2]

He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazáir. He has acquired some knowledge.

---

1. I became a cloak to ruin, Sáqí, and like the Ka'bah, a place of belief and heresy.

2. I have found no trace of love, much as I have travelled among the hearts of the infidels and the faithful.

My heart is still ardent with love, and thou art still indifferent. O sweetheart, speak, before I openly express myself.

31. Rafí''í' of Káshán.[3]

His name is Haidar. He is well acquainted with the *ars poetica*, and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and *táríkhs*.

---

[1] *I. e.*, a place where man is not protected, because he does not expect an arrow from that side.

[2] Badáoní also calls him *Jazáirí*, *i. e.* from the islands. His father, Shaikh Ibráhím, was a distinguished lawyer, and was looked upon by the Shí'ahs as a Mujtahid. He lived in Mashhad, where Sáqí was born. Sáqí received some education, and is an agreeable poet. He came from the Dak'hin to Hindústán, and is at present [in 1004] in Bengal.

[3] His full name, according to Taqí i Auhadí, is Amír Rafí'uddín Haidar. He was a Ṭabáṭibá Sayyid of Káshán. The *Maásir i Rahímí* states that he left Persia in 999, on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia, went from Gujrát in company with Khwájah Habíbullah to Láhor, and was well received by Akbar. For the *táríkh*, mentioned above on p. 549, note 3, Faizí gave him 10,000 Rupees. After a stay of a few years in India, he returned to his country, but suffered shipwreck near the Mukrán coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of two lákhs of Rupees, but also (as Badáoní spitefully remarks) the copies of Faizí's poetical works which he was to have distributed in Persia. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) says that Haidar was drowned; but the fact is, that he was saved, and returned to India. His losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar's wish, valuable presents from the Amírs. From the KhánKhánán alone, he got, at various times, about a lákh. After some time, he again returned, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar

My heart is sensitive, you cruel one; what remedy is there for me? Although a lover, I have the temper of the beloved—what can I do?

1. A recluse does not sin [love] and calls thee a tyrant; I am plunged into crime [love], and think that thou art forgiving.

2. He calls thee a tyrant, I call thee forgiving; choose whatever name pleases thee most.

32. Ghairati' of Shíráz.[1]

His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past.

I am smitten by the eyelash of my murderer, who has shed my blood without letting a drop fall to the ground.[2]

The present age asks God for a mischief-maker like thee, who makes the days of the wretched bitterer.[3]

I am free from worldliness; for my aspirations do no longer lean against the wall of confidence.

I am smitten by the fearless glance of a Christian youth, for whose sake God will pardon, on the day of resurrection, the slaughter of a hundred Musalmáns.

Even death mourns for those who are killed by the grief of separation from thee.

The street of the sweet boy is a beautiful land; for there even heaven's envy is changed to love.

---

years. He went to Makkah and Madínah, where he stayed four years. In 1013, he returned to Káshán, found favor with Sháh 'Abbás, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the Átashkadah, he died in 1032 A. H., the *tárikh* of his death being the Arabic words, '*wa kána zalika fí sanah.*' His son, Mír Háshim i Sanjar is mentioned on the next page; and Ṭáhir i Naçrábádí mentions in his Tazkirah another son of the name of Mír Ma'çúm, a friend of Mullá Aují. MSS. often give his name wrongly رفيقي, *Rafíqí.*

[1] The Átashkadah says that Ghairatí travelled about in 'Iráq, went to Hindústán, and lived after his return in Káshán, where he fell in love with a boy of a respectable family. From fear of the boy's relations he went to Shíráz, where he died.

[2] Because the heart only was broken.

[3] That is, my beloved boy causes the greatest mischief among the hearts of men.

I saw the heart of another full of grief, and I became jealous; for there is but one cruel tyrant in these regions.[1]

33. Halati' of Túrán.[2]

His name is Yádgar. He is a selfish man.

Leave me to my grief! I find rest in my grief for him. I die, if the thought of the possibility of a cure enters my heart.

When my eye caught a glimpse of him, my lips quivered and closed. Oh that life remained but a moment within me!

To whatever side I turn in the night of separation, my heart feels pierced by the thought of the arrow of his eyelash.

34. Sanjar of Káshán.[3]

He is the son of Mír Haidar, the riddle-writer. He has a taste for poetry, and lives in good circumstances.

---

[1] No boy is lovelier than the beloved of the poet. If the poet, therefore, sees another man love-sick, he gets jealous: his beloved boy must have bestowed favours on the other man.

[2] Badáoní says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of *Wálihí*. Yádgár traced his descent from Sulṭán Sanjar; but the Ṭabaqát calls him a Chaghtái. He served in Akbar's army.

"His son, Jalál Khán, had the *takhalluç* of Baqáí, though from his unprofitableness he styled himself *Ruswái*, 'the blackguard.' He gave his father poison from his mother on account of a fault," and Akbar ordered him from Kashmír to Láhor, where he was executed by the Koṭwál.

The Akbarnámah (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 486) says that Yádgár served in 993 in Kábul.

He is not to be confounded with Mír Hálatí of Gílán.

[3] Sanjar came in 1000 A. H. from Persia to India, and met his father (p. 593). For some crime, "to mention which is not proper," Akbar imprisoned him. When again set free, he went to Ahmadábád; but not thinking it wise to remain there, he went to Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr. Some time after, he received, through the influence of his father, a call from Sháh 'Abbás of Persia to return. But before he could leave, he died at Bíjápúr, in 1021 A. H. Regarding the value of his poems people hold opposite opinions. *Maásir i Rahímí.*

The *Khizánah i 'Ámirah* and Mr. T. W. Beale of Ágrah, the learned author of the Miftáh uttawáríkh, give the following verse as *táríkh* of Sanjar's death (metre *Muzári'*)—

اوکند پادشاه سخن چتر سنجری

The king of literature has thrown away the royal umbrella,

of which the words *pádisháh i sukhun* give 1023; but as the pádisháh throws away the umbrella, we have to subtract a ب, or 2; for the figure of the Arabic ب if inverted, looks like an umbrella.

I came from the monastery of the Guebres, and wear, from shame on account of improprieties, a sacred thread twisted round my waist, and a wailing gong under my arm.[1]

I am jealous, and I shall die from the aggressions of fickle lovers. I am a fresh plant, but shall die from the heap of rubbish about me.

I, too, have at last perished in the century of thy love. Alas! none is now left of Majnún's tribe.[2]

Sorrows rush from every side on my heart without first knocking at the door. I cannot help it: my house lies on the highway.

35. Jazbí.[3]

His name is Pádisháh Qulí, and he is the son of Sháh Qulí Khán Náranjí of Kurdistán, near Baghdád.

See how extremely jealous I am. My bewilderment leaves me, if any one alludes to him [the beautiful boy] whose memory causes my bewilderment.

1. Sometimes I break my vow of repentance and sometimes the wine-bottle; once, twice, incessantly, I break my plaintive flute [my heart].
2. O Lord, deliver my heart from these bad practices! How often shall I repent and again break my vow of repentance!

36. Tashbíhí of Káshán.[4]

His mind, from his youth, was unsettled. He belongs to the sect of the Mahmúdís; but I know nothing of his origin, nor of his present condi-

[1] *I. e.*, love has made the poet forget his faith, and he has become a heathen or a Christian. The Christians in many eastern countries used gongs, because they were not allowed bells.

[2] The poet only is a true lover. He alone resembled Majnún.

[3] The Tazkirahs give no details regarding *Jazbí*. His father has been mentioned above on p. 480; and from the Akbarnámah (III, p. 512) we know that Pádisháh Qulí served in Kashmír under Qásim Khán (p. 380). 'Jazbí' means 'attractive'; a similar takhalluç is 'Majzúb,' 'one who is attracted by God's love.' Badáoní (III, 213) ascribes the last verses given by Abulfazl to Pádisháh Qulí's father.

[4] The Átashkadah calls him "Mír 'Alí Akbar Tashbíhí. Though a decent man, he was singular in his manners, and was not widely known. Whilst in Hindústán he tried to improve the morals of the people, dressed as a Faqír, and did not visit kings." Dághistání says that he was a heretic, and lived for forty years in Hindústán a retired life. He generally lived in graveyards. Badáoní (III, 204) has the following notice of him. "He came twice or three times to Hindústán,

tion. The Masnawí entitled 'Zarrah o Khurshíd,' 'the Atom and the Sun,' is written by him.

Dust of the grave-yard, rise for once to joy! Thou enclosest a corpse like mine, slain by his hand and his dagger.

Dress in whatever colour thou wilt: I recognize thee when thy figure shines forth.

Pass some day by the bazar of the victims of thy love, and behold the retribution that awaits thee; for there they buy up every one of thy crimes at the price of a hundred meritorious actions.[1]

---

and returned home. Just now (A. H. 1004) he has come back again, and calls the people to heresies, advising them to follow the fate of the Basákhwánís (*vide* above, p. 453). He told Shaikh Abulfazl that he was a Mujtahid, or infallible authority on religious matters, and asked him to introduce him to the emperor, to whose praise he had composed an ode, the end point of which was the question why the emperor did not direct his policy to the overthrow of the so-called orthodox, in order that truth might assume its central position, and pure monotheism might remain. He also wrote a pamphlet in honor of Abulfazl, according to the manner of the Nuqṭawí sect and their manner of writing the letters [singly, not joined, as it appears from the following], all which is hypocrisy, dissimulation, (*tazríq*) and agreement of the numerical value of the letters. Hakím 'Ain ul Mulk (*vide* above p. 480) discovered that 'Tashbíhí' has the same numerical value [727] as 'Tazríqí,' 'the hypocrite.' Tashbíhí has composed a Díwán. When I wrote my history, he once gave me, in Abulfazl's presence, a pamphlet on Mahmúd of Basákhwán, and I looked at it. The preface was as follows—'O God! who art praiseworthy (*Mahmúd*) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee. There is no other God but Allah. Praise be to God, whose mercies are visible in all his works, who has shewn the existence of all his works...... [the text is unintelligible]. He knows Himself; but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. *Question*,—What is meant by 'nature?' *Answer*,—what people call creation or nature, is God, &c., &c. Dirt upon his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The grand point of all this lying is, of course 'the four *nuqṭahs*.' At the end of the pamphlet, I saw the following—'This has several times been written on the part of the Persian Mujtahid M, í, r, 'A, l, í, A, k, b, a, r, T, a, sh, b, í, h, í, the Amíní, the last, the representative.' And the rest was like this—may God preserve us from such unbelief!"

'The Atom and the Sun' is a mystical subject. The atoms of dust dance in the sunray and love it, and are emblematical of man's love to God. But as Akbar worshipped the sun, the poem, no doubt, referred to the peculiar views of the emperor.

[1] This verse is an example of a well-known rhetorical figure. The word 'retribution' leads the reader to expect the opposite of what Tashbíhí says. The lovely boy has, of course, broken many hearts and shed the blood of believers; nevertheless, all are ready to transfer the rewards of their meritorious actions to him, and thus buy up his crimes.

O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbíhí a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.[1]

---

1. I am that Tashbíhí who, from foresight, chooses to dwell in a grave-yard.

2. I like to dwell in a grave-yard, because dwelling in a grave-yard lies before our sight.

The hands of this world and of the world to come are empty. With me is the ring!—all other hands are empty.[2]

37. Ashkí of Qum.[3]

He is a Ṭabáṭibá Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.

Those who are slain by thee lie everywhere inebriated on the ground: perhaps the water of thy steel was wine.

My body melts in the fire of my madness, when he [the lovely boy] is away; and if you should hang an iron chain to my neck, it would flow (molten) to my feet.

Whenever I have to bear the pang of separation from my beloved, no one bears with me but death.

---

[1] The sun looks round like a loaf; the warm oven is the heat of the day.

[2] In allusion to a game, in which the players secretly pass a ring from one to another, and another party has to find where the ring is. 'The ring is with Tashbíhí', *i. e.*, he has chosen truth, he is the elect.

[3] We know from the Haft Iqlím that Mír Ashkí was the son of Mír Sayyid 'Alí, Muhtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashkí's elder brother Mír Huzúrí also is known as a poet. Ghazálí's fame and success (*vide* p. 568) attracted Ashkí to India, but he did not meet Ghazálí. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his death-bed, he gave his several Díwáns to Mír Judáí (*vide* p. 590) to arrange. Mír Judáí, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. Ṭaríqí of Sáwah alludes to this in the following epigram—

اشکیٔ نامراد را کشتی
عقل حیران خون خفیهٔ اوست
بتو واماند چار دیوانش
شعر واماندهٔ تو گفتهٔ اوست

Thou hast killed poor Ashkí,
And I wonder at thy crime being hidden.
With thee four Díwáns of his remained,
And what remains of thy poems, is his.

Dághistání says that Ashkí died in Mír Judáí's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazálí; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary Haft Iqlím is preferable.

Badáoní says that Ashkí's poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (*tatabbu'*) the poet Áçafí. He died at Ágrah.

Ashkí, I think, my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face.[1]

38. Asi'ri' of Rai.[2]

His name is Amír Qází. He is a man of education.

The messenger was a watcher in disguise, and I did not see his cunning. The cruel wretch succeeded in putting his contrivance between us.

I have pardoned my murderer, because he did not take his hand away from me; for as long as life was left within me, his murderous hands were properly employed.

His love has so completely filled my breast, that you can hear him breathe in my breath.

39. Fahmi' of Rai [Ṭahrán].[3]

Give him no wine who feels no higher pleasure in the juice of grapes; do not even give him water when he lies as dust before the door of the tavern.

I have no patience when in love, and have lost in reputation. Tell reputation to go, I cannot be patient.

40. Qaidi' of Shíráz.[4]

He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.

---

[1] So do the watchers of the beloved boy rush up against Ashkí, when he declares his love.

[2] Asírí was, according to Badáoní, an educated man, and the best pupil of Hakím ul-Mulk (p. 542). But the climate of India did not agree with him, and he did not find much favor with the emperor. He, therefore, returned to Rai, his home, where he died (*i. e.*, before 1004, A. H).

[3] Badáoní gives three poets of the name of Fahmí—1, Fahmí of Ṭahrán, who travelled much, and was for some time in India; 2, Fahmí of Samarqand, son of Nádirí, an able riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3, Fahmí of Astrábád, who died at Dihlí. The *Maásir i Rahímí* mentions a Fahmí of Hurmuz (Ormuz), well known in Lár and Hurmuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the KhánKhanán, got a present, and returned. Dághistání mentions a fifth Fahmí from Káshán, and a sixth, of whom he gives no particulars.

As the Ṭabaqát and Dághistání ascribe the same verse to Fahmí i Ṭahrání, which Abulfazl gives to Fahmí of Rai, the identity of both is apparent. In fact, it looks as if Abulfazl had made a mistake in calling him 'of Rai,' because no *Tazkirah* follows him.

[4] Qaidí came from Makkah to India, and was well received by Akbar. Once, at a court assembly, he spoke of the injus-

As thou hast never gone from my heart, I wonder how thou couldst have found a place in the hearts of all others.

---

1. Thou drovest me away, and I came back, not from jealousy, but because I wish to confess that I feel ashamed of my love having had jealousy as a companion.

2. My tears derive a lustre from the laughter of cruel wretches; else a wound inflicted by thee could never produce such bloody tears.

A lover may have many reasons to complain; but it is better not to unburden the heart before the day of judgment.

If I desire to accuse thee of shedding, in every look, hundred torrents of lover's blood, my lot, though hostile enough, would be ready to be my witness.

I am gone, my reason is gone! I want a flash of madness to strike my soul, so as to keep it burning [with love] till the day of judgment.

---

1. Last night union [with the sweet boy] raised her lovely form before me, and the gloomy desert of my heart shone forth in raptures.

2. But the bat had no power to gaze at the sun; else the sun would have revealed what is now behind the screen.

41. Pairawí of Sáwah.[1]

His name is Amír Beg. He was a good painter.

Where is the wine of love given to wretches without feeling? Loving idols is a drunkenness; let men be careful whom to give it!

O God! I cannot reach the world of the ideal; forgive me if I worship form.[2]

---

tice of the *Dágh o Mahallí*-Law, on which Akbar had set his heart (*vide* p. 242), and fell into disgrace. He wandered about for some time as Faqír in Biánah District, and returned to Fathpúr Síkrí, suffering from piles. A quack, whom he consulted, cut open the veins of the anus, and Qaidí died. He was an excellent poet. *Badáoní.*

Dághistání says that he was a friend of 'Urfí, and died in A. H. 992.

[1] Pairawí imitated the poet Áçafí. He wrote a poem on 'Form and Ideal,' of which Abulfazl has given the first verse, and completed a Díwán of Ghazals.

[2] This verse, the beginning of Pairawí's 'Form and Ideal,' contains the rhetorical figure *istihlál*, because it gives the title of the poem.

42. Ka'mi', of Sabzwár.[1]

His mind is somewhat unsettled.

If I knew that tears could make an impression, I would altogether turn to blood and trickle from the eye.

Whether I see him [the beautiful boy] or not, my heart is in raptures. Have you ever seen such a sight?

I wished I could like a breeze pass away from this base world. This is not the street of the sweetheart, from which one cannot pass away.

My blood dances from mirth in my vein like a flame: the look he gave me commences to work, and my heart is effectually wounded.

43. Paya'mi'.[2]

His name is 'Abdussalám. He is of Arabian extraction, and has acquired some knowledge; but he is not clear to himself.

Fortune cheats in play, loses, and takes back what she paid. One cannot play with a companion that is up to such tricks.

1. How long do you file down your words and polish them; how long do you shoot random arrows at the target?
2. If you would take one lesson in the science of silence, you would laugh loud at your silly conversation.

1. I keep a thousand thunderbolts concealed below my lip. Go away, go away, take care not to put your finger on my lip.

[1] Kámí's father, Khwájah Yahyá, was a grocer (*baqqál*), and lived in the Maidán Mahallah of Sabzwár, in Khurásán. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbaks took Sabzwár, Mír Yahyá went to India, and left Kámí, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzwár. At the request of his father, Kámí came to India, and was frequently with the KhánKhánán. He went afterwards back to Khurásán, and the author of the Maásir i Rahímí saw him, in 1014, in Harát. In travelling from Harát to his house, he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the KhánKhánán's service.

The Haft Iqlím says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.

Badáoní also mentions him; but he wrongly calls *Qumí*, 'from the town of Qum.' He says, Kámí is a young man and has just come to India (1004); his thoughts are bold.

[2] Payámí, according to Dághistání, was a pupil of the renowned 'Allámí Dawwání. He was for a long time Vazír to Sháh 'Alá ul-Mulk ibn i Núrul-dahr of Lár. His services were afterwards dispensed with, and a Jew of the name of Ya'qúb was appointed instead. But this change was not wise; for soon after, Sháh 'Abbás sent an army under Iláh Virdí Khán to Lár, who conquered the country.

2. I have come to the public square of the world, but I think it were better if my Yúsuf were yet in the pit than in the bazar.[1]

Patience, in order to console me, has again put me off with new subterfuges, and has stitched up the book of my happiness the wrong way.

---

1. My heart has overcome the grief of separation, and has gone from this land; it has tucked the hem up to the waist and has gone.

2. My heart saw among the companions no trace of faithfulness; hence it smiled hundred times by way of friendship and went away.

44. Sayyid Muhammad [Fikrí].[2]

He is a cloth-weaver from Harát. He generally composes Rubá'ís.

---

1. On the day when the lover kindled the fire of love, he learnt from his beloved what burning grief is.

2. This burning and melting has its origin in the beloved; for the moth does not burn till it reaches the candle.

---

1. On the day of judgment, when nothing remains of the world but the tale, the first sign of Eternity's spring will appear:

2. The beloved will raise like plants their heads from the dust, and I, too, shall raise my head in courtship.[3]

45. Qudsí of Karbalá, Mír Husain.[4]

I am utterly ashamed of the dogs of thy street; for they have made friendship with a man like me.

I am in misery; and you would know the sadness of my lot, if you were in stead of me to suffer for one night the grief of being separated from him [the beautiful boy].

---

[1] Yúsuf means here 'life'; pit, 'non-existence'; bazar, 'existence.'

[2] Sayyid Muhammad's poetical name is *Fikrí*, the 'pensive.' He came, according to the Haft Iqlím, in 969 to India; and his excellent rubá'ís induced people to call him the 'Khayyám of the age,' or 'Mír Rubá'í.' He died on his way to Jaunpúr, in 973, the *táríkh* of his death being *Mír Rubá'í safar namúd*.

[3] This verse reminds me of a verse by Kalím, I think, (metre *Rajaz*)—

روز قیامت هر کسی بدست گیرد نامهٔ

من نیز حاضر می‌شوم تصویر جانا در بغل

Each man, on the day of resurrection, will seize a book [the book of deeds]. I, too, shall be present, with my sweetheart's picture under my arm.

[4] Dághistání says that Mír Husain's father left Karbalá for Sabzwár. Qudsí was a great friend of Muhammad Khán, governor of Harát. Badáoní (III, 376) says that Mír Muhammad Sharíf Nawáí, Qudsí's brother, also came to India, and "died a short time ago," *i. e.* before 1004, A. H.

Who am I that thou shouldst be my enemy, and shouldst care for my being or not being?

46. Haidarí, of Tabríz.[1]

He is a merchant and a poet; he works hard and spends his gains liberally.

Shew no one my black book of sorrows; let no one know my crimes [love].

O Haidarí, try, like the virtuous, to attain some perfection in this world of sorrow; for to leave this world deficient in anything, is like leaving the bath in a dirty state.

---

[1] Haidarí was three times in India. The first time he came, he was young, and found a patron in Muhammad Qásim Khán of Níshápúr (*vide* above, p. 353). His company, says the Haft Iqlím, was more agreeable than his poems. The Masnawí which he wrote in imitation of Sa'dí's Bostán, is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India, he said—

در کشور هند شادي و غم معلوم
اينجا دل شاد و جان خرم معلوم
جائی که بیک روپیه دوآدم بخرند
آدم معلوم و قدر آدم معلوم

On his second return to India, he found a patron in the Khán i A'zam (p. 325), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muhammad Khán Atgah (p. 321) introduced him at court. For an ode on the elephant, Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India, he attached himself to the KhánKhánán, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujrát (p. 335), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkich. He returned to Káshán, the governor of which town, Aghá Khizr Naháwandí (brother of the author of the *Maásir i Rahímí*) befriended him. As Tabríz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rúm, he settled in 'Iráq, at a place called in the MSS. نطز, which for its excellent climate and fruits had no equal in 'Iráq or Khurásán. About that time Sháh 'Abbás came to the place to hunt pheasants (*kabg*). It happened that the king's own falcon flew away, and sat down on the house of a darwísh, who, notwithstanding that the king had gone personally to his house, refused to open the door. "The foaming ocean of the king's wrath rose in high waves," and he ordered a general massacre of the people of the place, which was happily prevented through Haidarí's influence. The same falcon was killed on the same day by an eagle on a steep hill, about a farsang from نطز; and the king, out of love for the animal, had a large house built on the top of the hill, which has now become a place of resort for the surrounding country. But as the hill is inaccessible for beasts of burden, the building must have cost a great deal of money and labour. Haidarí died there, beloved by all, in A. H. 1002.

He had also written a book entitled *Lisán-ul-ghaib* in praise of his teacher, the poet Lisání, who had been attacked in a pamphlet entitled *Sahw-ul-Lisán*, 'the Slip of the Tongue,' which was written by his base pupil Mír Sharíf i Tabrízí. The *Maásir i Rahímí* gives a few passages from the book.

Dághistání says that the poet Darwísh Haidar of Yazd, mentioned in Tazkirahs, is very likely the same as Mauláná Haidarí of Tabríz, who is sometimes called 'Yazdí' from his friendship with Wahshí of Yazd.

Sámrí, Haidarí's son, came to India after his father's death, and was made by the KhánKhánán *Mír Sámán* of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the Dak'hin wars, when with Shahnawáz Khán, the son of his patron.

47. **Sa'mri'.**

He is the son of the preceding. His versification is good.

My disgrace has made me famous, and my shame [love] has rendered me well-known; perplexed I ask myself why I remain concealed.

The farmers have committed their seeds to the field, and now hope to receive aid from the flood of my tears.

48. **Farebi',** of Rai (?).[1]

His name is Shápúr. He is a good man, but is in bad circumstances. If he is diligent, he may become a good poet.

---

1. I go and heat my brain with the love of a certain sweetheart; I sit in the midst of the flame, and breathe a hot sigh.
2. It is not my intention to be in ardours for myself, Shápúr; my object is to bring a certain sweetheart before the world.

I am the thorny shrub without leaves in the desert; no bird takes shelter with me from fear of accidents.

---

1. If the martyr of thy love-grief is to have a tomb, let it be the gullets of crows and kites, or the stomachs of wild animals.
2. Until I pass along the torrent of restlessness [love], I cannot plunge into the shoreless ocean.

49. **Fusu'ni',** of Shíráz.[2]

His name is Mahmúd Beg. He is an excellent accountant, and knows also astronomy well.

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[1] The second verse shews that the *takhalluç* of the poet is Shápúr. Farebí is scarcely known. With the exception of Dághistání's work, which merely mentions that Farebí lived during the reign of Akbar, I have not found his name in the Tazkirahs. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 52) mentions a Farebí of Bukhárá; but as he is said to have died in 944 A. H., he must be another poet. The name of his birthplace is doubtful; the MSS. of the A'ín have Raí, Rahí, and Díhí, or leave out the word, as Dághistání has done. 'Rází' is the usual form of the adjective derived from 'Rai,' the well-known town in Khurásán.

[2] Abulfazl says that Fusúní was from Shíráz; Badáoní and Taqí call him Yazdí; and Dághistání and the A'tashkadah say that he came from Tabríz. Badáoní says that Fusúní came over Tattah and entered the service of the emperor, and Dághistání adds that he also served under Jahángír and Sháhjahán as Mustaufí. The Mir-át ul 'Álam mentions a Fusúní, who was an Amír under Jahángír and had the title of Afzal Khán.

When the eye has once learned to see [to love], it loses its peaceful sleep; when the heart has once learned to throb, it loses its rest.

The passion which I feel for other lovely ones, has made my heart like a bud which has been forced open by blowing upon it.

When I wish to kiss his foot, I first wipe it with my wet eye; for the eye feels, more than lip, the sweet sorrow of kissing his foot.

Woe me, if my blood is not shed for the crime of my love! To pardon my faults were worse than to take revenge on me.

Sole friend of my chamber! I feel jealous of those who stand outside disappointed. Sweet companion of my feast! I feel jealous of the spectators.

---

1. If I flee from thy cruelties, tell me what dust I am to scatter on my head when far from thee.
2. If I sit in the dust of the earth on which I wander, whose victim shall I be when I arise?[1]

50. Ná'dirí, of Turshíz.[2]

I am as if blind and err about seeking for something. I pant after this mirage [love], though I hold a cooling drink in my hand.

Nádirí, I complain of no one: I have myself set fire to this heap of thorns.

---

[1] The original contains a pun on *khák gird*, and *gard*, which I cannot imitate.

[2] The author of the Haft Iqlím says that Nádirí went two years before the completion of the Haft Iqlím, *i. e.* in 1000, to India; but he does not know what became of him.

Dághistání mentions three poets of the name of Nádirí—(1) Nádirí of Samarqand, who came to Humáyún in India, (2) a Nádirí from Shustar; and (3) a Nádirí from Siálkoṭ.

Turshíz, or Turshísh, lies near Níshápúr.

51. Nau'í, of Mashhad.[1]

He is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to, he writes very well.

I am dead, and yet the blisters of my wandering foot do not dry up: neither death nor the life to come can bring the journey towards this stage [love] to a close.

No eye is fit to behold my glory; my figure in the looking-glass even appears veiled.

If that be Mançúr's love, do not grieve, O heart. Not every weak-minded man is fit to love.[2]

Intrinsic beauty cannot be seen; and he who looks into the looking-glass sees, indeed, his figure, but forms no part of the glass itself.[3]

Make thyself a heart as large as the orb of heavens, and then ask for an atom. Do not be satisfied, Nau'í, with a ray of the sun; cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote.[4]

---

[1] Mullá Muhammad Rizá comes from Khabúshán near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the Maásir i Rahímí, he found a patron in Mírzá Yúsuf Khán of Mashhad (p. 346); but soon after, he entered the service of the Khán-Khánán (p. 334), and stayed with him and Prince Dányál at Burhánpúr. For his *Sáqínámah*, the KhánKhánán gave him an elephant and a present of 10,000 Rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. Some people say that his poems are like the *shutur o gurbah, i. e.* you find chaff and grains together; but most people praise his poems. The Khizánah i 'Ámirah says that his Masnawí entitled *Soz o Gudáz* is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. This poem, of which the Asiatic Society of Bengal has a copy, contains the story of a Suttee. Nau'í had not yet arranged his Qaçídahs and Ghazals in form of a díwán, when he died in 1019, at Burhánpúr.

Badáoní says that he claims descent from Hazrat Shaikh Hájí Muhammad of Khabúshán; but his doings belie his claim. He is very bold, and is now (in 1004) with the youngest prince.

[2] Mançúr attained a high degree of pantheistic love; he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed 'Aná alhaq,' 'I am God,'—for which he was killed. The poet here accuses Mançúr of weakness, because he proclaimed his love; he should have kept it to himself, as is proper for true lovers (*vide* p. 555, note 1).

[3] The poet means by the looking-glass the beautiful face of the beloved boy. He sees in it his woful figure; but does not become one with him.

[4] Properly, half a mote. The dust atoms that play in the sunray are in love with the sun.

52. Bábá Ṭálib, of Içfahán.[1]

He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.

I would not exchange my lonely corner for a whole world, and I am glad that my intercourse with the people of the world has left me this impression.

It is no wonder that my little heart expands into a wide plain, when it is filled with thy love.

I cannot raise, from weakness, my hands to my collar, and I am sorry that the rent in my collar reaches so late the hem of my garment.[2]

---

1. In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste and yet askest 'what does it matter?' Thou sheddest my blood, thou drivest me away, and yet askest 'What does it matter?'

2. Thou dost not care for the havoc which the sword of separation has made; sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters.[3]

53. Sarmadí, of Isfahán.[4]

His name is Sharíf. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic.

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[1] According to the Haft Iqlím, Bábá Ṭálib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmír, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province, he came to Hindústán, where he was much liked. The Maásir i Rahímí says that he was often in the company of Hakím Abulfath (p. 424), Zain Khán Kokah (344), Abulfazl, and Shaikh Faizí; at present, *i. e.* in 1025, he is Çadr of Gujrát. Badáoní says that he was nearly eight (twenty?) years in Kashmír, was at first a dervish, but took afterwards an employment, and entered Akbar's service. The emperor once sent him as ambassador to 'Alí Rái, ruler of Little Tibbat. On his return, he gave Abulfazl a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the Akbarnámah. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The *Iqbálnámah* (Bibl. Indica Edition, p. 133) confirms these remarks, and adds that Bábá Ṭálib died in the end of Jahángír's reign, more than a hundred years old.

[2] *Vide* p. 560, note 1.

[3] This Rubá'í pleased Jahángír so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. *Iqbálnámah*, loc. cit.

[4] Muhammad Sharíf was mentioned above on p. 516, No. 344, as a commander of Two Hundred. Badáoní says that he was at first Chaukínawís, and is at present (*i. e.*, 1004) with Sharíf i A'mulí (p. 452) in Bengal. He used at first to write under the *takhalluç* of 'Faizí;' but in order to avoid opposition to Faizí, Abulfazl's brother, he chose that of Sarmadí. Badáoní looked upon him as a heretic, and often abuses him (Bad. II, 335). From the Akbarnámah we see that Sharíf served in the 31st year in Kashmír, and in the end of the 32nd in Gujrát. In 1000, he was sent to Bengal with Sharíf i A'mulí, and in the beginning of 1001, we find him fighting in Orísá against Rám Chandr, Rájah of Khurdah. Dághistání says, he died in the Dak'hin.

Fortune has been faithful in my time; I am the memorial tablet of Fate's faithfulfulness.

I was at home, and thou camest to me with drunken eyes and with roses under the arm; the very dust of this house of grief budded forth to see the sight of thy arrival.

1. What have I not done to myself in the heat of transgression! What crimes have I not committed whilst trusting to Providence!

2. I and my heart have soared up to a rose bed, and we are jealous of the zephyr's going and coming.

3. A lover has hundreds of wishes besides union with him [the beautiful boy]; I still want thee, Fortune, for many things.

I have in contempt set my foot upon both worlds; neither joy nor sorrow have overpowered my heart.

1. I cherish a love which will be talked of on the day of resurrection; I cherish a grief which no tale can relate.

2. A grief which can coquet with the grief of others, which no thought can comprehend and no pen can describe.

54. Dakhlí, of Içfahán.[1]

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character. Though he says but little, he is a man of worth.

[1] The Maásir i Rahímí is the only work in which I have found a notice of this poet. His name is Malik Ahmad, and he was the son of Malik ul Mulúk Maqçúd 'Alí, proprietor of Werkopái, twelve farsakhs from Içfahán. (The MS. belonging to the Society had originally Derkopái; but the author appears to have corrected the *d* to a *w*). His mother's father was the great Shaikh Abul Qásim, who had such influence with Ṭahmásp that several legacies (*auqáf*) in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed Mutawallí. His circumstances thus became affluent, and so many dervishes, pupils, learned men, travellers, poets, &c., collected around him, that people persuaded Ṭahmásp that Abul Qásim was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was, therefore, blinded, and lived a retired life in the village. Some time after, he presented a poem to Ṭahmásp, which procured him a pension. In this poem, which the Maásir has partly preserved, the village is called Kuhpáyah. In his retirement, he used to write under the *nom de plume* of Amrí, and employed Dakhlí to arrange his poems. This occupation gave Dakhlí a taste for poetry, and he received from Abul Qásim the takhalluç of 'Dakhlí.' After having attended on his maternal uncle for some time, Malik Ahmad went to Içfahán, where he gained a reputation as a poet.

In 997, he came to India, and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1003, he went to the Dak'hin, and found a patron in the KhánKhánán, in whose service he was in 1025, when the Maásir i Rahímí was written. He also was a good soldier.

1. I have burnt the furniture of my strong and wise heart; I have set fire to the house of my aspirations and burnt it.

2. I have given up heresy and faith, and, half way between the Ka'bah and the idol temple, I have burnt the sacred thread and the rosary.

---

1. I know of no plaint that has made impression; I know of no evening that was followed by a cheerful morn.

2. They say that grief is followed by joy, but this is an error: I know but of sorrows being followed by sorrows.

55. Qa'sim Arsla'n, of Mashhad.[1]

He possesses some talent. He works hard in order to collect wealth, and spends it in a genial way.

I am intoxicated with the pleasures of the society of wits: for there the subtleties of expression vanish at a hint.

Word and thought weep over my circumstances, when without thee I look into the book (of my poems).

My life is half gone—what am I worth now when a single look from thee is valued a hundred lives?

Thou hast the brilliancy of the rose and the colour of wine. How wonderful, what a freshness!

56. Ghayu'ri', of Hiçár.[2]

Manliness shines on his forehead, and simplicity is the ornament of his life.

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[1] Arslán is Qásim's *nom-de-plume*. He chose this name, because his father claimed descent from Arslán Jázib, an Amír of Mahmúd of Ghazní. The family came from Ṭús, and Qásim was brought up in Transoxania. He was a good poet, and excelled in *táríkhs*. Badáoní quotes an ode written by Arslán on the Mountain of Ajmír. He died in 995, probably in Láhor. Dághistání says, he died at Ahmadábád. *Vide* p. 103.

[2] Ghayúrí is called in the Akbarnámah Mullá Ghayúrí, and Dághistání calls him Ghayúrí of Kábul. This shews that he came from Hiçár in Kábul, and not from Hiçár Fírúzah. The Haft Iqlím tells us that Ghayúrí was at first in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother and king of Kábul. On the death of his patron, he entered Akbar's service, and was a Yúzbáshí, or Commander of One Hundred. He was killed, in 994, with Bír Bar in the Khaibar Pass catastrophe (p. 345).

When longing directs its way to that door [love], it overthrows all possibility of returning.

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1. The door of Sháh Akbar, the victorious, is a paradise of rest;
2. And if I shave my beard, I do so not to beautify myself,
3. But because beards, like crimes, are of a deep black dye, and can therefore, have no place in a paradise.[1]

57. Qa'simi', of Mázandarán.[2]

He lives as a Faqír and wanders bare-footed and bare-headed through the world.

I do not compare thee in beauty with Yúsuf; Yusuf was not so, I do not flatter.

---

1. My sickness has increased to-night in consequence of the pain of separation, and my wretched condition arises from the hundred excesses of yesterday.
2. The wine of desire flows every night freer. What shall I to-night do with my unsteady heart?

58. Sheri'.[3]

He belongs to a Panjábí family of Shaikhs. Under the patronage of his Majesty he has become a good poet.

The beloved [boy] came, and blotted out my name; nay, he made me quite beside myself.

The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of coquetry, that even Desire found access impossible in this dense crowd.

O Zephyr, the beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire. I am thy devoted servant, but thou art rather too devoted to his street.

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[1] Akbar, in 1000, forced his courtiers to shave off their beards; *vide* p. 207.

[2] Dághistání mentions a Qásim of Mázandarán. Qásimí seems to be an unknown poet.

[3] Mullá Sherí has been mentioned above, pp. 106, 197, 202, 204. He was born in Kokúwál in the Panjáb (Bárí Duáb). His father's name was Mauláná Yahyá. He belonged to a tribe called in Badáoní 'Májí.'

Sherí was killed with Bír Bar, in 994, in the Khaibar Pass.

1. My heart has polluted itself with revealing its condition. Though I am silent, the language of my looks has betrayed me.

2. A little thing [love] offers thousands of difficulties; an object apparently within reach offers hundreds of impossibilities.

59. Rahi', of Níshápúr.

His name is Khwájah Ján. He is a good man.

---

1. O Rahí, do no longer cunningly twist this thread [thy religious belief]; give up ideas of future life, beginning, and the purgatory.

2. Put the thread into the fire of love, so that the offensive smell of the water of the corpse may not go to hell (?).

* * * * * *

The above (59) poets were presented at Court. There are, however, many others who were not presented, but who sent from distant places to his Majesty encomiums composed by them, as for example, Qásim of Gúnábád; Zamír of Içfahán; Wahshí of Báfah; Muhtashim of Káshán; Malik of Qum; Zuhúrí of Shíráz; Walí Dasht Bayází; Nekí; Çabrí; Figárí; Huzúrí; Qází Núrí of Içfahán; Çáfí of Bam; Ṭaufí of Tabríz; and Rashkí of Hamadán.

A'ÍN 30 *(concluded)*.

THE IMPERIAL MUSICIANS.[1]

I cannot sufficiently describe the wonderful power of this talisman of knowledge [music]. It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the harem of the heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in solemn strains by means of the hand and the chord. The melodies then enter through the window of the ear and return to their former seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents. The hearers, according to their insight, are moved to sorrow or to joy. Music is thus of use to those who have renounced the world and to such as still cling to it.

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[1] We have to distinguish *goyandah*, singers, from *khwánandahs*, chanters, and *sázandahs*, players. The principal singers and musicians come from Gwáliár, Mashhad, Tabríz, and Kashmír. A few come from Transoxania. The schools in Kashmír had been founded by Írání and Túrání musicians patronized by Zain ul 'Ábidín, king of Kashmír. The fame of Gwáliár for its schools of music dates from the time of Rájah Mán Tunwar. During his reign lived the famous Náik Bakhshú, whose melodies are only second to those of Tánsen. Bakhshú also lived at the court of Rájah Bikramájít, Mán's son; but when his patron lost his throne, he went to Rájah Kírat of Kálinjar. Not long afterwards, he accepted a call to Gujrát, where he remained at the court of Sulṭán Bahádur (1526 to 1536, A. D). Islem Sháh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rám Dás and Mahápáter. Both entered subsequently Akbar's service. Mahápáter was once sent as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Orísá.

His Majesty pays much attention to music, and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at court, Hindús, Íránís, Túránís, Kashmírís, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day in the week. When his Majesty gives the order, they let the wine of harmony flow, and thus increase intoxication in some, and sobriety in others.

A detailed description of this class of people would be too difficult; but I shall mention the principal musicians.

1. Miyán Tánsen,[1] of Gwáliár. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bábá Rámdás,[2] of Gwáliár, a singer.
3. Subhán Khán, of Gwáliár, a singer.
4. Srigyán Khán, of Gwáliár, a singer.
5. Miyán Chand, of Gwáliár, a singer.
6. Bichitr Khán, brother of Subhán Khán, a singer.
7. Muhammad Khán Ḍháṛí, sings.[3]
8. Bír Mandal Khán, of Gwáliár, plays on the *sarmandal*.
9. Báz Bahádur, ruler of Málwah, a singer without rival [p. 428].
10. Shiháb Khán, of Gwáliár, performs on the *bín*.
11. Dáúd Ḍháṛí, sings.
12. Sarod Khán, of Gwáliár, sings.
13. Miyán Lál,[4] of Gwáliár, sings.
14. Tántarang Khán, son of Miyán Tánsen, sings.
15. Mullá Is-háq Ḍháṛí, sings.
16. Ustá Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (*nai*).
17. Nának Jarjú, of Gwáliár, a singer.
18. Purbín Khán, his son, plays on the *bín*.
19. Súr Dás, son of Bábú Rám Dás, a singer.
20. Chánd Khán, of Gwáliár, sings.
21. Rangsen, of Ágrah, sings.

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[1] Regarding Tánsen, or Tánsain, or Tánsín, *vide* p. 406. Rám Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tánkahs as a present. Ibráhím Súr in vain persuaded Tánsen to come to Ágrah. Abulfazl mentions below his son Tántarang Khán; and the Pádishάhnámah (II, 5—an interesting passage) mentions another son of the name of Bilás.

[2] Badáoní (II, 42) says, Rám Dás came from Lak'hnau. He appears to have been with Bairám Khán during his rebellion, and he received once from him one lákh of tánkahs, empty as Bairám's treasure chest was. He was first at the court of Islem Sháh, and he is looked upon as second only to Tánsen. His son Súr Dás is mentioned below.

[3] Ḍháṛí means 'a singer,' 'a musician.'

[4] Jahángír says in the Tuzuk that Lál Kaláwant (or *Kalánwat*, *i. e.* the singer) died in the 3rd year of his reign, "sixty or rather seventy years old. He had been from his youth in my father's service. One of his concubines, on his death, poisoned herself with opium. I have rarely seen such an attachment among Muhammadan women."

22. Shaikh Dáwan Ḍháṛí, performs on the *karaná*.
23. Rahmat ullah, brother of Mullá Is-háq (No. 15), a singer.
24. Mír Sayyid 'Alí, of Mashhad, plays on the *ghichak*.
25. Ustá Yúsuf, of Harát, plays on the *ṭambúrah*.
26. Qásim, surnamed Koh-bar.[1] He has invented an instrument, intermediate between the *qúbúz* and the *rubáb*.
27. Tásh Beg, of Qipcháq, plays on the *qúbúz*.
28. Sulṭán Háfiz Husain, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Bahrám Qulí, of Harát, plays on the *ghichak*.
30. Sulṭán Háshim, of Mashhad, plays on the *ṭambúrah*.
31. Ustá Sháh Muhammad, plays on the *surná*.
32. Ustá Muhammad Amín, plays on the *ṭambúrah*.
33. Háfiz Khwájah 'Alí, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mír 'Abdullah, brother of Mír 'Abdul Hai, plays the *Qánún*.
35. Pírzádah,[2] nephew of Mír Dawám, of Khurásán, sings and chants.
36. Ustá Muhammad Husain, plays the *ṭambúrah*.[3]

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[1] Koh-bar, as we know from the Pádisháhnámah (I, *b*., p. 335) is the name of a Chaghtái tribe. The *Nafáis ul Maásir* mentions a poet of the name of Muhammad Qásim Kohbar, whose *nom-de-plume* was Çabrí. *Vide* Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 50 (where we have to read *Koh-bar*, for *Gúh-paz*).

[2] Pírzádah, according to Badáoní (III, 318) was from Sabzwár. He wrote poems under the *takhalluç* of Liwáí. He was killed in 995 at Láhor, by a wall falling on him.

[3] The Maásir i Rahímí mentions the following musicians in the service of the KhánKhánán—Ághá Muhammad Náí, son of Hájí Ismá'il, of Tabríz; Mauláná Açwátí, of Tabríz; Ustád Mírzá 'Alí Fathagí; Mauláná Sharaf of Níshápúr, a brother of the poet Nazírí (p. 579), Muhammad Múmin, *alias* Háfizak, a ṭambúrah-player; and Háfiz Nazr, from Transoxania, a good singer.

The Tuzuk and the Iqbálnámah mention the following singers of Jahángír's reign—Jahángírdád; Chatr Khán; Parwízdád; Khurramdád; Mák'hú; Hamzah.

During Sháhjahán's reign we find Jagnát'h, who received from Sháhjahán the title of *Kabrái;* Dirang Khán; and Lál Khán, who got the title of *Gunsamundar* (ocean of excellence). Lál Khán was son-in-law to Bilás, son of Tánsen. Jagnát'h and Dirang Khán were both weighed in silver, and received each 4500 Rupees.

Aurangzíb abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court-historians. Music is against the Muhammadan law. Kháfí Khán (II, 213) tells a curious incident which took place after the order had been given. The court-musicians brought a bier in front of the Jharok'hah (the window where the emperors used to shew themselves daily to the people), and wailed so loud as to attract Aurangzíb's attention. He came to the window, and asked whom they had on the bier. They said, "Melody is dead, and we are going to the graveyard." "Very well," said the emperor, "make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it." A short time after, the Jharok'hah also was abolished.

END OF VOLUME I.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 32, note 1.

Todar Mall. For correcter and fuller biographical notes, *vide* p. 351.

Page 34, note 2.

Qulij Kha'n. The correct year of his death is given on p. 354.

Page 35, line 24.

Ba'bá'ghu'ri'. This word is not in the Dictionaries; but there is no doubt that it means 'White Agate.' The word is also mentioned in the 4th Book (my Text Edition, II, 60), where it is said that all the weights used at court for weighing jewels were made of 'transparent Bábághúrí.' Ṭáhir Naçrábádí, in his *Tazkirah*, under Jalál, has the following. "When the case came on, he said to Mírzá Taqí, "I have often counted with the point of my penknife the Bábághúrí threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen."

در روز دیوان با میرزا تقي میگفت که مکرر بنوک قلمتراش زنار باباغوري چشم شما را شمرده ام هفده زنار دارد ||

Page 44, last line.

Salaries of the Begums. Under Sháhjahán and Aurangzíb, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries. Thus Mumtáz Mahall had 10 lák'hs per annum, and her eldest daughters 6 lákhs, half in cash and half in lands. Aurangzíb gave the "Begum Çáhib" 12 lákhs *per annum*.

Regarding Núr Jahán's pension, *vide* p. 510, note 4.

Page 48, note 1.

Gulbadan Begum. From Badáoní II, 14, we see that she was Akbar's paternal aunt, *i. e.* she was Humáyún's sister. She was married to Khizr Khwájah; *vide* pp. 198, 365.

Page 55, line 9, from below.

Soron. Soron is the correct name of a town and Parganah in Sirkár Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol ('Alígaṛh), near the Ganges.

Page 56, line 10.

PANHA'N. This I believe to be a mistake for 'Pathán,' or 'Pathánkoṭ.' The MSS. have پنهان or سنهان, but as the initial *sín* in MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with پید, and reversely. The spelling پیتهان, *Paithán*, for *Pathán*, is common in Muhammadan historians. My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.

Page 65, note 1.

KI'LA'S. Mr. F. S. Growse, C. S., informs me that *gilás* is to the present day the Kashmírí term for *cherries*.

Page 70, line 28.

MAHUWA'. This partly confirms Elliot's note under *Gulú* (Beames' Edition, 'Races of the N. W. Provinces,' II, p. 335) and corrects Shakespeare's Dictionary.

Page 73, line 1.

PA'N LEAVES. In the 3rd Book of the Áín (Text, p. 416, l. 20) Ábulfazl mentions another kind of *pán*, called *Mak'hí* or *Mukhí*, grown in Bihár.

Page 78, last line.

QAIÇU'RI'. Col. Yule tells me that the correct name is FANÇU'RI'. According to Marco Polo, Fançúr was a state in Sumátra, probably the modern Barús.

Page 81, note.

ZI'RBA'D. This should be ZERBA'D, for *zer i bád*, *i. e.* 'under the wind,' leeward, the Persian translation as Col. Yule informs me, of the Malay *Báwah angín*, 'below the wind,' by which the Malays designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumátra.

Kháfí Khán (I, p. 11) couples Zerbád with Khatá, over both of which Túlí Khán, son of Chingiz Khán, ruled.

Page 87, note 2.

کرکراق. I have since seen the spelling کرکیراق which brings us a step nearer to etymology. *Yaráq* means 'supellex;' and *kürk* means 'fur.'

Page 88, line 1.

AHMADA'BA'D. The comma after Ahmadábád may be wrong. Ahmadábád is often called Ahmadábád i Gujrát.

Page 88, line 19.

GHIA'S I NAQSHBAND. We know from the *Tazkirah* of Ṭáhir Naçrábádí that Ghiás was born in Yazd. "The world has not since seen a weaver like him. Besides, he was a good poet. Once he bought a piece of *mushajjar* brocade, on which

there was among other figures that of a bear between some trees, to Sháh 'Abbás (1585 to 1629), when a courtier after praising the stuff admired the bear. Ghiás said on the spur of the moment.

خواجه در خرس بیش میبیند هرکسی نقش خویش میبیند

" *The gentleman looks chiefly at the bear. Each looks at his own likeness.*"

Bears in the East are looked upon as stupid animals. A proverb says,

خرس در کوه ابوسینا

'A bear on the hill is an Avicenna,' *i. e.* a fool among bigger fools is a philosopher. Naçrábádí quotes some of Ghiás's verses.

Page 94, middle.

COTTON CLOTHS. Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abulfazl—

Chautár was woven in Hawelí Sahâranpúr.
Sírí Çáf and Bhíraun, in Dharangáon, Khándesh.
Gangájal, in Sirkár G'horág'hát, Bengal.
Mihrkul, in Alláhábád,

and Panchhtoliah was mentioned on p. 510, in connexion with NúrJahán.

Page 99, note 2.

A'DAM I HAFTHAZA'RI'. I find that this expression is much older than Abulfazl's time. Thus Ziáuddín Baraní in his preface to the *Táríkh i Fírúzsháhí* (p. 5, l. 6), states that the Khalífah 'Umar lived seven thousand years after A'dam.

Page 101, note 6.

ASHRAF KHAN. A correcter and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p. 389. He died in 983, not 973.

Page 102, note 1.

KHANDA'N. The collection of Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the *Tazkirat ul Auliá* written by Khandán in 920 A. H., and yet the Mir-át ul 'A'lam gives 915 as the year of his death.

Page 104, note 2, line 7.

BECHU'. Though Bechú is a common Hindústání name, there is little doubt that the correct name of the saint is Panchú, or Panjú, *vide* p. 538. Badáoní (II, 54) gives as *táríkh* of his death the words شیخ بپنجو and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (ب), i. e. 971—2=969. *Vide* also my Essay on 'Badáoní and his Works,' Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, p. 118.

Page 116, line 24.

SANGRA'M, Akbar's favourite gun. We know from the Tuzuk (p. 20) that Akbar killed with it Jatmall, the champion of Chítor.

Page 122, lines 22 to 29.

The reader is requested to substitute the following—

Elephants are found in the following places. In the Çúbah of Ágrah, in the jungles of Bayáwán and Narwar, as far as Barár; in the Çúbah of Iláhábád, in the confines of Pannah, (Bhat'h) Ghorá, Ratanpúr, Nandanpúr, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Çúbah of Málwah, in Handiah, Uchhod, Chanderí, Saṇtwás, Bíjágaṛh, Ráisín, Hoshangábád, Gaṛha, and Hariágaṛh; in the Çúbah of Bihár, about Rohtás and in Jhárk'hand; and in the Çúbah of Bengal, in Oṛísá and in Sátgáon. The elephants from Pannah are the best.

Page 171, note 1.

Sulaimán Kararání reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980.

Page 182, note 6.

Prince Murád was born on the 3rd Muharram, 978. *Badáoní* II, 132. *Vide* below.

Page 193, line 2 from below, and note 3.

In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for May, 1870, (p. 146) I have shewn that the unclear words in Badáoní's text are,—

کنابلان که خوشگاه ایشان است

'the cunabula which is their time of mirth.'

By 'cunabula' the Jesuits meant the representations of the birth of Christ, in wax, &c., which they used to exhibit in Ágrah and Láhor.

Page 270, line 5 from below.

The Çadr read the *khuṭbah* in the name of the new king, and thus the *julús* became a fact. *Kháfí Khán*, I, p. 52, l. 2, from below.

Page 272, line 13.

MAULA'NA' 'ABDUL BA'QI'. *Vide* p. 528, note 4.

Page 309.

AKBAR'S WIVES. For *Raqiyah* the diminutive form *Ruqayyah* is to be substituted. Regarding Jodh Bái *vide* next note.

Sulṭán Salímah Begum. She *is* the daughter of Gulrukh Begum, a daughter of Bábar. Mírzá Núruddín Muhammad, Gulrukh's husband, was a Naqshbandí Khwájah.

Gulrukh Begum must not be confounded with another Gulrukh Begum, who was the daughter of Mírzá Kámrán and wife of Ibráhím Husain Mírzá (*vide* p. 464).

Of other women in Akbar's harem, I may mention, (1) the daughter of Qází 'Ísá (p. 449); (2) an Armenian woman, *Tuzuk*, p. 324. *Vide* also Keane's Agra Guide, p. 38. (3) Qismiyah Bánú, married by Akbar in the 19th year (Akbarn. III, 94); 4) a daughter of Shamsuddín Chak (Akbarn. III, 659).

SULṬA'N MURA'D. He was married to a daughter of Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah (p. 325). Their child, Sulṭán Rustam, did not live long (*Akbarn.* III, 539, 552).

SULṬA'N DA'NYA'L. The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumáda I, 979, not the 10th; but the MSS. continually confound دوم and دهم. His first wife was a daughter of Sulṭán Khwájah (p. 423), by whom he had a daughter of the name of Sa'ádat Bánú Begum, who was born in 1000 (*Akbarn.* III, 643).

Page 310.

JAHA'NGI'R'S WIVES. An additional list was given on p. 477, note 2. Besides them, I may mention, (1) a daughter of Mubárak Chak of Kashmír; (2) a daughter of Husain Chak of Kashmír (*Akbarn.* III, 659); (3) another Kashmírí lady, mentioned in *Akbarn.* III, 639.

I stated on p. 309, that Jahángír's mother was called Jodh Bái. This is wrong. Jodh Bái was the wife of Jahángír and daughter of Mot'h Rájah of Jodhpúr. There is little doubt that Jahángír's mother (the *Maryam uzzamání*) is the daughter of Rájah Bihárí Mall and sister to Rájah Bhagwán Dás.

Page 314, last line.

DEATH OF MI'RZA' RUSTAM. Thus the date is given in the *Maásir ul Umará*; but from the *Pádisháhnámah* (II, 302) we see that Mírzá Rustam died on, or a few days before, the 1st Rabí' I., 1052. The author adds a remarks that "the manners (*auzá'*) of the Mírzá did not correspond to his noble birth, which was perhaps due to the absence of nobility in his mother."

Page 315, line 11.

QARA'QU'ILU TURKS. The correct name is Qaráqoinlü. The Calcutta Chaghtái Dictionary gives Qaráqúnílü. Vambéry (History of Bokhárá, p. 265, note) mentions the Ustajlü, Shámlü, Nikallü, Bahárlü, Zulqadr, Kájar, and Afshár, as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucasia, on the southern shore of the Caspian and in the west of Khurásán. Qaráqoinlü means 'the black sheep tribe.'

Page 317, note 1.

The correct name of the place where Bairam was defeated is Gúnáchúr, گوناچور, which lies S. E. of Jálindhar. The word کنور پهلور, which the Bibl. Indica Edition of Badáoní gives, contains 'Phillaur,' which lies S. W. of Gúnáchúr.

Page 324, note 1.

I do not think that Pír Muhammad came from the Sharwán mentioned in this note. It is more likely that he was a Shirwání Afghán.

Page 325, note.

This note has been corrected on p. 406, line 10, and p. 416, note 1.

Page 329, line 8 from below.

ZULQÁDR, is the name of a Turkmán tribe; *vide* above.

Page 339, last line.

GOGANDAH. Regarding the correct date of the battle *vide* p. 418, note 2.

Page 351.

TODAR MALL. The Maásir ul Umará says that Todar Mall was born at Láhor. But it is now certain that Todar Mall was born at Láharpúr, in Audh; *vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, September 1871, p. 178.

Page 372, note.

MIYA'N KA'L. The note is to be cancelled. Miyán Kál has been explained on p. 545, note.

Page 373, line 22.

YU'SUF KHA'N. Regarding his death *vide* Tuzuk, p. 328. His son 'Izzat Khán is wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the *Pádisháhnámah* (I, *b.*, p. 302) غیرت خان. His name was 'Azíz ullah; hence his title *'Izzat.*

Page 379, last line.

QA'SIM KHA'N. I dare say, the phrase 'Chamanárái Khurásán' merely means that he was Governor of Kábul.

Page 381, line 14.

BA'QI' KHA'N. He is often called 'Khán Báqí Khán.'

Page 389, line 1.

MI'R BA'BU'S. The spelling 'Uigur' is now common; but in India the word is pronounced 'Ighur.' The query may be cancelled; *vide* p. 441, note.

Page 398, line 10.

DASTAM KHA'N. Vambéry spells 'Dostum.'

Page 413.

SHAIKH FARI'D I BUKHA'RI'. That the name of Faríd's father was Sayyid Ahmad i Bukhárí, may be seen from the short inscription on the 'Bukhárí Mosque' in the town of Bihár, which was built by Shaikh Láḍ, at the cost of Faríd i Bukhárí, and bears the date 16th Rajab, 1017.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Faríd's Jámi' Masjid in Farídábád,—

بعهد شاه نور الدین جهانگیر　　شهنشاهی بدین و داد و احسان
اساس این بنای خیر بنهاد　　فرید عصر و ملت مرتضی خان
بعز و شوکت و جود و سخاوت　　خلف ابن الخلف تا شاه مردان
رقم خیر البقاع از خامه سرزد　　پیء تاریخ این جاوید بنیان

1. *In the reign of Sháh Núruddín, a king who is pious, just, and liberal,*

2. *Murtazá Khán, the unique one* (faríd) *of the age and faith, erected this religious building.*

3. *He is honored, powerful, generous, and liberal, a worthy descendant of the king of men* ['Alí].

4. *As Táríkh of this lasting structure, the words* Khair ul Biqá' *issued from the pen.*

This gives 1014, A. H.

Page 424, line 24.

Khwájah Ṭáhir Muhammad. He is mentioned as a Sijistání on p. 528, among the Bakhshís.

Page 431, note 1.

Maçúm Khán Kábulí. This rebel, who gave Akbar no end of trouble, had the audacity to assume royal prerogatives in Bengal. The following inscription I received, through Bábu Rájendrála Mitra, from Rájah Pramatha Náth, Rájah of Díghaputi, Rájsháhí. It was found in a ruined mosque at a village, called Chatmohor, not very far from Dighaputi.

این مسجد رفیع در زمان سلطان الاعظم عمدة السادات ابو الفتح محمد معصوم خان
خلد الله ملکه ابدا یا رب و یا باقي بناکرد خان رفیع مکان عالیشان خان محمد بن توي
محمد خان قاقشال في سنه تسع و ثمانین و تسعمایة ۱۱

This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sulṭán, the chief of Sayyids, Abul Fath Muhammad Ma'çúm Khán—May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever, O Lord, O Thou who remainest! by the high and exalted Khán, Khán Muhammad, son of Túí Muhammad Khán Qáqshál, in the year 989.

This was, therefore, nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (9th Zí Hajjah, 987); *vide* p. 439.

Page 438, line 13.

Sayyid Muhammad. Regarding the correct date of his death, *vide* p. 490.

Page 450, line 14.

Súrat. There is every probability that Sorat'h, and not Súrat, is intended.

Page 456.

The Gakk'hars. *Vide* pp. 486, 487.

The places Pharwálah and Dángalí (دانگلی, not Dangálí) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gakk'har District, are noticed in E. Terry's 'Voyage to East India' (London, 1655, p. 88). "*Kakares*, the principal Cities are called *Dekalee* "and *Púrhola;* it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from "Tartaria by the Mountain Caucasus; it is the extremest part North under the *Mogol's* "subjection."

De Laët also gives the same passage.

Page 460, line 2.

Yaráq Khán. The correct name is, I believe, Boráq Khán. *Vide* Vambéry's 'Bokhara', p. 153.

Page 493, line 10.

Kúch Hájo. Regarding Kúch Hájo and Kúch Bihár and Mukarram Khán, *vide* my article on these countries in Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1872, p. 54.

Page 493, line 21.

GHAZNI'N KHA'N, of Jálor.

"The Pahlunpúr family is of Afghán origin, belonging to the Lohání tribe, and, it is said, occupied Bihár in the reign of Humáyún. They subsequently took service with the king of Dihlí; and from Akbar Sháh, in A. D. 1597, Ghaznín Khán, the chief, obtained the title of Díwán, for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghán tribes; for his services on this occasion, he was also rewarded with the government of Láhor. In A. D. 1682, Fath Khán Díwán received the province of Jálor, Sáṇchor, Pahlunpúr, and Dísah from Aurangzíb. Fath Khán died in 1688, leaving an only son, Pír Khán, who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamál Khán, who, subsequently, being unable to withstand the increasing power of the Rát'hors of Máṛwáṛ, was compelled, in A. D. 1698, to quit the country [Jálor], and retire with his family and dependants to Pahlunpúr, where the family has remained ever since.—*Selections, Bombay Government Records*, No. XXV.—*New Series*, p. 15.

Page 508, line 13 from below.

WAÇLI'. This is wrong, and should be *Hijrí*. Khwájah Muhammad Sharíf, as correctly ṣtated in the genealogical tree on p. 512, had two sons. The eldest is A'ghá Muhammad Ṭáhir, whose nom-de-plume is *Waçlí*, and Ghiás Beg.

Page 524, line 20.

ALI' QULI' BEG ISTAJLU'. Vambéry spells Ustajlú, which is the name of a Turkish tribe; *vide* p. 619.

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